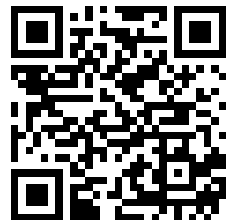
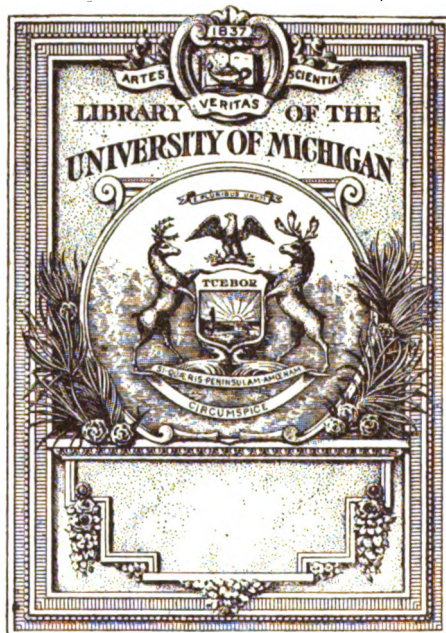

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

With the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

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and of

The Hispanic Society of America

and

The French Institute in the United States

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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THE SLOTH OF EREC

THE strange behavior of Erec and his treatment of his wife Enide, as set forth by Chrétien in his romance, were properly explained, in the opinion of the writer at least, by Roques (*Rom.*, XXXIX, p. 377); and lately Sheldon (*Rom. Rev.*, V, 1914, pp. 115 sq.) and Woodbridge (*ib.*, VI, 1915, pp. 434 sq.) have advanced practically the same explanation. There would be no further need, therefore, of argument about the matter, were it not for the fact that an entirely different theory, advanced by Nitze (*Mod. Phil.*, XI, pp. 445 sq.) still stands as a challenge to those who hold other views.

According to Roques the motive for Erec's treatment of Enide is the doubt which he feels of her love for him; or, as Woodbridge puts it, p. 440, "Erec believed that his wife doubted his valor, and even that her love for him was lessened by this doubt." And the moral of the tale (for draw a moral we must) is, in the words of Roques, "que l'amour le plus profond, le plus fécond en joies, n'est pas l'amour exclusif qui se subordonne toute la vie, mais celui qui tient compte de la vie et se tient satisfait d'en avoir embelli tous les instants." Nitze, on the other hand, finds the chief motive of the story to be "purely one of 'soveraynete'"; "the story is in perfect accord with the Biblical ideal that in marriage the wife must submit to the domination of the stronger sex" (p. 448), and Erec, "having eased his anger and realized that Enide can submit—naturally and willingly forgives her reproach." Similarly in his opinion the purpose of the Joie de la Cour episode, which "is in reality a counterpart to Erec's quarrel with Enide," is to restore Mabonagrain's sovereignty which he had lost to his "amie" (p. 460). Erec's sovereignty, however, is certainly very short-lived, for after he is

satisfied with his proof of his wife (there is no reference to any "willingness" on her part "to serve him" as Nitze states (p. 448), he exclaims (vv. 4926 sq.) :

Tot a vostre comandement
Vuel estre des or an avant
Aussi con j'estoie devant,

words which mean, according to Nitze, that "Erec returns to Enide's control" (p. 449, n. 1). On this showing a very good case could be made out for the wife's sovereignty and the futility of the husband's uprising.

The arguments set forth by the authorities referred to above in support of views contrary to those held by Nitze, render unnecessary a detailed statement of the reasons which had led me, a worker in another field, to similar conclusions. A short summary for the sake of completeness, with references to the articles of Sheldon and Woodbridge for the passages we cite in common, will suffice.

It is to be noted, in the first place, that however strange and capricious the behavior of Erec may seem to us, Chrétien himself felt that he had made the motive for it perfectly clear. For when Erec is about to tell his adventures to king Arthur, the poet says (vv. 6478 sq.) :

Cuidiez vos or que je vos die,
Queus achoisons le fist movoir?
Naie; que bien savez le voir
Et de ce et de l'autre chose,
Si con je la vos ai esclose.

Unless we are to assume, therefore, that Chrétien is indulging in a bit of misplaced irony, we must conclude that a mediaeval reader would have understood the tale as Chrétien tells it, and would readily have grasped the motive and appreciated it. Our first task, then, is to take the poem as it stands and note the salient features. These may be briefly set down thus:

1. Erec's overwhelming passion for his wife which makes him give up all desire for knightly deeds and find his sole delight in fondling and kissing her.

2. Grief of Erec's friends that he is so deep in love, and their open murmurings against him for turning craven in arms and deeds of chivalry (cf. vv. 2433 sq.; Woodbridge, pp. 435-6).

3. Enide's conviction, expressed in her soliloquy (vv. 2496 sq.), that gossip speaks the truth, that Erec has renounced all deeds of chivalry, and that she is to blame (2504), and her dissatisfaction with the state of things implied in her soliloquy (vv. 2496 sq.), "Lasse, . . . con mar i fus." Cf. Woodbridge, p. 436.

4. Her endeavor to conceal the truth from Erec when he questions her concerning the reasons for her sorrow, and her downright lie. It matters little whether Erec heard all or only a part of her soliloquy, the fact that she is troubled and is not frank is sufficient to raise doubts in his mind. Cf. Woodbridge, p. 439, and especially Sheldon, pp. 123 sq.

5. Enide's avowal of the truth that her sorrow is caused by the gossip of his friends, who call him craven and blame her, and her advice to him that he change his course and silence this reproach (2540 sq.). We must recall here the earlier part of the story, the purpose of which has been to picture Erec as a brave, chivalric hero, a perfect knight, and to show their deep, self-centered love, their happy life together. If, then, after all that has gone before, Enide can shed tears, call him unhappy, and lie to him as to the reason for her sorrow, certainly his doubt of her is inevitable, all the more so since he is so sure of his love for her, and so satisfied with their present life. The restraint of the poet, in not attempting to reveal his hero's thoughts, is proof of his artistic sense, for minute analysis of a man's feelings in such a case is impossible. The fact, however, that she tells him that he must silence gossip would tend to make him feel that she has been affected by this gossip and therefore cannot love him as whole-heartedly as he loves her. Hence his immediate resolve to put her to the test, and at the same time to prove to her and to all that, in spite of his love, he is a brave and hardy knight; cf. Sheldon, p. 124.

6. Enide's confession that her pride is the cause of her woeful state (2606). This implies that she was affected by the gossip concerning Erec and herself (cf. Woodbridge, p. 437), and desires him to prove it false. If, from his point of view, his past deeds are not sufficient to do that, then he must conclude that in her own mind there had arisen a doubt of his prowess. And that she did feel such a doubt is clear from vv. 3110 sq.:

Savoir pooie sanz dotance
 Que tel chevalier ne mellor
 Ne savoit l'an de mon seignor.

7. Erec's words in vv. 3000-1:

Et ne porquant tres bien savoie
 Que vos gueires ne me prisiez.

Here we have the first direct expression of Erec's thoughts, and the words show us that he does harbor a doubt of her feelings for him. We find the same doubt expressed again after the adventure with the Count, in which Enide has given such signal proof of her purity, her loyalty, her love for her husband,

3563 . . . Po me prisiez,
 Ma parole mout despisiez.

His doubt, however, is now fast giving way before the proofs of Enide's devotion, for, after threatening to punish her for her warning cry, he adds,

3570 Se corages ne me remue.

8. The poet's words in vv. 3765 sq., when Enide has again warned Erec that danger threatens him at the hands of Guivret:

. . . Cil la menace,
 Mes n'a talant que mal li face:
 Qu'il aparçoit et conoist bien
 Qu'ele l'aimme sor tote rien,
 Et il li tant que plus ne puet.

Henceforth there is no question of any doubt in Erec's mind of Enide's devotion to him, and the very next adventure shows his change of mood. In this case it is Erec who is the first to speak, and when he has slain the giants and rescued the lady's lover, his first thought is of Enide,

4586 Et cil restoit an grant redot
 Qu'aucuns ne l'an eüst menee,
 Qui la l'eüst sole trovee.

9. The adventure in the castle of the Count, whither Erec, in a swoon from pain and loss of blood, has been carried, and the temp-

tation of Enide (4685 sq.). This episode serves to justify to Erec the rebirth of his confidence in his wife (cf. Woodbridge, p. 439), but it serves also to furnish a dramatic setting for the reconciliation.

10. The reconciliation, and Erec's confession that his doubt of Enide is over:

4920

. . . Ma douce suer,
Bien vos ai del tot essaïee, etc.;

cf. Woodbridge, pp. 439-40. Henceforth his treatment of his wife is that of the tender, loving husband, the gentle knight, for he "has tried her well, and found in her great love for him" (5140). And if he is assured of her love, so is she assured of his prowess (cf. her lament, vv. 4635 sq.). Over now was the pain and sorrow which each had for the other (5251),

5257

. . . Lor amor rafermee
Et lor grant dolor obliëe.

These lines form part of the description of the happy days which the lovers spend together in the castle of Penevric (vv. 5190 sq.), and I would emphasize the fact, which seems to be generally disregarded, that their life here is a replica of their life in Erec's home, before doubt came, and is described in similar language. Compare (5251-2):

. . . Li uns l'autre acole et beise;
N'est riens nule qui tant lor pleise,

with (2441-2),

Tot mist son cuer et s'antandue
An li acoler et beisier;
Ne se queroit d'el aiesier.

Upon the conclusion that we draw from this similarity, which certainly cannot be due to chance, rests, it seems to me, the interpretation of the poem. If we adopt the fairy-mistress hypothesis, the only logical conclusion which can be drawn from it is that which Professor Nitze draws from vv. 4920 sq. "Note," he says (p. 449, n. 1), "that Erec returns to Enide's control" (cf. his remark on p. 451). On this basis what, it may be asked, becomes of Erec's sovereignty, the assertion of which is, according to Professor Nitze,

the moral of the poem? How a husband can be at the same time sovereign over his wife and under her control, I fail to see, and from this point of view the poem is a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Nor can I see the logicity of Professor Nitze's explanation of the relation between this part of the poem and the following episode, the Joie de la Cour. I agree heartily with him that the episode has a very vital connection with what precedes, but I cannot assent to his view (p. 460), that "the value of the episode consists in the contrast it affords to Erec's own experience: Mabonagrain, unable to triumph alone over his imperious lady, does so with Erec's assistance." With this interpretation, it seems to me, we again have a negation of the moral which he draws from the Erec-Enide story, that man can and should be master over his wife. If Erec has returned to the control of his imperious lady,—to his own very great joy apparently,—why should he aid another to triumph over his? Or, wherein lies the moral value of a sovereignty which is gained not by one's own efforts but at the hand of another, a sovereignty, moreover, which is never exercised? This makes the episode more than meaningless.

Another explanation, however, is possible. Taking the episode as it stands, we have the familiar theme of a knight freeing a person from enchantment. It is an adventure of the utmost danger (cf. 5463), "nus n'an puet eschaper vis," and the danger is again emphasized in vv. 5610 sq. It serves, then, as a climax to all Erec's deeds of prowess, but its purpose can certainly not be to test further his honor and his knighthood: he has been proved and in Enide's eyes he has no peer. Its purpose is to offer the necessary assurance that their amatory life in the castle of Penevric, even though the same in appearance as their life after their marriage, is in reality not the same at all. Erec and Enide love each as deeply as before, but this love is now no selfish passion making him recreant to his knightly honor, but rather an incentive to brave, unselfish deeds, deeds that may lead to death. The poet himself tells us that this is his meaning in the beautiful words which he puts into the mouth of Erec when he bids farewell to Enide before entering upon his perilous undertaking:

5852

Douce dame, ancor ne savez
Que ce fera, ne je nel sai.

De neant estes an esmai!
Mes bien sachiez veraïement:
S'an moi n'avoit de hardemant
Fors tant con vostre amors me baille,
Ne doteroie je sanz faille
Cors a cors nul home vivant.

There is, the poet tells us, no antagonism between true love and true knighthood; and this is his moral.

The poem thus interpreted is an artistic whole, but it is very evident that it is the result, whether due to Chrétien or his unknown predecessors cannot now be determined, of the fusion of several episodes which may originally have been independent of each other. Three such episodes¹ as least can easily be recognized: (1) The Sparrow-hawk adventure; (2) the Erec-Enide story, the kernel of the poem; (3) the Joie de la Cour. The question then arises from what source came these three episodes which have been thus fused into one artistic whole?

The answer of Professor Nitze is that they represent a re-working of the Celtic fairy-mistress story. As far as Nos. 1 and 3 go, this may be the correct answer,² but even his skilful reasoning fails to convince me, at least, that No. 2, that part of the whole which deals with the love and sorrow of Erec and Enide, is a rationalized version of some Celtic fairy-mistress story, in which the "imperious fée" has been rationalized into Enide and the mortal lover into Erec. If this is so the story has certainly been rationalized out of all semblance to its original form, and on this basis almost any mediaeval romance can be shown to be Celtic. There is, in the first place, no trace of the "imperious fée" in Enide, who, from the time Erec first beholds her, clad in her white linen garment, which was full of holes,³ to the end, when she sits by his side

¹ Cf. Foerster, *Erec*², p. xxii; Nitze, pp. 488 sq.

² In regard to the Joie de la Cour, I prefer to assign it to some version of the enchanted princess story; so Foerster, l. c., p. xxiii, and Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 48-9. This, of course, is not peculiarly Celtic.

³ Professor Nitze presents a curious argument on pp. 451 sq. He notes that the fée in Marie de France's *Lanval* (565) wears a white under and outer garment, "que tuit li coste li pareient," and a crimson mantle; then because Enide wears the same white "chemise" and "chainse," of which the latter "as cotes

arrayed in queenly garb (vv. 6810 sq.), is the weaker vessel—the personification of self-sacrificing devotion, first to her parents and then to her husband.⁴ Secondly, there is nothing to warrant the statement that Erec is “mad,” that his treatment of Enide finds its explanation in the “hero’s madness or *desmesure* when threatened with the displeasure of his amie” (p. 470). In no Celtic tale, or tale which may derive from Celtic sources with which I am acquainted, certainly not in the *Serglige Cuchulinn*, *Yvain*, *Percival*, does the “mad” hero act in any such way as Erec, with such sane and rational purpose, directed solely to an end.

The chief support of the Celtic hypothesis, however, is the sloth into which Erec falls after his marriage with Enide. This represents, according to Nitze’s view, the sloth of the hero of the fairy-mistress stories when under the control of the *fée*, and numerous examples of such “love-sickness” are cited, from the *Imrama* down. In every case, however—certainly in those stories which are demonstrably due to Celtic sources—there remains some hint at least of Celtic origin, some hint that the lady was originally a *fée*, or that the hero did originally lose his sense, or that the abode of the hero and the lady was originally the other world, such a hint as we have, for example, in the *Joie de la Cour*. In the Erec-Enide story proper, however, there is no such hint, no hint that Enide was a *fée*, no hint that Erec was “mad,” no hint that Erec’s land, where he and Enide lived their life of dalliance and ease, was originally the other world.

estoit perciez” (408), he concludes (p. 453), “that what in Marie is characteristic is explained by Chrétien rationally as the result of poverty.” Ragged garments are certainly the rational result of poverty, but if this means that, because it is characteristic of *fées* to be dressed in white transparent garments and a crimson mantle, any other maiden who is similarly dressed is a rationalized *fée*, very little is left in mediæval and ancient romance except *fées*. Here, for example, is the description of a picture of Europa in Achilles Tatius I, 1: “white her undergarment, crimson her mantle, and her body was visible through her dress.” As a matter of fact this whole subject of portraiture can be explained, in my judgment, only on the basis of classic erotic and rhetorical literature, as I have argued elsewhere: Professor Nitze’s own citations from the *Thèbes* and *Eneas* point the way.

⁴ This was Philpot’s view, for he says of this episode in *Rom.* xxv, 1896, p. 264: “Un conte de caractère . . . rappelant de très près le type représenté par la Griselidis de Boccace.” Cf. also Sheldon, l. c., p. 121. The latter, however, p. 121, n., admits the possibility that Enide, in a more primitive form of the story, was a *fée*.

There is, moreover, another possibility which should not be overlooked. May it not be that Erec's sloth is really due to the reason assigned by Chrétien, namely, love for his wife? Or, to put it another way, may there not be other sources, certainly not Celtic, and yet just as current in Chrétien's day and just as well known to him as any possible Celtic source, in which we have a situation exactly analogous to that of Erec living in idle dalliance with his wife, and giving up knightly pursuits because of love? The answer is that in that literature which was best known to Chrétien and his contemporaries, the Latin literature of the school and of the Church, no theme is more common than this, that love, especially marital love, is opposed to endeavor.

The literature of the school, aside from the question of individual authors, owed its subject-matter and its inspiration to the literature of Rome. It may not be out of place, therefore, to show, by a few representative examples, that this theme, the opposition of love to endeavor, was a commonplace in Latin literature, especially erotic literature. These examples are general in character, and serve merely to pave the way for the references to specific characters who, like Erec, gave up Mars for Venus.⁵

The nature of the theme as an erotic commonplace is shown first of all by the appearance of it in the comedy. In the *Bacchides* of Plautus, for example (vv. 68 sq.), a love-sick youth says:

Ubi ego capiam pro machaera turturem,
Ubique imponat in manum alius mihi pro cestu cantharum:
Pro gulea scaphium, pro insigni sit corolla plectilis,
Pro hasta talos, pro lorica malacum capiam pallium:
Ubi mi pro equo lectus detur, scortum pro scuto accubet?

Cf. Id., *Most.*, 135 sq. With these passages may be compared⁶ the words which Breseis addresses to Achilles in Ovid's *Her.*, 3, 115 sq.:

Et quisquam quaerit, quare pugnare recuses?
Pugna nocet, citharae noxque Venusque iuvant;

⁵ I need hardly add that the history of this theme is the same as the history of all erotic conceits; it became a stock theme in Greek literature of the Alexandrian period, passed thence into later Greek and Latin literature, especially that influenced by the rhetorical schools. Cf. A. J. P., xxxiv, 1913, p. 127.

⁶ On this matter, cf. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, p. 155.

Tutius est iacuisse toro, tenuisse puellam,
 Threiciam digitis increpuisse lyram,
 Quam manibus clipeos et acutae cuspidis hastam,
 Et galeam pressa sustinuisse coma.

In elegiac poetry, indeed, the poet-lover regularly excuses his lack of ambition, above all his inability to be a soldier, on the ground that he cannot leave his lady's arms. The most artistic expression of this commonplace is the first elegy of Tibullus, which is addressed to his friend and patron Messala who is off a-soldiering in the East, and is an apology for not having followed him (note especially vv. 54 sq.):

Te bellare decet terra, Messala, marique,
 Ut domus hostiles praeferat exuvias:

 Non ego laudari (= "win renown in war") curo, mea
 Delia: tecum
 Dummodo sim, quaeso segnis inersque vocer.

In a similar strain Propertius, I, 6, writes to his friend Tullus, explaining why he has not gone off to war (note vv. 25 sq.):

Me sine, quem semper voluit Fortuna iacere,
 Hanc animam extremae reddere nequitiae.

 Non ego sum laudi, non natus idoneus armis:
 Hanc me militiam fata subire volunt.

Cf. *Id.*, III (IV), 3. As for Ovid, his campaigning was all done under Cupid's banner (cf. *Am.*, I, 9), the only wars he knew were "nocturna bella," in which alone he was no sluggard (vv. 41 sq.). Cf. *Am.*, III, 2, 48 sq.:

Plaude tuo Marti, miles! nos odimus arma:
 Pax iuvat et media pace repertus amor.

Hence the lover's conventional praise of peace; cf. *Tibul.*, I, 10; *Prop.*, III (IV), 4, 1:

Pacis Amor deus est, pacem veneramur amantes.

Similarly Horace has a little poem (*Od.*, I, 8) on a manly and athletic youth who has become a sluggard through love, and Claud., *Epith. de Nupt. Hon. Aug.*, v. 6, thus describes the effects of love upon his royal hero:

Non illi venator equus; non spicula curae,
Non iaculum torquere libet.

Finally as evidence for the continued existence of the theme as a rhetorical commonplace, further examples of which will be cited below, may be cited Dracont., *de Raptu. Helenae (Romulea, VIII)*, vv. 516 sq., where Paris says to Helen:

. . . Si talis erit quam forte merebor
Uxorem, sic blanda genis, sic ore modesto,
Tali semper ego dignatus coniuge felix
Non desim: famuler supplex et iussus adorem,
Conubio servus veniam sub lege mariti
Nocte dieque pavens, quidnam velit illa iubere
Quae specie fulgente micat.

These words describe very accurately Erec's attitude toward his wife (cf. vv. 2438 sq.):

A sa fame aloit donoier.
De li fist s'amie et sa drue, etc.

That Chrétien was, moreover, perfectly familiar with our theme is shown by a passage in *Ivain*, 2484 sq., where Gawain rebukes Ivain for his uxoriousness, and no better statement of the text can be found than vv. 2484-6:

. . . Seroiz vos or de ceus
Qui por lor fames valent mains?

It may be objected, however, that this conclusion follows naturally from the Celtic fairy-mistress situation, and the same objection can be raised, of course, against any evidence drawn from poetry which may have been influenced by Chrétien or by any fairy-mistress story. It is necessary, therefore, to draw our evidence from sources which cannot possibly have undergone such influence, and to show that this idea, that love produces sloth, was so prevalent,

independent of Celtic fairy-mistress stories, as to render unnecessary the hypothesis, unsupported as it is by any evidence in the story itself, that Enide is a rationalized *fée* and Erec her mortal victim.

By the side of Gawain's preachment in *Ivain*, we may place an example taken from an entirely different sphere, the *de Nugis Curialium* of Walter Map.⁷ In the introduction to his famous *Epistula ad Ruffinum Philosophum*, in which Walter fulminates against marriage, he says of Ruffinus: "totum erat proci, nihil philosophi. . . . Uxorari tendebat, non amari; Mars nolebat fieri, sed Mulciber," a description which fits exactly both Erec and Ivain. The letter itself, which is filled with examples of men of old who had fallen victims to woman's wiles, is based upon the tractate of St. Jerome against Jovinian, and Jerome in turn drew largely from the lost books of Theophrastus and Seneca on marriage.⁸ It is to be noted especially that one of the arguments which Jerome adduces against marriage (bk. I, ch. 30) is this very one of uxoriousness, of the husband's sloth from o'er-much love. He quotes in illustration a story from Seneca about a man,

qui exiturus in publicum fascia uxoris pectus colligabat et ne puncto quidem horae praesentia eius carere poterat (cf. Erec, 2449, "Mout petit de li s'esloignoit"), potionemque nullam nisi alterius tactam labris vir et uxor hauriebant, alia deinceps non minus inepta facientes, in quae improvida vis ardentis adfectus erumpebat:—unde et Sextius in sententiis: adulter est, inquit, in suam uxorem amator ardentior.

All that needs to be said on this phase of the question can be found in Pascal's essay, "Antifemminismo medievale,"⁹ especially pp. 164 sq., and it will suffice to quote, as a convenient summary of the teaching of preachers and philosophers on this subject, the following words from Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. Chabaille, bk. II, pt. II, ch. lxxxix:

Il avaient maintefoiz que amor les seurprent si fort que il n'ont nul pooir de soi meismes, ainz abandonent et duer et cors a l'amor d'une feme, et en ceste maniere perdent il lor sens, si que il ne voient goute.

⁷ Cf. the edition of James, Oxford, 1914, p. 142.

⁸ On this matter cf. Bock, *Aristoteles, Theophrastus, Seneca de matrimonio*, Leipzig. Studien, xix, 1899.

⁹ In his *Poesia Latina Medievale*, vii.

In all these preachments against woman and marriage, certain stock examples are employed to illustrate the power of love—a fact which in itself is sufficient to prove the traditional character of the theme—and among these examples the warrior (knight) who falls into sloth because of love occupies an important place. Brunetto, in the passage referred to, cites to point his moral Adam, Solomon, Aristotle,¹⁰ Merlin, and, for the warrior, Samson; and Samson who “laid his head upon a woman’s knee”¹¹ is a favorite example, not only in the writings of the Church Fathers,¹² but in the writings of all who wished to moralize on the power of love. Hence in Gower, *Conf. Am.*, VI, 94, Samson is an example of the drunkenness of love, and in the moralizing writer of the English romance, *King Alisaundre*,¹³ Samson’s experience with Delilah is quoted as a parallel to Alexander the Great’s experience with Candace; for Alexander, he tells us, vv. 7726 sq.:

dude al the ladyes wille,
Undur covertour ful stille,
Mony nyght and mony day,
Thus they du den heore play.
In halle a-day, he sat hire by,
And anyght in bedde sikerly.

That the author of this romance or his source¹⁴ was perfectly

¹⁰ The story of this wise man’s “love-sickness” is told in the charming *Lai d’Aristote* of Henri d’Andeli; cf. *Rom.*, xv, 630. There is also a German version, *Aristoteles und Philis*, lately edited by Campion, *Mod. Phil.*, xiii, pp. 107 sq. Our theme is thus referred to in vv. 446 sq.:

wibes kunst ist âne zil.
daz si vil wol bewæret
von wiben wart erwæret
Adam unde Samsôn,
Dâvit unde Salomôn
unde die besten alle.

Cf. Campion’s note for other references.

¹¹ Ambrose, *de Off. Ministr.*, ii, 26.

¹² Cf., e. g., St. Chrysost., *Hom. ad Philip.*, iii, 17; ad Ps. iv, 13; St. August., *Serm.*, 364; Ambrose, *l. c.* For the mystical interpretation of his experience with Delilah, which was rather a hard nut for the Fathers to crack, cf. St. August., *de Mirab. Sacr. Script.*, ii, 6; Ambrose, *de Spirt. Sanc.*

¹³ Edited by Weber, *English Metrical Romances*, v. i.

¹⁴ On this matter, cf. Meyer, *Alex. le Gr.*, etc., ii, 294 sq.; *Engl. Stud.*, xiii, 145 sq.; *Z. f. franz. Spr.*, xl, p. 187. The moral is not drawn in the French romance, *Li Romans d’Alexandre*, by Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, nor in the German version by Lamprecht, nor in Julius Valerius.

familiar with the many sermons on our theme is clear from the *exempla* which he cites (vv. 7707 sq.); by the side of Samson and Delilah he places Adam and Eve, David, Solomon; cf. the passage from Benoit, cited below.

Tradition has been much more lenient with Alexander in this matter than with another Greek hero, Achilles, who, because of his passion for Polyxena, is perhaps the favorite example of a brave warrior reduced to sloth through love. This example is especially interesting because we can trace the tradition definitely to the rhetorical schools, the literature depending therefrom, and to its final source, Alexandrian Greek.

In the mediaeval story of the fall of Troy, Achilles is made to withdraw from the fight because of his love for Polyxena, the daughter of Priam, and to meet his death by going unarmed to discuss with Priam his marriage with her. This account rests primarily upon Dictys, *Epherm. Bell. Tro.*, III, 2 sq., but it was common also in the earlier literature, especially that of the rhetorical schools, from the Alexandrian period on.¹⁵ The moral is obvious and we find it drawn as early as Fulgentius, who in his allegorization of the story remarks (*Mitologiarum*, Lib. III, 7): "monstrat quod humana virtus quamvis ad omnia munita tamen libidinis ictibus subiacet patula," and "Amor peregrinari faciat mentes ab ingenio suo." Later writers of course enlarge on the moral. Benoit, *Roman de Troie*, punctuates his long description of Achilles' "lovesickness," vv. 17545 sq., with frequent references to the omnipotence of love, such, for example, as vv. 18044 sq., where Achilles exclaims:

Qui est qui contre amor est sage?
Co ne fu pas Fortis Sanson,
Li reis Daviz ne Salemon,
Cil qui de sen fu souverains
Sor toz autres homes humains.
Qu'en puis jo mais, se jo desvei,
Se jo refail, se jo folei?

And finally, after the Greeks have refused to follow his advice that they leave Troy, on the ground that a brave man should fight

¹⁵ Cf. the references cited in the lexicons of Roscher and of Pauly-Wissowa under Achilleus.

to the death (18383-3), and he has withdrawn to his tent and forbidden his men to harm any of the Trojans, the poet draws his moral (18443 sq.):

C'est [l. Cest] devié lor fait Achillès,
 Se il mesfait, qu'en puet il mais,
 Quant cil li tout sen e mesure,
 Qui ne garde lei ne dreiture,
 Noblece, honesté ne parage?
 Qui est qui vers Amors est sage?
 Ço n'est il pas ne ne puet estre:
 En Amors a trop grevos maistre;
 Trop par lit grevose leçon.
 Co parut bien a Salemon:
 Mout monta poi vers lui sis sens.
 De trestoz homes fait ses buens:
 Creance e fei, pere e seignor
 En ont ja relenqui plusor,
 E granz terres e granz païs.
 Qui tres bien est d'amor espris,
 Il n'a en sei sen ne reison.
 Ensi, par iceste acheison,
 Laissa armes danz Achillès:
 Blasmez en fu lonc tens après.

Neither the story nor the moral loses anything in Guido delle Colonne's version.¹⁶ Thus he emphasizes the powerlessness of Achilles in the face of his love by making him bewail the fact that he, whom Hector could not overcome, is vanquished by a "fragilis puella," a touch which is due to Ovid (cf. below), and is repeated by Lydgate, *Troy Book*, IV, 551 sq. Guido expresses the moral in the following words:

est enim mos omnium amatorum ut amoris vulneribus obcecati
 honoris laudes effugiant putantes eorum amatricibus displicere
 etiam si cum magna ignominia a bonorum operum laudibus contin-
 geret abstinere.

Lydgate's sermon is longer, IV, 1534 sq., but his moral is the same.

¹⁶ The only copy accessible to me is one among the incunabula in the University of Vermont marked, "edita Argentinae 1494, Petri Burmanni, Jun." The passages in question are found in K 2 sq.

The great popularity of this story as illustrating the sloth of lovers is shown by a reference to it in Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, IV, 1614 sq. The Confessor is preaching against idleness in love, and his text is given in these Latin words, which should be set beside the speech of Gawain to Ivain, referred to above: the lesson certainly is the same:

Quem probat armorum probitas Venus approbat, et quem
 Torpor habet reprobum reprobatur illa virum.
 Vecors segnicies insignia nescit amoris,
 Nam piger ad brauium tardius ipse venit.

The Confessor tells his pupil how necessary it is that the lover spare not himself for the sake of his beloved, bids him travel over great seas and do brave deeds in order that she might hear men talk "of his provece" and

. . . wot wel, for hir sake
 That he no travail wol forsake (1644).

The Lover replies that for his part

me were levere hir love winne
 Than Kaire and al that is ther inne (1658),

and concludes his objections to the Confessor's text:

And thus for oght is yit befalle,
 An ydel man I wol me calle
 As after myn entendement,

words which are a very clear echo of the Roman poets quoted above. The young man supports his arguments by citing the case of Achilles who

lefte hise armes . . .
 At Troie for Polixena
 Upon hire love whanne he fell (1694).¹⁷

¹⁷ Interesting is the treatment of this story in Froissart, *Le Joli Buisson de Jonece*, 625 sq.; note vv. 686:

Il het la guerre, il fuit les armes,
 Ne voelt porter lance ne targe.

Against this effect of love Gower has another sermon in *Le Miroir de l'omme*, 22813 sq.

As far as this mediaeval story goes, therefore, Achilles is made to follow the advice given him by Breseis in the passage from Ovid quoted above; he is, in short, the "mollis vir," which, says Ovid (*Trist.*, II, 411), the older poets made him.

Ovid is alluding here to the erotic treatment, Alexandrian in origin, of the Achilles-Deidamia story, according to which the hero was content, because of his love for Deidamia—she is made his wife in some versions¹⁸—to spend his days with her in idle dalliance dressed as a maid (cf. Claud., *Epith. de Nupt. Hon. Aug.*, 16 sq.) :

Scyria sic tenerum virgo flammebat Achillem
Fraudis adhuc expers bellatricesque docebat
Ducere fila manus et, mox quos horruit Ide,
Thessalicos roseo nectebat pollici crines.

Compare the fine treatment of this theme in Statius, *Achilleis*, bk. I, and note Ovid, *A. A.*, I, 682, where the usual version is given.

In ancient literature "mollis Achilles" is paralleled by "mollis Hercules," for, beginning with Alexandrian literature,¹⁹ this mighty man of war is also made to renounce his warlike deeds because of his love for a woman, in this case Omphale, and to live with her as her slave. So the historian Euphorus²⁰ told the tale, and succeeding poets and preachers²¹ do not fail to make the most of the situation. The comic poets use the story to illustrate the wife-ruled husband (Terence, *Eunuch.*, 1027 sq.; cf. Luc., *Dial. Deor.*, 13, 2), Seneca, to illustrate the power of love (cf. *Herc. Oet.*, 374 sq.) :

Hospes Timoli lydiam fovit nurum
Et amore captus ad leves sedit colos, etc.,

especially the chorus on this theme in *Phaedra*, 280 sq.; vv. 322–329 deal with Hercules who

posuit . . .
. . . minax vasti spoliū leonis
Passus aptari digitis zmaragdos
Et dari legem rudibus capillis.

¹⁸ Cf. *Schol. ad Hom.*, II, 19, 326; Eustath., *ad Il.*, p. 1187, 15; Philostr., *Her.*, 20, 5, who follows this version, is careful to remove all reference to his hero's "mollities."

¹⁹ Cf. Wilomowitz-Moellendorff, *Herakles*², pp. 71 sq.

²⁰ In Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, i, p. 235.

²¹ There is a bitter arraignment of Achilles and Hercules for their effeminacy in Tertullian, *de Pallio*, ch. iv.

Fulgentius, *Mith.*, II, 2, draws the same moral from this tale as he drew from the tale of Achilles, namely, "quod libido quamvis etiam invictam possit superare virtutem." Finally we must not overlook the fact that in Ovid we have a letter from Deianira to Hercules (*Her.*, IX) in which the indignant wife bitterly upbraids her lord as one

Quem non mille ferae, quem non Stheneleius hostis,
Non potuit Iuno vincere *vincit Amor*

(25 sq.; compare Guido's words of Achilles, quoted above), contrasts his deeds of glory with his present state of shame, in which, a "mollis vir" (72), he sits clad in oriental finery spinning wool for his beauteous lady (77).

It is worthy of note that in this story of Ovid, as in the *Erec*, it is gossip (Fama, cf. vv. 3, 73, 119) which makes the woman speak and upbraid her husband, and it is this same gossip, it should be remembered, that brings about the same result in the Aeneas-Dido story as told by Vergil; cf. *Aen.*, IV, 298. For in this story, the situation is, in spite of Professor Nitze's flat denial (p. 458, n.), that of the *Erec*. Aeneas, like Erec, gives up all knightly endeavor, is false to his ideal, because of his love for a woman; like Erec he finds his only pleasure in the company of his beloved, and gossip speaks the same truths concerning him that it speaks of Erec; cf. *Aen.*, IV, 191 sq. with *Erec*, 2434 sq. It is unnecessary to assume that the Aeneas-Dido episode was the direct source of the Erec-Enide story, although it is not improbable; that Chrétien, however, was familiar with it is clear from his reference to it in his *Erec*, 5339 sq.,²² but he must have been familiar also with the Achilles-Polyxena story as related by Benoit, with Ovid certainly if not with Statius and Seneca, and with the numerous references in clerical and secular writings to the theme that love for a maiden may overthrow the strongest man, and make a sluggard of the bravest knight.

It may not have been due to chance, therefore, that Chrétien, after he has described the prowess of Erec at the tournament held in connection with his wedding with Enide, just before he sets out to his home, where he falls a prey to sloth because of his love, should

²² Cf. the references given by Professor Nitze, p. 458 and notes.

compare him to three heroes of the past who suffered from woman's wiles, Solomon, Samson, Alexander; vv. 2266 sq.:

Il sanbloit Assalon de face,
Et de la langue Salemon,
Et de fierte sanbloit Sanson,
Et de doner et de despandre
Fu parauz le roi Alixandre.

I realize, of course, that these comparisons were proverbial, but the choice was not inevitable²³ and the very position of the simile, coming as it does just before the hero's fall, is evidence, it seems to me, that Chrétien chose these three heroes and not others, and put the simile where it is rather than make it a part of his description of Erec, vv. 82 sq., because the experience of these three with love was similar to his hero's experience and because Erec, even though combining in his person the wisdom, the strength, the glory of them all, was none the less to become a sluggard through love.

This interpretation, which makes of Chrétien's poem a logical, consistent whole, renders unnecessary the a priori assumption, which, it seems to me, is entirely unwarranted by the facts, that the Celtic fairy-mistress story had, by Chrétien's time, become so entirely dissociated from its environment, so completely rationalized, as to produce a story in which not a trace of the imperious *fée* remains. If, indeed, there had survived on French soil no other stories except those of the type of the Erec-Enide episode, I doubt very much whether the Celtic fairy-mistress story would ever have been suggested as a source. The latter type of story, moreover, fails utterly to account for Erec's harsh treatment of his wife, which is fundamentally opposed to the fairy-mistress idea. Erec's behavior is, on the other hand, entirely in harmony with the theme of the lover's sloth here postulated, for, with the introduction of a moral idea, the awakening of the hero to his fault, only one of two solutions was artistically possible; either the hero had to leave the lady, as in the Aeneas-Dido story, as told by Vergil, or, as in Chrétien's Erec, he had to prove by deeds that his knightly honor was

²³ Other heroes are also proverbial; thus, in *Flamenca*, 1579 sq., we find Ulysses the type of wisdom, Hector of bravery, Paris of beauty.

not sacrificed to his self-centered love.²⁴ Hence results the value of the episode dealing with the life of Erec and Enide in the castle of Penevric, which, as I have noted, is a replica of their life in Erec's own home, and of the Joie de la Cour; taken together these furnish concrete evidence that the moral awakening of the hero is a real awakening, that his love, although as great as before, no longer brings sloth, but acts as an incentive to high endeavor and makes him willing to face deadly peril for the sake of knightly glory.

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²⁴ An interesting parallel to the husband's sloth and his proof of his wife is furnished by a Spanish tale in *El Conde Lucanor*, cap. v, pp. 27 sq., in the edition of Keller, Stuttgart, 1839. The setting is, of course, entirely different; cf. Rockwood, *ROM. REV.*, vii, 1916, pp. 235 sq., and note his references for examples of the testing of a wife. I have refrained from citing the Rinaldo-Armida episode as an example of the knight's sloth from love since, although it is conceded to have been derived from the Ulysses-Calypso story, it may have been influenced by French versions of the fairy-mistress story.

THE MOTIF OF THE VACANT STAKE IN FOLKLORE AND ROMANCE¹

THE human heads displayed on the battlements of the castle of medieval romance, or impaled on stakes surrounding the house of an enchantress or ogre in *märchen*, give the decisive touch to the grim reputation of the occupant. This descriptive detail has been cited from time to time as evidence for the place of origin, in a particular land or under distinctive circumstances, of the story containing it; but, except from the point of view of the anthropologist, no one has commented on its wide distribution. In the general form—that in which there is no mention of a vacant place for the reception of an additional head—the motif is practically universal, and consequently can not be employed as evidence for the place or time of origin of a given episode. I shall, however, point out certain striking limitations of the distribution of a *special* form of the motif—that in which one or more spaces, corresponding in number to the adventurers in the tale, are declared to be vacant.

For the narrators of other days this grisly row of heads was as a matter of fact something only too familiar; to-day it is a feature fantastic rather than realistic. But where did its use in story originate? The ultimate origin and distribution of the rite or custom of decapitation lie too far afield to be of any help in answering this question.² The immediate origin is to be sought, it is clear, in the well-attested practise of spitting the head of an enemy or of a criminal on a stake in public view. (The end to be gained by this procedure need not now concern us.) Every locality where this custom was familiar or was reflected in widespread tales has been proposed as the place of ultimate origin. The champions of any given theory have not usually troubled themselves about other possibilities. The

¹ I am indebted to Professors G. L. Kittredge and F. N. Robinson for valuable suggestions and references.

² Abundant references are to be found in A. Reinach, *Les Têtes Coupées et les Trophées en Gaule*, *Revue celtique*, XXXIV, 38 ff., 253 ff. (cited hereafter as Reinach); see also Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, 147-194.

first suggestion—and the most popular and widely accepted ever since—assigns the origin of the motif to those classical and Oriental tales in which a wooer unsuccessful in guessing a riddle forfeits his head.³ Further, those Latin and Greek stories of suitors decapitated for failure in athletic feats have been adduced.⁴ The possibility of origin in Oriental, especially Moslem, custom and story has been only hesitatingly advanced as a general postulate, although the editors of the *Deutsches Heldenbuch* are quite certain of its application to the instances in *Ortnit*.⁵ The case for Celtic lands has been presented with a generous array of evidence by Professors Schofield and A. C. L. Brown.⁶ And lastly the editors of the *Anmerkungen*

³ Especially important are *Apollonius* and the Oriental *Turandot*, cf. Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, IV, 52; Tardel, *Untersuchungen zu den Spielmannsepen*, Rostock Diss., Schwerin (1894), 44 f. H. Schneider (*Die Gedichte und die Saga von Wolfdietrich*, 268) among others accepts this explanation of the origin. For the distribution of tales of this type see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, V, 191–193; Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, I, 188–202 (No. 22); Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 417; Hammer, *Rosenöl*, Stuttgart (1813), II, 287 ff. (No. 156).

⁴ Particularly the story of Oenomaus, cf. Reinach, 40, n. 1, 45, n. 4 and especially 47, n. 5; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*,² II, 385; F. Ritschl, *Opuscula philologica*, I, 809; *Folk-Lore*, XV, 377, 380. On the story of Marpessa, which is similar in this regard, see Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien*, I, 354.

The *oscilla* (masks hung on trees to promote fertility; possibly a survival of human sacrifice) have also been brought into the discussion. On them see *Folk-Lore*, IV, 6; VIII, 75; XXI, 142, 147; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,⁴ 63; Reinach, 277, n. 3; W. Henderson, *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, 157 note; Aubrey, *Remains of Gentilisme* (Folk-lore Soc. ed.), 184; Gervaise of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* (ed. Liebrecht), 86 note*.

⁵ Amelung and Jänicke, III, p. xxix (remarks on *Ortnit*, str. 19, 375). For instances which show Oriental influence (other than *Turandot*) see *Siete Infantes de Lara* (G. Paris, *Poèmes et légendes*, 237); Swan, *Select Tales from the Gesta Romanorum*, *Queen Semiramis*, 212; Spitta Bey, *Contes arabes modernes*, 116; R. F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, ch. VIII, etc. In Spitta Bey the number of heads is "forty less one," but this does not imply that there was a vacant place. Thirty-nine is a "typical" number which is especially frequent in this collection, cf. W. F. Kirby in R. F. Burton, *Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, XVII (*Supplemental Nights*, V), 373.

⁶ Schofield, (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, IV, 175 f. (with the reservation that the motif is not exclusively Celtic); Brown, *ibid.*, VIII, 137 note. Further instances are: Stokes, *The Violent Deaths of Goll and Garb in Revue Celtique*, XIV, 429, § 49; *The Death of Muirchetach mac Erca*, *ibid.*, XXIII, 415, § 27; *The Battle of Allan*, *ibid.*, XXIV, 61, § 20; J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*,² I, 346; Seumas MacManus, *In Chimney Corners*, 44; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 144 (Windisch, *Irische Texte*, *Accallam na Senorach*, IV, 1, 288); K. Meyer, *Battle*

zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen suggest the possibility that the motif is due in some cases to Germanic practises.⁷ It should be abundantly evident that the motif can not be used to prove that a given story originated in a particular country or under particular influences.⁸

In what thus far has been said the special form of the motif (a place or places for the reception of heads are said to be vacant) has been omitted. This form, the motif of the vacant stake, goes a step beyond those descriptions in which the number of skulls is of no particular consequence and in which there are no expressly mentioned vacancies. It shows artistic forethought in preparing a climax. We do not know what to fear should the stakes receive their complement of heads. The situation is comparable to those tales in which only heroes fulfilling certain conditions are qualified to break the spell and all but the last of which heroes have tried and failed.⁹ In both cases there is a deliberate adapting of the material to a clearly foreseen purpose.

of Venry, 79; Rhys and D. B. Jones, *Welsh People*, 276; *Scottish Historical Review*, IV, 3. The passage in Crowe, *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Soc. of Ireland*, 1871, 371 (the oldest instance) is more conveniently accessible in Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XXX, 253 or Thurneysen, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, IX, 196.

⁷ Bolte and Polivka, II, 275 (No. 89). See also Baesecke, *Der Münchner Oswald (Germanistische Abhandlungen, XXVIII, 263)*, and C. S. Burne, *Shropshire Folklore*, 241, 423 f.; *Qrvar Qddssaga in Rafn, Fornaldar Sögur*, II, 285.

One recalls also the *Neidstange* (a head displayed on a stake to show hostility), on which see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,⁴ 38, 550, III, 190; Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen*, I, 127; W. Henderson, *op. cit.*, 29 f.; E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 115, and *Mythologie der Germanen*, 47, 147, 476; K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, I, 224; *Mitteilungen des nordböhmisches Exkursionsklubs*, XXIV, 86.

The carving of heads on gables (in lieu of foundation-sacrifice?) may also be compared, see Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 291; *Folk-Lore*, XI, 322, 437; *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XX, 72. For references on head-taking among Germanic peoples see Uhland, *Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder*, IV (*Anmerkungen*), 32, n. 63.

⁸ Further instances are collected by R. Köhler, in *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 410; add to them the following: *Avowing of Arthur*, str. 17; W. Grimm, *Altidänische Heldenlieder*, 110; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 83; *Child Maurice*, B, str. 14; Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, 144-158; *Slavia*, I, 3, 23 (cited in Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, I, 377, No. 43); *Anthropology and the Classics* (ed. R. R. Marett), 83; *Notes and Queries*, 8th ser., v, 33; Herodotus, IV, 103, etc.

⁹ E. g., *Perlesvaus*, see Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 54 f. Professor John L. Lowes suggests comparison with the Siege Perilous of Arthurian romance.

The instances of the motif of the vacant stake may for convenience be divided at first into two groups, Celtic and non-Celtic. The oldest example on Celtic soil goes back only to the late Middle Ages.¹⁰ The oldest instances are those in the French and German Arthurian romances.¹¹ The motif also occurs in the *Wolfdietrich* epics in an episode whose nearest parallel and probable source is in the German Arthurian epic of *Lanzelet*.¹² The examples in modern Celtic folklore, especially in Irish *märchen*, are, comparatively speaking, very numerous and are very varied in details.¹³ The motif is

¹⁰ *The Adventures of Art, Son of Conn* (ed. R. I. Best), *Ériu*, III, 166, § 20 (justice is done by placing the lady's head on the vacant stake, p. 171, § 27).

¹¹ Most important is the much-discussed passage in *Erec* (Welsh, Loth, *Les Mabinogion*,² II, 182; Chretien de Troyes, vv. 5780 ff.) on which see Paris, *Romania*, XX, 155; Philipot, *ibid.*, XXV, 260; R. Edens, *Erec-Geraint*, Diss., Rostock, 1910, 128. In the Old French the vacant stake is said (v. 5812) to be due to magic, an explanation which ruins the effectiveness of the motif. The Welsh has *two* vacant stakes, which, according to Philipot, can not be original. It is clear that neither the French nor the Welsh shows the primitive form of the motif. The *Prose Erec* (Foerster, *Erec und Enide*, Halle, 1890, 288) reads: "Il trouva vng arbre chargie de testes de cheualiers, ouquel pendoit un cor;" this misses the point entirely.

See further: *La Mule sanz Frain*, v. 435 (here the motif is "borrowed scenery," cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 246) and the MHG. translation in Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crône*, v. 12, 952 (the magician's head is put on the vacant stake, vv. 13, 384 ff.); *Livre d'Artus*, summarised by Freymond, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XVII, 46, § 68 and 65, § 111 (the remark that a new stake is set up so that one may always be vacant is a stupid misapprehension of the nature of the motif).

¹² In the B text (ed. Amelung and Jänicke, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, III, 256, str. 595) the motif has the usual form; in the K text (*ibid.*, III, 155, str. 265) there is no mention of a vacant stake; in the printed *Heldenbuch* (ed. A. von Keller, 361) which is a derivative of B, there is something similar to the sophistication of the *Livre d'Artus*, viz., the enchanter is surprised to see the new vacant pinnacle. The clumsiness with which the motif is handled is instructive and significant.

On the origin of the episode see H. Schneider, *Die Gedichte und die Saga von Wolfdietrich*, 261, 281, 318, 326; he compares *Lanzelet*, vv. 1114 ff. and *Gaufrey*, vv. 3574 ff. Dr. Arthur G. Brodeur calls my attention to the similarity of certain passages in the *Arabian Nights* (trans. G. Weil, Stuttgart, 1838, 65th Night, I, 253; trans. R. F. Burton, 508th Night, V, 344 f. and 675-676th Night, VII, 82-84), which however do not have the heads on stakes at all.

¹³ Unless otherwise specified the number of *spikes* is not given and only *one* is vacant. The examples are: MacInnes and Nutt, *Hero Tales*, Argyllshire Series, II, 79, *A King of Albainn* (2 vacant); Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, I, 312, *The History of the Cearbharnach*; *ibid.*, III, 202, No. 66, *The Story of Conall Gulban*; *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, I, 488, *The*

familiar to the Irish story-teller in combination with a number of tales—a point whose significance will appear later. A very curious form of the motif appears in an untranslated Irish tale entitled the *Three Ravens*.¹⁴ The successful adventurer (a leech) would in the event of his failure have supplied the hundredth head and therewith the cap to the pile in the court-yard. Heaps of heads or skulls are common enough in Ireland and elsewhere¹⁵ but this adaptation corresponding to the vacant stake is unique; the *märchen* is known in Scotland with the ordinary form of the motif.¹⁶

The non-Celtic examples of the motif of the vacant stake are fairly abundant. They fall into two classes: those in variants of *Das Meerhäschen* (Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 191) and scattering, unrelated instances. Of these two groups the first is the more important.¹⁷ In that *märchen* the penalty of decapitation is attached to failure in concealing oneself from the sharp eyes of the witch, the sought-for bride, or the enchanter. The heads of

Shining Sword and the Knowledge of the Cause of the One Story about Woman; Curtin, *Myths, The Son of the King of Erin*, 37 (700 spikes); *ibid.*, 114, *The Shee an Gannon and the Gruagach Gaire* (12 iron spikes); *ibid.*, 193, *Shaking Head* (300 stakes; see also variants in Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales*, 158 f. (1 vacant tree in wood) and *Celtic Magazine*, XIII, 25 (5 poles)); Curtin, *Hero Tales*, 66, *Saudan Og and Young Conal* (3 poles); *ibid.*, 381, *Blaiman, Son of Apple* ("Few were the spikes without heads on them"); J. G. Campbell, *The Fians*, Argyllshire Series, IV, 261 (20 score poles, 3 vacant); Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, I, 28 (365 hooks in a Forbidden Chamber; variant in Campbell, *Popular Tales*, I, 51 (cave and 100 stakes); the variant in *Indian Antiquary*, VIII, 288 lacks the motif).

¹⁴ Patrick O'Leary, *Leabhairinni*, No. 13, *Na Tri Preachain*, Dublin, 1908.

¹⁵ I have noted: Ward-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, I, 328; (Esquimaux) K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, 140; (Torres Straits) *Folk-Lore*, I, 57; Pedroso, *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, 104; (other members without explicit mention of heads) Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, dist. II, ch. xi (ed. Wright, p. 79) and *Κρυπτάδια*, III, 375.

¹⁶ Campbell, *Popular Tales*, I, 312.

¹⁷ Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, No. 38; A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, No. 17 (a helpful horse is substituted for the three animals); L. Saineanu, *Basmele Romane*, 634; Wuk Karadshitch, *Volksmärchen der Serben*, No. 4, p. 35; W. H. Jones and L. L. Kropf, *Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, 253. Celtic instances (Carleton, *Traits*, I, 28 and Campbell, *Popular Tales*, I, 51) have been cited, n. 13.

For a conspectus of the variants of this *märchen* see Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, II, 21–29 (No. 62); R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 161–175; Rittershaus, *Die neusländischen Volksmärchen*, 42 ff.

the unsuccessful suitors are displayed to terrify other adventurers; and at the time of the hero's coming but one place remains vacant. He is aided by three grateful animals, which, after two failures, hide him in the shape of a louse under the hair of the searcher. In three tales the procedure is reversed, *viz.*, the hero must find the mares of Baba Yaga, and in this task he has the same three helpers.¹⁸ A Rumanian tale in which the suitor must tell where the girl has been also belongs to this type.¹⁹ The motif of the vacant stake in the Balkan (Serbian and Rumanian) tales is characterized by an ingenious and terrifying detail—the vacant stake cries aloud for its head.

In a number of cases the motif has been borrowed, although we can not always be certain of the source. Thus in a Cossack tale²⁰ the wooer, who fails in three tasks (sifting corn, finding a ring lost in the sea, and bending a bow), loses his head. The successful adventurer has twenty comrades, and at the moment of their arrival "twenty huge pillars in front of the gate" are still vacant. Here the motif is clumsily employed, for the coincidence in a score of vacancies strains our credulity. The form with twenty empty places could not have developed unless the ordinary type with a single one had been familiar.²¹ Consequently this instance only shows that the motif was well-known, and gives no indication of its origin or original associations. The appearance of the motif in a Russian *Beauty and the Beast* tale seems also to point in the same direction.²²

The description of Pohjola in the *Kalevala* contains mention of a vacant stake.²³ The conception underlying this portion of the epic and a number of details, other than the one that interests us, have been shown to be Swedish in origin,²⁴ but I can not trace them

¹⁸ Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, London, 1873, 93; Brueyre, *Contes populaires de la Russie*, Maria Morewna, 97; (Rumanian) Saineanu, *op. cit.*, 462 (begins with the Water of Life). In the Russian tales the helpful animals are a bird, a lioness and a bee; the bee drives the mares from their concealment in the sea.

¹⁹ Saineanu, *op. cit.*, 778.

²⁰ Bain, *Cossack Fairy Tales*, 268.

²¹ Philipot has used this argument to prove that the *two* vacancies in the Welsh *Erec* are unoriginal, see n. 11.

²² Schiefner, *Orient und Occident*, II, 539-541; cf. Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, II, 239 (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 88).

²³ *Kalevala*, trans. Schiefner, Rune 26, vv. 315-322 (trans. Kirby, II, 9).

²⁴ Billson, *Folk-Lore*, VI, 335-337.

further. An Indonesian instance need cause us little concern.²⁵ The *märchen* in question does not conform to any of the types we have discussed. However, the culture of the island where this tale was collected has been subject to European influence for forty years.²⁶ Until the contrary can be shown, this instance must remain under the strong suspicion of European origin. In certain Serbian epics it has been shown that the motif is a borrowing from the *Wolfdietrich* epics, with some admixture of historical tradition in the choice of numbers.²⁷ The passage in Ipirescū's collection shows only the familiarity of the narrator with the motif as a commonplace.²⁸ He uses it to increase the horror as to the old woman, and no reason is given for the presence of heads on stakes about her hut, nor are tasks to be accomplished hinted at. Indeed the narrator speaks only as an afterthought of this stake crying for its head.

In a summary of an Oriental version of the *Robbery of the King's Treasury* the following passage occurs:

The first thief went directly to the place of execution, where he saw three robbers impaled upon stakes, and a fourth stake vacant close by. . . . The thief who had followed . . . climbed up the vacant stake and seated himself upon it.²⁹

Here is a vacant stake to be sure, but not of the sort for which we are looking. In this story the empty place affords the narrator a chance for a bit of bravado, but there is no hint of a climactic force in its use. Execution by impalement is Oriental,³⁰ and nothing similar to the vacant stake occurs in the variants of this widespread tale, so far as they are accessible to me.³¹

²⁵ Bezemer, *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, 251.

²⁶ Bezemer (p. 230) says: "Die Sprache der genannten Inseln . . . verdankt dieser Missionsarbeit ihre litterarische Blüte und Entwicklung."

²⁷ Simonovič, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXXVI, 73-78.

²⁸ *Legende saū Basmele Romanilorū*, Bucharest (1882), 260.

²⁹ Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 154; the original (J. Scott, *Bahar i Danush*) has been inaccessible to the present writer.

³⁰ Von Mansberg, *Die antike Hinrichtung am Pfahl oder Kreuz*, in *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, 4te Folge, VII, 52-81; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*,² I; *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XI, 121 ff.; *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (1905), 148, refers to an article by S. Stiassny.

³¹ References are collected in Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 204; K. Campbell, *The Seven Sages of Rome*, lxxxv note, lxxvii and following; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 41-47 (No. 189).

The evidence which has been presented justifies the following conclusions. The motif of the vacant stake does not occur in tales in which a wife is won by the answering of riddles (Apollonius), or by athletic feats (Oenomaus), or in certain other types of story which occasionally contain decapitation as a penalty. Consequently the special form of the motif did not originate in those tales. Except in Celtic and Slavic material the vacant stake is not employed with any skill. Only the Balkan instances show an exploitation of the possibilities of the motif comparable to the conditions of its utilization in Ireland. The vacant stake calling for its head is an invention worthy of the original conceiver. But these Balkan variants (except the demonstrated borrowings) belong to the *Meerhäschen* cycle; and that, in combination with the motif, is found also in Ireland. The very remarkable variety in the accompanying details in the Celtic tales (heads exposed on stakes or on poles, spikes, or trees in a wood, and in combination with the Forbidden Chamber) speaks for freedom and familiarity with the motif in its special form. In this connection the pile of skulls which, in the event of the leech's failure, would have been capped by his head, is especially remarkable. That story-teller understood the motif. The vacant stake enjoyed in Ireland a singular popularity and an appreciation of its purport and effectiveness which are in striking contrast to the compromise in the French *Erec*, which retains some of the weird mystery by introducing magic at the cost of the climactic effect, and to the stupid sophistications of the *Prose Erec*, the *Livre d'Artus* and the printed *Heldenbuch*, which miss the point entirely. The restriction of the motif in the Middle Ages to Arthurian material—the probable source of the *Wolfdietrich* episode is the *Lanzelet*—is singular. Heads on stakes appear in medieval tales of the most varied provenance. Yet the vacant stake appears only in Arthurian romances which have Celtic connections of some sort, and seven centuries later its greatest popularity is still Celtic.

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FINGEN'S NIGHT-WATCH

AIRNE FINGEIN

FINGEN, a petty king in pre-Christian Ireland, passed the watches of Hallowe'en night in conversation with a fairy princess. From the stores of her supernatural knowledge she entertained the heathen warrior by telling him tale after tale of the wonders that were to happen in Ireland. A more picturesque framework for a series of stories is hard to imagine.

Students of other literatures will inquire what models the unknown Irish author had for the literary form into which he has thrown his stories. Is the framework of the *Airne Fingein* an independent Irish invention comparable to those framing devices which have enjoyed great vogue in other literatures of western Europe? Or is the use of the device a sign of the influence on Irish of other literatures in which we all know such familiar frameworks as the *Seven Sages of Rome*, the *Canterbury Tales*, the *Decameron*, and the *Arabian Nights*?

Students of comparative storiology will be interested in some at least of the wonders related to Fingen by the fairy lady. Most important of these is the story of the palisade on Rath Aildinne, which fell down every night to the disappointment of its builders (§ 10). This is a valuable parallel to the celebrated episode of Vortigern's tower in the Latin document called *Nennius* (ed. Mommsen, §§ 40-42), which is retold with alterations by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, bk. VI, chaps. 17-19. The stones brought for the erection of Vortigern's citadel disappeared each night, and Vortigern was warned by his wise-men that his tower could never be built until the blood of a child who had no father should be shed. (Merlin) Ambrosius, supposed to be the son of a demon, was brought to be sacrificed. He succeeded in escaping this ordeal by correctly informing Vortigern that a pool of water in which were two dragons lay beneath the site which he had chosen for his tower; and then directed Vortigern to build elsewhere. No one seems heretofore to have pointed out that this episode probably

originated in some early attempt—frustrated by the elfin hill-dwellers—to build upon a fairy mound.

The incident in the *Airne Fingein* must be independent of Nennius and must go back at least to the ninth century. The especially valuable characteristic of this incident is that it is free from the notions of foundation-sacrifice and of concealed dragons¹ which are equally lacking, for the most part, from the folk-belief of the Irish peasants of modern days. It seems to show that the foundation-sacrifice and the concealed dragons are additions to popular tradition which were made by the sophisticated author of Nennius. This story of the palisade on Rath Aildinne is a connecting link between the highly literary incident in Nennius and the ancient folk-belief which is preserved in recently collected tales. Unfortunately it is the mere hint of a story, and lacks two points which are really needed to clinch the argument. A fuller form of the incident would doubtless show that Rath Aildinne was a fairy mound, and that the palisade was at length successfully built as the result of some compact with the elfin hill-dwellers.²

A good parallel is the folk-tale called "The Knights of Kerry and Rahonain Castle," in Curtin's *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World*, pp. 29 f. (1895):

The Knights of Kerry wished to build a castle at a place above Ventry. "When the men began to work a voice came up through the earth telling them to go home. They put their spades on their shoulders and walked away." This happened again the second day. On the third day the chief knight was there. "The voice came

¹ On the foundation-sacrifice idea see Todd, *Irish Nennius*, *Irish Arch. Soc.*, 1848, add. notes, p. xxiv. On the dragons compare a Roscommon story in Douglas Hyde, *Legends of Saints and Sinners*, p. 262, about a great worm in the earth that threw down a castle. Demons or fairies sometimes interfere with the building of Christian churches according to stories current in the British Isles; George S. Tyack, *Lore and Legend of the English Church*, p. 18 f., 1899; Gomme, *The Antiquary*, III, 8 (January, 1881). On stories in which a monster causes trouble unless a sacrifice of human beings is made see Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, III, chaps. xvi-xviii. See further Miss Paton, *Rad. Coll. Monographs*, XV, 15, note 1.

² Occasionally, however, in popular tales fairy interference ultimately ceases. Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries*, p. 67, has a story from Upper Rosses Point, County Sligo, about a wall that was thrown down by fairies twice, but "the third time that the wall was built it stood."

through the earth and spoke to the knight, telling him, if he wished to keep a fair name, to go away and leave the good people in peace.

'Where am I to build my castle?' asked the knight.

'Beyond there at Rahonain,' said the voice.³

So they built at Rahonain."

The custom in Celtic lands of leaving fairy mounds uncultivated is well known. Hunt, *Folk-Tales of Breffny*, pp. 117-120 (1912), prints a story called "The Tillage of the Fort," in which a peasant spaded up a fairy "fort" or hill in order to plant potatoes. In revenge the fairies destroyed the man's ass and two cows.⁴

The converse of this would be the voluntary molestation of a fairy hill in order to extort a favor from the fairies. This situation is exemplified both in ancient and in recently collected tales. According to LL., 163^a40 (a MS. of 1150),⁵ King Eochaid destroyed the fairy mound of Brí Léith and recovered his wife Etáin, who had been carried off by the fairy prince Midir. Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the West-Highlands*, II, 47 (1890), tells of a man who by threatening the destruction of a fairy hill regained the use of his hand that had been smitten by the fairies. The danger of disturbing a fairy hill is therefore a perfectly clear article of Irish and Scotch folk-belief, of which the incident in *Airne Fingein* is one of the oldest known examples.

Folk-lorists will find further material for study in the account, in § 5, of the three chief treasures, or talismans, of Ireland. The triad form which is well known in Welsh, and was current also in Ireland, appears in §§ 5 and 8, and in certain items in §§ 10 and 11. Other points of interest are: sepulchres that meet (§ 7); wood turned to iron and stone (§ 8); fairy folk that destroy the crops (§ 9); birds singing elfin music (§ 11); and the marvelous bursting forth of rivers and lakes (§§ 2, 8, 10).

Thoughtful readers will surmise that some at least of the wonders related by the fairy lady were known to the Irish author as orally transmitted stories of which he has chosen to give only brief written summaries or mnemonic notes. Alfred Nutt has said that

³ Vortigern in *Nennius* was told to build elsewhere.

⁴ See further Curtin, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 159; Wentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 38; Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of Ir.*, I, 256-258. E. Andrews, *Ulster Folklore*, p. 97; and below, p. 42.

⁵ See Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*, R. I. A., *Todd Lect. Ser.*, IX, pt. 2, p. 4 (1906). See also *Revue Celtique*, XV, 290-291.

the Welsh *Kulhwch and Olwen* resembles the literary form which is called in French by the expressive name *romans à tiroirs*. He has added that the "first MS. (of *Kulhwch and Olwen*) may have been, as are so many still existing Irish MSS., a mere skeleton list of the chief incidents which the story-teller's recitation was expected to clothe with flesh."⁶ *Kulhwch and Olwen* itself furnishes evidence that some of the brief notices of the *mirabilia* existed also as longer tales. The main incident of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, the boar hunt, occurs in rude outline in the *mirabilia* attached to *Nennius* (ed. Mommsen, § 76). It is natural to suppose that other *mirabilia* in the Latin of *Nennius*, and perhaps those in Irish as well, existed also in extended story form.

The literary form of the *Airne Fingein* resembles on the one hand that of frame-work tales like the *Acallamh na Senórach*, and on the other hand that of the various Irish triads, *mirabilia*, and collections of names, like the *Dindshenchas* and the *Cóir Anmann*, from which we have drawn illustrative parallels in our notes.⁷

The *Airne Fingein*, a translation of which is here printed for the first time, occurs in the vellum MS. Stowe D. 4. 2. (f^o. 46 a 1), in the library of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. The MS. was originally numbered XXXVI, and afterwards 992. We have used the text as printed in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, II, 1 f. (1908). The entry in d'Arbois, *Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 39 (1883), reads: "ARNE ou AIRNE FINGIN . . . XVI^e siècle (?) Stowe, no. XXXVI, f^o. 46-54; O'Connor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowen-*

⁶ Nutt's notes to Lady Guest's translation of the Welsh *Mabinogion*, edition 1902, p. 345.

⁷ The *Acallamh* has been edited by Stokes, *Irish Texts*, IV, and a translation of most of the Lismore version is given in O'Grady's *Silva Gad.*, II. The Irish triads have been edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, R. I. A., *Todd Lect. Ser.*, XIII. Irish *mirabilia* have been printed by Todd in his *Irish Nennius*, pp. 192-219. Other Irish *mirabilia* in Latin form appear in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Top. Hib.*, dist. II, ed. Dimock, *Rolls Ser.*, pp. 74-137; in the Latin *Nennius*, ed. Mommsen, § 76; and in a Latin poem from a twelfth century Paris MS., printed by Mommsen at the end of his edition of *Nennius*, pp. 219 f. The old Norse *Kongs Skuggsjo*, or *Speculum Regale*, containing cognate material, has been edited and translated by K. Meyer in *Folk-Lore*, V, and *Eriu*, IV. The *Dindshenchas* has been edited and translated by Stokes in *Folk-Lore*, III, IV, and *Rev. Celt.*, XV, XVI; the metrical *Dindshenchas* by E. Gwynn in R. I. A., *Todd Lect. Ser.*, VIII, IX, X; and the *Cóir Anmann* by Stokes in *Irish Texts*, III, 2 (1897).

sis, p. 281; Catalogue de vente de 1849, no. 992." Kuno Meyer thinks that this MS. dates from the late fourteenth century (*R. C.*, VI, 173).

Another copy of the *Airne Fingein*, in the fifteenth century Book of Fermoy, is briefly described by Todd, *R. I. A.*, *Irish MSS. Ser.*, I, 1, 9. A third copy, found in the fifteenth century Book of Lismore, f^o. 96-98, is described by Stokes, who gives several excerpts with translations, *Lismore Lives, Anecd. Oxon.*, p. xxix f.: cf. *R. C.*, XV, 456 n. These two MSS. are referred to, and section 9 is quoted, with a translation from the Fermoy copy, by Hennessy, *R. C.*, I, 41. O'Curry, *Man. & Cust.*, III, 201 f., quotes an excerpt from Joseph O'Longan's transcript of the Book of Lismore.

Linguistic peculiarities in the Stowe text indicate that the *Airne Fingein* was first written down during the Old Irish period. The tale is referred to in three MSS. of the so-called List B of the epic tales of Ireland, d'Arbois, *Catalogue*, pp. 32 f., 260, ascribed to the poet Erard mac Coise, who was chief poet of King Malachy II († 1022) and died in 1023. It is also cited in the section on the five chief roads of Ireland, in the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Rennes MS. of the *Dindshenchas*: "Aidci geine Cuind tra fritheana na roit sea, amail asbeir Airne Fingin," *R. C.*, XV, 455. Roderic O'Flaherty, writing in 1685, quotes a summary of a portion of the story as given in a poem by the late sixteenth-century bard, Lugaid O'Clery, who refers to the *Airne Fingein* as his source; *Ogygia*, trans. by James Hely, II, 207 (1793).

We are greatly indebted to Dr. Kuno Meyer for assistance in translating the more difficult passages, especially the verse; but for all errors we assume responsibility.

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AIRNE FINGEIN INSO

Fingen's Night-Watch Here

1. Once upon a time, when Fingen mac Luchta⁸ was in night-

⁸ The dialogue here described is said to have taken place on the birthnight of Conn of the Hundred Battles, who, according to the Four Masters, ascended

watch on Hallowe'en in Druim Finghin,⁹ there came a fairy woman a-visiting Fingen every Hallowe'en continually, so that she used to tell him whatever there was of marvels and of glories in Erin from one Hallowe'en to another. Rothniamh (Wheel-splendor)¹⁰ the daughter of Umall Urscothach (Fresh-flowery) from the elf-mound of Cliu¹¹ was (the name of) that woman. "How many wonders, O woman," said Fingen, "are there to-night which we do not know in Erin?" "Fifty wonders," said the woman. "Tell them to us," said Fingen. "There is a great wonder," said the woman: "to wit, a son who is born to-night in Tara to Feidlimed, son of Tuathal Techtmar, king of Erin. And that son will obtain Erin in one lot, and there shall spring from him three fifties of kings of all those who shall take the throne of Erin until (the time of) Oraineach (The Golden-faced-one) of Usnech,¹² and they shall all be kings, though they shall not have the same duration of life."

Then Fingen sang this quatrain:

Though this be a long night-watch
in which there might be the length of seven winter nights,
The men of Erin would not be sorrowful,
and would not sleep, during it.

the throne of Ireland, A. D. 123. See, however, O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, III, 201. The Book of Lismore, Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, p. xxix, adds: (Fingen) "was a brother of Tigernach Tétbillech mac Luchta from whom Mac Luchta's Fifth is called." Tigernach Tétbannach mac Luchtai is mentioned in the LU. version of Serglige Conculaind, *Irische Texte*, I, 212. Cf. O'Curry, *op. cit.*, II, 199.

⁹ Druim Finghin is a ridge extending from near Castle-Lyons in the county of Cork to the south side of the Bay of Dungarvan, in the county of Waterford, *Dindshenchas, Folk-Lore*, IV, 494; *Rev. Celt.*, XVI, 166.

¹⁰ The Book of Fermoy (quoted by Todd, *Irish MS. Series*, R. I. A., I, 1, 9) calls the fairy "Bacht." O'Curry, *M. and C.*, III, 201, says that she was from Sliabh na m-Ban or Sid Boidb (modern Slievenaman). To the entire incident compare the fairy man who used to tell to Fiachna mac Demain future events, *Sil. Gad.*, I, 393; II, 428.

¹¹ Sid Cliach, modern Knockany in county Limerick. See O'Curry as quoted by Todd, *Irish MS. Series*, I, 1, 9; Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, I, 262; Moore, *Journal of Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, III, 137-140 (1904). Knockany was named from the fairy Ane, daughter of Eogabul, a king of the Tuatha Dé Danann, or Fairy Folk. See the Battle of Mag Mucríme, ed. Stokes, *R. C.*, XIII, 434-437, and compare Macculloch, *Religion of the Anc. Celts*, p. 70.

¹² Usnech, now Usnagh Hill in West Meath, *R. C.*, XV, 297.

2. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said the woman. "To-night there bursts forth a splendid stream over the eastern plain of Erin on the track of the woman-warrior, the wife of the son of Nechtán;¹³ that is, from the place where Sidh Nechtain¹⁴ is (located) north-east to the billows (lit. 'mane') of the sea. A well," said she, "which is deeply hidden with the three cupbearers of Nechtán; to wit, Rod and Lazy and Pilot. The Woman-warrior she is who went from them after violating its (the well's) *geasa* (taboos), so that the well made a beautiful river and so that numerous are its many glories: both oak-woods, and plains, and bogs, and fords, and marshes, and river-mouths, and streams. It shall be a bountiful road and it shall be a rod of white-bronze across a plain of refined gold, for its name is the Boyne."

And Fingen uttered another quatrain:

Although my aspect be not brilliant,
and although the night-watch is long,
Even though it last for me to the end of a winter night,
it will not bring me into despondence.

3. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said he. "Not hard (to tell)," said the woman. "A tree indeed," said she, "which has been hidden in Erin from the time of the Flood, and it sheds three showers of fruit through the mist, so that the plain on which it stands is full of mast thrice yearly; and when the last acorn falls from it, then comes the blossom of the next acorns. And the waves of the flood saved it without destroying it, and the eye of man has

¹³ According to the prose *Dindshenchas*, Bóand, the wife of Nechtán, son of Labraid, was foolish enough to go withershins around a secret well on the green of her husband's fairy-mound, which only Nechtán and his three cupbearers, Flesc (Rod), Lám (Hand), and Luam (Pilot), were permitted to visit. As a result of her imprudence the water burst forth, injuring her physically, and then, following her in her flight to the seacoast, formed the river Boyne. For the Rennes version, see *R. C.*, XV, 315 f. Another section in the same MS. makes Bóand out to have been the wife of Nechtán, son of Nuada, *R. C.*, XV, 293. In the Bodleian MS., where the same story is told, the names of the cupbearers agree with those in our text (*Folk-Lore*, III, 500). See further Rhys, *Hib. Lect.*, 123, 556; Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, III, 27 f.; ZFCP., VIII, 516 f.

¹⁴ Sidh Nechtain is on Carbury Hill, county Kildare, at the foot of which the Boyne rises, *R. C.*, XV, 316; *Folk-Lore*, III, 500; Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s.v., *sid nechtain*.

not seen it until to-night. The Yew of Ross¹⁵ is the name of that tree," said she, "that is to say, (it is) a scion of the tree which is in Paradise. It is to-night, moreover, that it has been revealed to the men of Erin that it may be an eternal glory from beginning to end."

Then Fingen spoke this quatrain:

Not sorrowful is the watch
waiting for the tree which has been hidden since the flood;
Lasting will be its glory over Bray¹⁶
to the tribes over whom it will spread.

4. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said the woman. "God, the High King, granted to Findtan mac Bochrail¹⁷ that he should be a chief judge of wisdom in this world, and he has been mute from the hour that he heard the wave-roar of the flood against the side of Mt. Olivet, he himself being upon the brow of the wave in the south-west part of Erin.¹⁸ Moreover, he was asleep as long as the flood was upon the world, and he has been in silence from that time onward, and

¹⁵ *Eo Rossa*, R. C., XV, 420, 445; XVI, 278-279; Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, III, 149.

¹⁶ Brega, the name of a people and plain in Meath, R. C., XVI, 67.

¹⁷ Finntan was the grandson of Noah. Being refused admission to the ark, he came to Ireland with a small company of his relatives forty days before the flood, in order to escape that catastrophe. All but Finntan perished in the waters (*Folk-Lore*, IV, 477), or of an epidemic (R. C., XVI, 155). He, however, continued to live for several thousand years, and was thus enabled to preserve to posterity a large amount of legendary material regarding prehistoric conditions in Ireland. He appears as a prominent witness in a lawsuit which took place in the sixth century, and is said to have died in the seventh century after Christ. In the Rennes *Dindshenchas* he is called the son of Lamech, R. C., XV, 278. As lately as the middle of the nineteenth century he was regarded as a saint (O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, I, 4, n.; O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, I, 42 f.). For the story of Finntan, see Keating, *History*, *Irish Texts Soc.*, I, 143 f.; O'Curry, *M. and C.*, III, 59 f.; d'Arbois, *Cours*, II, 65; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, 1911, p. 50 f. A poem attributed to him is published in the *Ossianic Soc.*, V, 244 f. (1860); a weather-rule, in *Mélusine*, X, 113 f.; and a dialogue between him and an ancient hawk at Achill, in *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, I, 24 f. (1907) (cf. R. I. A., *Irish MS. Ser.*, I, 1, 6, 43). On other documents attributed to Finntan, see Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, p. xxv; d'Arbois, *Cours*, II, 75-83; O'Curry, *The Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 106 f. (1855); R. C., XVI, 163.

¹⁸ After the flood Finntan lived at Dun-Tulcha, somewhere near the head of Kenmare Bay, in southwest Kerry, O'Curry, *M. and C.*, III, 59-61.

to-night the power of speech has been unlocked for him, to tell the history of Erin; for that history has been in obscurity and in darkness until to-night. For he is the one just man that the flood left in Erin. Therefore to-night a glorious spirit of prophecy has been sent in the shape of a gentle youth and has alighted on his lips from a ray of the sun, until it has extended through the trench of his back (the lower part of the back of his head) so that there are seven good speeches of poetry that are upon his tongue to tell the histories and the synchronisms of Erin."

Thereupon he said:

Though it be a long night to me
from nine o'clock till morning,
It does not disturb me,
because of any one of these fair wonderful deeds.

5. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said the woman. "There have been completed to-night the three chief fabrics of Erin: to wit, the helmet of Brion¹⁹ from the elf-mounds of Cruachu²⁰ which Breó son of

¹⁹ To the triad of this section compare the triads of sections 8, 10, and 11. The Lismore MS., Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, p. xxx, reads somewhat differently: (Stokes's translation) "Three chief fabrics of Ireland were this night found and revealed, to wit, the headpiece of Briun, son of Smethra: it was the brazier of Oengus, son of Umor, that made it, even a helmet of the pure purple of the land of the Indians(?) with a ball of gold above it." The Echtra Nera, *R. C.*, X, 212 f., 226, mentions the "barr Briuin," "the crown of Briun": "That was the third wonderful gift in Erin, and the mantle of Loegaire in Armagh, and the shirt of Dunlaing in Leinster in Kildare." O'Curry, *M. and C.*, II, 252, tells of a *tathlum*, or sling-stone, made by "Briun, the son of Bethar, no mean warrior, who on the ocean's eastern border reigned."

In *Eriu*, IV, 68, Kuno Meyer has shown that the name Bríón (dissyllabic) was after the tenth century written Brian (monosyllabic). Hence Bríón should be read in LL. 187. c, 54: "Na tri dei Dana, tri maic Brigti banfhili i. Brian, et Iuchar, et Uar"; and in a similar passage in LL. 10. a, 30-31: "Donand . . . mathair in triir dedenaig i. Briain, et Iuchorba, et Iuchair." These three sons of Brigit are different manifestations of one being (Bríón?), d'Arbois, *Cours*, II, 145, 373. They were also called the children of Tuireann, *Cóir Anmann, Ir. Texte*, III, 2, 357. The *Cath Maige Tured*, *R. C.*, XII, 83, associates them with talismanic weapons. According to the Fate of the Children of Tuireann, the three made a voyage to Persia in Manannán's magic boat to procure talismans (*Atlantis*, IV, 163 f.).

²⁰ Cruachu, modern Rathcrogan, the name of a village and rath, the ancient seat of Ailill and Medb, north of the village of Roscommon, *Folk-Lore*, III, 477, 493, 509; IV, 58; *R. C.*, XV, 472; XIII, 451, n. 1; Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, III, 348 f., 541.

Smeathru, the smith of Aenghus son of Umhor made; that is, the battle-helmet of purple-crystal of the land of India (with) an apple of gold on top of it of the size of a man's head, and a hundred threads of variegated carbuncles and a hundred tresses (?) of very shining red gold and a hundred chains of white bronze adorning it. For a series of years it has been hidden from the Morrígu²¹ in the well of the elf-mound of Cruachu. It has, moreover, been hidden until to-night. And the chess-board of Crimthán Nia Náir,²² which he brought from the gathering of Find, on Crimthán's adventure (into fairyland) when he went one day north-eastward of everybody (i. e., of the rest of the world) from the elf-mound of Bodb²³ upon an adventure, so that it has been in Usnech until to-night. And the diadem of Laegaire mac Luchta White-hand,²⁴

²¹ On the Morrígu, see Miss Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, p. 11, and Macculloch, *Religion of the Anc. Celts*, p. 71 f.

²² The Lismore MS. reads somewhat differently (Stokes's translation, *Lismore Lives*, p. xxx): "The draught-board of Crimthann Nia Nar, which he brought out of Oenach Find, when he went with Nar the Blind-of-the-left-eye into Sid Buidb on an adventure so that he was under the secret places of the sea." O'Grady, *Sil. Gad.*, II, 495, 544, quotes from the Book of Ballymote, 250 a: "Crimthann Nianáir meaning 'Nar's champion': because Nár thúathcaéich out of the elf-mounds (a sidaib) was his wife. She it was that took him off on an adventure." A poem by Gilla in Chomded in LL. calls Crimthán's chess-board "the best treasure that Finn found," K. Meyer, *Fianaigecht*, R. I. A., *Todd Lecture Ser.*, XVI, 50 (1910). On Crimthán's treasures see further, *Cours*, II, 364; *The Four Masters*, A. D. 9; *Accalamh*, 3945; *Ir. Texte*, III, 332, 415; *R. C.*, XV, 332; XVI, 73; Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, III, 499 f. Since thúathcaéich is a regular epithet of Nár, Gwynn believed that our Stowe MS. is corrupt, and would substitute the words "with Nár, the Blind-of-the-left-eye," for our phrase, "one day northeastward of everybody." On "northeast" as a possible direction for the Otherworld, compare Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 12, ed. Plummer, I, 304. Bede, apparently following an Irish story, tells how Drycthelm reached the Christian Otherworld by journeying, "*Contra ortum solis solstitialem*."

According to the Boroma, in LL., St. Maedhóc once brought four presents to Bran Dub, king of Leinster: a flesh-fork that belonged to Finn, a cauldron that belonged to Laegaire, a sword and a shield which are thus described (in some verses, *Sil. Gad.*, I, 371, not there translated but translated by O'Curry, *M. and C.*, II, 338-339): "The sword of Crimthann who was not conquered, the shield of Enna which is all red with blood." O'Curry thought that this was Crimthann, son of Enna, but the whole incident looks like a Christianization of a pagan tale.

²³ Sid Boidb, also called Sid ar femin, Sliab na m-Ban, Sid ban find, modern Slievenaman, a hill in Tipperary, eight miles northeast of Clonmel. Compare *Atlantis*, III, 385-386; *R. C.*, XV, 453, 303; *Accalamh*, 2776.

²⁴ Laegaire mac Luchta Laimhfind. Compare the mantle of Loegaire mentioned in the *Echtra Ncra*, see note 19, above.

which Leand Linfiachlach²⁵ son of Bainblodha of the Bann made. The three daughters of Fandle mac Durath, from the elf-mound of Fairfield²⁶ found it to-night after its being hidden for a long time; to-wit, from the birth of Conchobar Red-eyebrow."

Then Fingen spoke this quatrain:

'Tis a long watch if it were not for you
a-talking to me so that it was wonderful.
I was a hero. I was a king. At it (?)
by the side of the full long stone.

6. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said the woman. "The five chief roads of Erin,"²⁷ said she. "They were not found until to-night, and neither horses nor chariots have travelled them. They are: the Track of Midhluachar²⁸ which Midhluachar mac Damairne, the son of the king of Srub Brain,²⁹ found

²⁵ Leand Linfiachlach. O'Grady, *Sil. Gad.*, II, 477, 523, quotes from B. B., 379 a: "Whence Loch Léin (modern Lakes of Killarney)? Lein linfiachlach mac Bain bolgaid meic Bannaig meic Glammaig meic Gomir, artificer of Sid Buidb, he it was that dwelt in the loch and wrought the burnished vessels of Flidias' daughter, Fann. Every night after leaving off work he used to hurl his *inneoin* or 'anvil' from him eastwards to Inneoin of the Decies, as far as the grave mound; three showers he used to make fly (from this anvil): one of water, one of fire, one of pure crimson gems (the same thing Nemannach too practised when in the north he hammered Conchobar mac Nessa's goblet), and hence Loch Léin is named." This story is also told in the Rennes *Dindshenchas*, R. C., XV, 451, and in the metrical *Dindshenchas* in LL. 154 b 35 f., Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, R. I. A., *Todd Lec. Ser.*, X, 260 f.

²⁶ Sidh Findachaid, which belonged to Lir, see the *Acallamh*, 422, *et al.* "To Lir mac Lughaidh," said O'Curry, *Atlantis*, III, 386, and identified Sidh Findachaid with Sliabh Fuaid near Newton Hamilton in Armagh.

²⁷ The five ancient highways leading to Tara are described in the Rennes *Dindshenchas*, R. C., XV, 454 f., and in the Book of Lecan, Petrie, *Trans. R. I. A.*, XVIII, 228 f. (1839). They are referred to in the Annals of the Four Masters, ad an. 123, the year of Conn's birth. O'Donovan suggests that they were really "finished by King Feidhlimidh the Lawgiver, on the birth-day of his son, Conn," *Four Masters*, I, 103, note. Cf. O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, lviii f. Efforts to locate the roads are made by Petrie and O'Donovan. Cf. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, James Hely's trans., II, 209 (1793); Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, III, 278 f., 527.

²⁸ On the location of this road, see G. E. Hamilton, *Jl. Royal Soc. of Ant. of Ir.*, XLIII (III, 6th Ser.), 1913 (1914), 310 ff.

²⁹ Srub Brain. Probably Shruve Brin, which is also called Stroove Brin, in the northeast extremity of Inishowen, county Donegal, R. C., XV, 450. There was also a Srub Brain in Kerry, R. C., XVI, 309. See O'Curry, *MS. Mat.*, p. 477, n. 15, and K. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 32, n. 2; Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, III, 256, 524.

in reaching Tara for the meeting of the Feast of Tara to-night; and the Track of Cualu which Fear Fi³⁰ (Man of Poison) mac Eoghabail (Yew Fork) found on reaching Tara to-night before the phantom hosts of fairy; and the Track of Asal which Asal mac Doir Domblais (Bad-Tasting) found on reaching Tara before the reavers of Meath; and the Track of Dal³¹ which Setna Sithderg (Ever Red) mac Dornbuidhe (Yellow Fist) found before the bandit host of Ormond as he was seeking the Feast of Tara this night to-night; and the Great Track (i. e., the Eskers of Riada³² to the dark . . . (?) . . .) which Noar mac Aenghusa Umaild found before the heroes of bravery of Irrais Domnand³³ in strife. So that they are the first who have reached Tara to-night, and these five roads did not appear in Erin until to-night."

And Fingen began a quatrain:

Although I am in long rest,
no long sadness seizes me;
No dislike of the black night seizes me
before the feast of the great host in Tara.

7. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said the woman. "Two complete sepulchres of Sliab Mis.³⁴ There were buried in them two sons of Mil of Spain; to-wit, Eber and Erimon³⁵ on the occasion of dividing Erin between them; one of them at the end of the mountain to the eastward and the other at the end of the mountain to the westward. And the Sons of Mil said that those two sepulchres would not meet in any manner until the kingship of Erin should reach one grip (i. e., be united under one head). It is they, moreover, who buried them; to-wit, his two druids, Uar and Eithiar their names. To-night

³⁰ Fear Fi, a supernatural personage who figures in the Battle of Mag Mucrim, an ancient Irish tale of fairy vengeance, *R. C.*, XIII, 439, 465.

³¹ A different story about this road is told in LL. 169 b, *Sil. Gad.*, II, 477, 524.

³² A range of gravel-hills extending across Ireland from Dublin to Clarin-bridge and Medraige, near the town of Galway, *R. C.*, XV, 456; XVI, 139.

³³ Erris, a barony in the northwest of county Mayo, *R. C.*, XV, 456.

³⁴ Sliab Mis, modern Slieve Mish in Kerry, east of Tralee and Miltown road, between Tralee and Killarney, *Folk-Lore*, III, 485; *R. C.*, XV, 445-446. O'Curry, *Irish MS. Mat.*, p. 479, quotes from LL., "Conroi's grave in Sleib Mis."

³⁵ Eber and Erimon. A different story of their sepulchre is told in the *Dindshenchas*, *Folk-Lore*, IV, 494; *R. C.*, XVI, 166.

those two graves have met so that they were (of) equal length side by side in the midst of the mountain, and in Tara shall be the single-grip of Erin till judgment."

And Fingen sang this quatrain:

Glory to those of noble clans with splendor,
(is) whatever of good you prophesy;
There has not been heard in Erin till now
(so much of) special glories in one night.

8. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said she. "Three wonderful lakes³⁶ have appeared in Erin to-night before the birth of Conn of the Hundred Battles, to wit: Loch nEchach; a four-branched holly tree which has been placed at the head of it for seven years has turned to stone in so far as it was in the earth, and the portion of it that was in the water has turned to iron, and that portion of it that was above the water has turned to wood.³⁷ Moreover, Loch Riach,"³⁸ said the woman; "it is in it that Caoer Abarbaeth (Silly Berry) from the elf-mound of Feadal Ambaid washed the mantle of Mac in Og³⁹ with a multitude of colors unknown (to the world), so that it is variously colored and so that it showed a variety of color upon it every hour, although the men of Erin should be looking at it at one time. Loch Lein, too," said she; "there poured a rain

³⁶ The bursting forth of these lakes at the birth of Conn is told in the Rennes *Dindshenchas*, R. C., XV, 445.

³⁷ Loch nEchach, modern Lough Neagh. This story is in the Irish *Mirabilia*, printed by Todd in his *Irish Nennius*, p. 195 (1848). BB. tells it as here. H. 3, 17, T. C. D., says that the wood in the earth was turned to iron and in the water to stone. The *Norse Speculum Regale*, ed. K. Meyer, *Eriu*, IV, 4; *Folk-Lore*, V, 303, tells the story as in H. 3, 17, with no mention of seven years. The story is in *Nennius*, § 76, but not in Giraldus Cambrensis; it is mentioned along with twelve other wonders in some verses in O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, ed. cit., II, 174-176.

³⁸ Loch Riach, modern Lough Rea, in county Galway, R. C., XVI, 273 f.; Gwynn, *Met. Dind.*, III, 325, 536.

³⁹ Oengus Mac in Og, one of the most famous supernatural beings in ancient Ireland. Cf. Macculloch, *Religion of the Anc. Celts*, p. 81. Doubtless his mantle was a sort of *Tarnkappe*, or cloak-of-darkness. In the Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne, ed. O'Duffy, p. 20, 1903; ed. O'Grady, *Ossianic Soc.*, III, 70, Oengus rescues Grainne in a marvelous manner "under the border of his mantle," *fa bheinn a bhruit*.

upon it to-night of the hail of the Land of Promise,⁴⁰ so that there have sprung many wonderful treasures from it, to wit: the jewels of Loch Lein.⁴¹ Although they (the lakes) were in Erin, they were not manifested until to-night throughout Erin."

Thereupon he said :

Though it be long until thou didst come, O woman,
there was found with thee something that made it short;
It is much that thou sayest of wonders
in Erin before the birth of Conn.

9. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said she. "Four men who escaped from the Tuatha Dé Danaan in the battle of Moy Tura⁴² so that they were in hiding in Erin a-destroying the corn, the milk, the great fruit, and the mast:⁴³ one man of them in the plains of Moy Itha,⁴⁴ Redg his name; another man of them in the mountains of Breg,⁴⁵ Brea his name; another man in the borders of Cruachu,⁴⁶ Tinell his name; and another man in Slieve Finoil, Greand his name. To-night," said she, "they have gone into exile from Erin after being driven out by the Morrighu, and by Bodb of the elf-mound of Femen,⁴⁷ and by Midir of Brí Léith,⁴⁸ and by Mac in Oicc, so that

⁴⁰ The fairy Other-World. On the name, see Plummer, *Vitae Sanct. Hiberniae*, I, clxxxii f.

⁴¹ Loch Lein, modern Killarney, see above, p. 39, n. 25. Cf. *Nennius*, § 76.

⁴² The subject of an ancient saga which has been edited and translated by Stokes, *R. C.*, XII, 52 f.

⁴³ Fomori (as here) and Tuatha Dé Danaan destroyed crops, see A. C. L. Brown, *P. M. L. A.*, XXV, 4. The Battle of Mag Mucrimé, ed. Stokes, from *LL.*, *R. C.*, XIII, 435 f., relates that after its fairy owners had been dispossessed of Knockany, they revenged themselves by destroying the grass on the hill every Hallowtide. That the fairies control the fertility of the fields is a well known article of Irish and Scotch peasant belief; see Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries*, pp. 38, 42, 43, etc.; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World*, pp. 18, 41, 61; and J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and the Islands of Scotland*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ Mag n-Itha, a plain called the Lagan along the river Finn in the barony of Raphoe, county Donegal, *R. C.*, XVI, 40; *Folk-Lore*, III, 515.

⁴⁵ Druim Breg, in northern Meath, *Silv. Gad.*, I, 91; II, 98.

⁴⁶ Crúachu, in county Roscommon, see above, p. 37, n. 20.

⁴⁷ Sid ar femin, modern Slievenaman, see above, p. 38, n. 23.

⁴⁸ Brí Léith, modern Sliab Calraige, west of the village of Ardagh, county Longford, *R. C.*, XVI, 79. Cf. *Tochmarc Etáine*, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 127 f.

there shall not be robbers from the Fomorian as long as Conn lives."

And then Fingen sang this quatrain:

That which has come from the meeting of glory;
the birth of the descendant of Crimthann Niadh Nair;
Out of (all) the glorious things which thou prophesiest,
Erin shall be three times the better from this.

10. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said she. "A fabric wonderful, perishable, which is here in thy vicinity," said she, "to wit: a palisade of white bronze upon Rath Aildinne;⁴⁹ from the day when its making was undertaken, whatever the builders and smiths used to lift of it one day, that fell down in the morning, so that they did not accomplish the fitness of its making nor of its doors and so that they did not complete its beauty nor its smoothness till to-night.⁵⁰ And besides," said she, "three vixens out of the elf-mound arose, escaping in flight before the rough attack of the Dagda, to wit: Siur, and Eoir (the Nore), and Berba (the Barrow),⁵¹ until they have come together into one place and have met together at one estuary in this night."

Fingen began a quatrain:

Thou art blessed in speech, O woman;
I am blessed in recounting;
There is no concealing in Erin
the expectation of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

11. "And what other wonder, O woman?" said Fingen. "Not hard (to tell)," said she. "Three times nine white birds in chains of red gold have come to-night and have sung wonderful music⁵²

⁴⁹ Alenn. On its location in county Kildare, see T. O. Russell, *ZFCP*, IV, 339 f., 1903; K. Meyer, *Hail Brigit*, Halle, 1912, p. 5 ff.; Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of Ireland*, II, 94.

⁵⁰ On this exceedingly interesting parallel to the story of Vortigern's tower, see above, p. 29.

⁵¹ On these three rivers, see *R. C.*, XV, 445.

⁵² Birds with gold chains and marvellous song appear in the *Serglige Conculaind*, § 7, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 207 (from LU). On fairy music and its effects, see T. P. Cross, *R. C.*, XXXI, 452; K. Meyer, *Fianaigecht*, *R. I. A.*, *Todd Lect. Ser.*, XVI, 59; A. C. L. Brown, *PMLA*, XXV, 16, note 5; *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 389, 396, note 2; Stokes *R. C.*, XIII, 438.

on the walls of Tara, so that there shall not be either grief or distress or sorrow or longing or absence of entertainment in Erin during the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles. And there have come the three sons of Eon mac Ethideoin from the elf-mound of Trum⁵³ toward him (Conn), and they are the three royal mercenaries who have sat down about him; to wit, Mael and Bluicne and Blocc. And at the sound of it, Tara and the hosts which are in it and all the chief fortresses of Erin have uttered a cry. And the poet has uttered a royal lay to Conn," said she, "when it was at his parturition." "Dost thou remember that lay?" said Fingen. "I remember it indeed very well," said the woman. "We have addressed you to-night for joy," said the woman; "your sorrow will break out again if you hear the lay of the druid." "Since I have heard the good," said Fingen, "why should I not hear the bad?"

12. So it is then that the woman began this lay about Conn, and this is the one which the druid uttered at Tara:

Joyous the cry of the birth of Conn:
 Conn over Erin, Erin under Conn. Conn as far as
 Fáil⁵⁴ (Ireland);
 It shall be from him that the sovereignty of the hosts
 shall be stretched
 over the ancient plain of Edair⁵⁵ till Doomsday;
 There will come (?) cavalcades and chariots,
 roads under them—a noise across the sea;
 His barks and his boats with crooked prows
 will strike the waves across the sea;
 His hosts upon Meath, upon Munster,
 he will be . . . (?) . . . to the sea's wall;

⁵³ Sidh Truim, a hill east of Slane on the left bank of the Boyne, *Atlantis*, III, 386; O'Donovan, *Tribes of Ui Fiachrach*, p. 28, 1844.

⁵⁴ The famous Lia Fáil, or Stone of Destiny, is said to have been brought to Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danaan and to have been placed at Tara, where it served as a test of legitimacy for claimants to the high-kingship of Ireland; "It used to roar under the feet of every King that would take possession of Ireland," *R. C.*, XV, 285. Cf. O'Curry, *MS. Mat.*, p. 620; O'Mahony, *Keating*, p. 81, n. 5; O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 57, n. 1; O'Grady, *Sil. Gad.*, II, 264; Hartland, "The Voice of the Stone of Destiny," *Folk-Lore*, XIV, 28-60. Fáil or Inis Fáil is often used, as here, for Ireland.

⁵⁵ Ben Étair, the Hill of Howth, near Dublin, *R. C.*, XV, 331 f.

In his time men of Leinster shall be bold;
his help is not backward;
Upon the breasts of Luachar;
he will fill with his fury the Old Plain of Sanb;⁵⁶
To Eas Rudah,⁵⁷ to Find, to Fanad,
and as far as Teach Duind,⁵⁸ where the dead hold
their tryst,

He shall mix spears in the blood of heroes
upon the slope of Ulster,—a broad track;
His wrath shall proclaim each tribe
as far as the wave of the Sea of Wight;

. . (?) . . . split red spears,
swords in dark, bitter gore;
From earth to the blue sky
fierce flames will fill the air.

He will go upon an adventure-into-fairie (*eachtra*)
from Tara.

the true prince, gentle, prosperous.
He will prophesy to him—noble the series—
three times fifty princes from him;
There will be born a grandson after that,
Cormac grandson of Conn his name;
He will be a rock of justice at every hour
to the (?) top of fierce Judgment.
Conn's pride will shake Erin
both wilderness and mountain,
With his prosperity, with his law,
with his race behind him.
Certain (it is) in the eyes of the druids in Tara,
who sing something that is not false.

⁵⁶ Mag Sainb, perhaps somewhere between Crúachu and Athlone. Cf. *Onomasticon*, s. v. mag sainb.

⁵⁷ Eas Rúadh, modern Assaroe, the salmonleap at Ballyshannon, county Donegal, R. C., XVI, 33.

⁵⁸ The name Tech Duinn, or "Donn's House," is frequently applied to one of three islands at the mouth of the bay of Ceann Mara (Kenmare), now called the Cow, Bull, and Calf. Donn, son of Miled, is said to have been drowned there, and his spirit still haunts the place, O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 51, note n. Donn is also said to have perished at Dumhach, in county Clare. The place is still called Tech Duinn, and is haunted by Donn's ghost, *Journal Kil. Arch. Soc.*, n. s. I, 216, n. 4, 1856-1857. Cf. Keating, *History*, I. T. S., II, 87; *Ogygia*, edn. cit., II, 30.

Perfection of rule as far as the three seas,
 all has God granted to him.
 Though we be, (I) and thou, O Fingen,
 in a long watch here,
 Whatever of wonders we talk of,
 has been granted beyond everyone to Conn;
 There has been granted to him a long blessed time,
 triumph over noble clans under his rule (lit., under ebb)
 Kings through battles, hosts . . . (?) . . . sides,
 before their cries raise the shout.

13. "That then," said the woman, "is what Ceasard the druid
 has spoken in Tara on this night to-night when Conn was born."
 And Fingen uttered this quatrain:

Whatever thou speakest of wonders,
 will, it seems to me, come to me;
 It bodes me no good (?)
 upon hearing the lay of the druid.

Then great dejection took hold of Fingen, and he went forth
 escaping from his own land, so that he did not come at once; i. e.,
 that he might not be in his own patrimony waiting for the might of
 Conn and his children after him. So Fingen was making a circuit
 throughout Erin, and Conn assumed the kingship of Erin there-
 after.

14. (Conn) one day went upon Usnech in Meath so that he
 beheld all Erin on every side. He asked his druid: "Is there in
 Erin," said Conn, "one who does not serve me?" "There is but
 one man," said the druid. "Who is that man?" said Conn. "Fin-
 gen mac Luchta," said the druid, "and since the time that you were
 born and since you took the kingdom, he has been avoiding your
 power." "In what place is he?" said Conn. "Between two
 deserts: Sliab Mis⁵⁹ and Luachar,"⁶⁰ said the druid. "I shall not
 leave that callow bladelet of grass in Erin without law upon him,"
 said Conn. "That will not be very easy for thee," said the druid.
 "Why not?" said Conn. "Not hard (to tell)," said the druid;
 "there is a woman of the elf-mound who instructs him," said the

⁵⁹ Sliab Mis is the modern Slieve Mish in Kerry; see above, p. 40, n. 34.

⁶⁰ Luachar, a mountainous region where Kerry, Cork and Limerick meet.

druid. "But there is," said Conn, "a covenant made by Bodb Derg (the Red) with me that no encroachment (lit. 'gap') shall be made in my sovereignty by him." "What guarantees hast thou (lit. 'what is at thy hand')?" said the druid. "There is a guarantee with me," said Conn, "to wit: Fear Fí⁶¹ mac Eóghabail; that is, the son of the daughter of Crimthan Niad Nair, and her father is from the elf-mound of Bodb." "Pursue him," said the druid.

And so it was that Fingen went to Conn, and he was for fifty years in his company, so that he won seventeen battles, until in the last battle he perished by the hand of Forannan Foda (the Tall) and the latter by him at Gull and Irguld.

⁶¹ Fear Fí, see above, p. 40, n. 30.

NOTES ON THE METRE OF THE POEM OF THE CID

III, 3

(Conclusion)

LET us now turn to a few other problems involved in the theory under review. While in his *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* Menéndez Pidal gave as little thought as his predecessors¹ to the question how oral heroic legends are kept alive, he has more recently taken some cognizance of the principle that such legends, to be preserved, must be fixed in poetic form immediately upon their coming into existence,² a principle most likely adopted by him from Gaston Paris' masterly review of his work.³ On that occasion, as in previous discussions of epic genesis,⁴ the sagacious French critic affirmed that heroic tradition must be either at once fixed in poetic form, or else kept alive by some such exterior memorial as a monument or a tomb, if it is not soon to fall into oblivion. According to him, this poetic form does not, as some suppose, consist in fully-developed epics, but in brief lays—simple ballads, as we may call them—composed not only under the immediate impression of the facts, but by and for those who had participated in them.⁵ That long narrative poems cannot be composed immediately, or even very soon, after the events they relate is obvious, and has been shown repeatedly in the pages that precede.⁶ It is true that Paris, too much impressed by the confidence with which Menéndez Pidal presented his theories as established scientific facts, assented to the

¹ See, e. g., Milá, *P.H.*, p. 106; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 12, pp. 43-44; Baist, *Grundriss*, II², pp. 388, 390, 397.

² *Épopée*, p. 12; "El Elemento histórico en el Romanz del Infant Garcia," in *Studi letterari dedicati a Pio Rajna*, Milano, 1911, pp. 84-85.

³ "La Légende des Infants de Lara," in *Journal des Savants*, 1898, pp. 296-309, 321-335.

⁴ *L. c.*, p. 304 (= p. 19 of the Reprint). Cf. II, p. 306.

⁵ *Romania*, 13, pp. 601-603, 617. Cf. also *Poésie du Moyen Age*, pp. 20, 82; see II, pp. 310, 338, 343.

⁶ Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, p. 617.

supposition that the heroic tradition of Castile was first sung in large poems or so-called *cantares de gesta* rather than in short cantos as elsewhere.⁷ But this concession was made only with the distinct understanding that the Castilian epic began at a moment when that of France had been in bloom for a long time, and that the earliest Castilian poems were simple adaptations of *chansons de geste* brought to Spain either by pilgrims to Santiago or by knights aiding in the reconquest.⁸ Menéndez Pidal rejects this interpretation of the matter on the ground that "la différence absolue dans la manière de concevoir et de traiter poétiquement les sujets, nous oblige à affirmer l'indépendance primitive de l'épopée castillane à l'égard de l'épopée française." What basis he has for the assertion of this difference he does not say, nor is it possible to discover it, inasmuch as we do not know any French poems preceding the twelfth century, and he himself assures us with reference to the Castilian epopee "que nous ne la connaissons pas sous sa forme ancienne."⁹ One would suppose that the very arguments he advances against Gaston Paris' opinion, his own admission that he does not know the original form of his alleged Castilian epopee, and the manifest absence in early Castile of the political and social conditions indispensable to the creation of epics,¹⁰ one would suppose, we say, that all this would have caused Menéndez Pidal to consider seriously the question whether primitive epic poetry did not in Castile, as in France and elsewhere, consist of that class of minor lays of simple structure and style, in which heroic legend is known to be first definitely fixed and preserved.¹¹ Such an in-

⁷ *Légende*, pp. 18-19.

⁸ *Légende*, pp. 18-19. For comments on this view see above, III, I, p. 268, and II, p. 339.

⁹ *Épopée*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰ See above, III, I, p. 259 ff.

¹¹ Cf., e. g., Kittredge, *English and Scotch Popular Ballads*, p. xlv: "Epic tradition or legend is not long preserved, if not fixed in definite, poetic form. Hence ballads cannot be a new type in the century in which they are first recorded, or better, the ballads we first find recorded cannot present the first or primitive form of this type, but a literary redaction or recast of one that existed before in poetic tradition. . . ." It is in this sense that older critics, like Duran (*R. G.*, I, pp. xxx-lxiv), Wolf (*Studien*, p. 409), Lemcke (*Jahrbuch*, 4, pp. 148-149), Rios (*Historia critica*, 2, pp. 282, 532), had assigned the beginnings of Castilian heroic poetry, and of the *romance*-type, to the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.

quiry, however, he has not made so far. Curiously enough, disintegrative critics concede this type of song to other countries, while for one reason or another they deny it to Spain. Thus Milá¹² postulates a primitive and simple French song as the ultimate source of the *cantar de gesta* inferred by him from the account of the *General*, while elsewhere¹³ he admits that the epic lays of modern Greece are of independent origin. Again, Menéndez y Pelayo, who rejects in one place¹⁴ what he calls "la anticuada hipótesis de las cantilenas épicas ó cantos breves que sirviesen de núcleo á los poemas largos," grants in another¹⁵ that heroic lays and the warlike dance existed among the aborigines of the Peninsula as among all barbarous and primitive peoples, and in still another¹⁶ thinks it very probable that events like the battle of Navas de Tolosa (1212) were "celebradas en cantos análogos á los romances fronterizos posteriores." Menéndez Pidal, finally, informs us¹⁷ that "los romances son poemitas narrativos al modo de las baladas inglesas, escocesas ó servias, al modo de los cantos populares italianos ó de cualquier otro país, pero sin embargo, entre estos cantos ó baladas, y los romances hay una capital diferencia en cuanto á su origen, y por consiguiente también en cuanto á su composición y á su estilo." Only a few lines further on, however, after asserting that in 1874 the derivation of the *romances* from large medieval epics had been demonstrated by Milá,¹⁸ he practically surrenders the pretended capital difference in the statement: "Todos los pueblos pueden ofrecer una poesía popular y nacional que cante las conmociones del sentimiento patrio ó las hazañas guerreras. Pero muy pocos poseyeron este género de poesía en forma ampliamente desenvuelta, en forma de poema extenso narrativo, por el estilo de la *Iliada*, la *Chanson de Roland*, los *Nibelungen* ó el *Poema del Cid*, es decir el

¹² *P.H.*, p. 336.

¹³ *Observaciones*, p. 9.

¹⁴ *Antol.*, II, pp. 39-40. Cf. the passage quoted II, p. 310.

¹⁵ *L. c.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁶ *L. c.*, 12, p. 92. See also *l. c.*, 2, p. vi, and II, p. 231, where the existence of heroic tradition outside the conjectured long poems is admitted.

¹⁷ *Romancero español*, p. 5. Cf. *Épopée*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸ It should be observed, however, that Milá himself did not claim to have demonstrated his theory. See his statement, *P.H.*, p. 106.

poema épico popular, no el erudito por el estilo de la *Eneida*."¹⁹

The reasoning contained in these remarks is open to various objections, only a few of which can find a place here. It will be observed that Menéndez Pidal concedes unreservedly the independent origin of the epico-lyric lays or ballads of other nations.²⁰ If there are cogent reasons why the Castilian narrative lyric or *romance* must be assumed to occupy so exceptional a position in epic genesis, these must be capable of demonstration. It must be shown, among other things, that it is not, like its fellows elsewhere, a lyrical poem with a narrative body, as Paris termed it;²¹ that it is not different in structure and style from the elaborate narrative poems or epics,²² and that it has not a manner entirely its own in treating themes obtained from literary sources, such as chronicles, a manner which is one of the best proofs of its age and independence as a type;²³ it must finally be shown that the romance-type did not already exist at the time of the supposed decadence of the conjectured epics.²⁴ So long as such proof is lacking, as it still is, critics must accept as a fundamental fact the close affinity of the *romance* in origin and character to the ballads of other nations.²⁵

¹⁹ It is interesting to note that both Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal contradict their theory of epic origins, the former by assuming the existence of the *romance*-type early in the thirteenth century, the latter by placing the decline of the supposed popular epopee in the same period.

²⁰ The Madrid scholar does not seem to be at all aware that, for the English and Scottish ballads, for instance, this independent, popular origin is still stubbornly disputed by many critics, as, e. g., by W. J. Courthope in *History of English Poetry*, 1895, I, p. 426 ff., and T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, 1898, p. 355 ff.

²¹ *Romania*, 13, p. 617.

²² Some differences are indeed noticed by Milá, *P.H.*, p. 404, and Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, pp. 142-144, 161-166. Others are noted by Bertoni, *l. c.*, p. 183, and still others by Rajna, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, pp. 18-20, 35-39. Cf. II, pp. 329-337.

²³ Cf., e. g., A. Lang, "The Ballad," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., 3, p. 283 ff.; W. P. Ker, "On the History of the Ballads," in *Proceed. British Acad.*, 1909-1910, pp. 191-193.

²⁴ See II, pp. 305-307, 311, 321, 337-341, 342-349.

²⁵ This is not to deny, of course, that the Spanish *romance* has its own individual stamp, which distinguishes it from the balladry of other peoples as an original creation. What Menéndez Pidal asserts as the radical difference in origin and composition between the ballads of other nations and the Spanish *romance*, the derivation of the *romance* as a species from the epic, is an assumption which remains yet to be proven.

It is true, as Menéndez Pidal says, that not all peoples having a body of brief narrative lays or ballads have reached the point of producing long epics. But does it follow from this that the primitive art of unconscious, collective song did not exist in those countries in which a long poem was the first to appear on the literary record? Is not the inference more obvious, far more in harmony with what is known of the history of the traditional epos in general, that its absence in many nations of considerable social and political advancement must be due to the lack of certain conditions under which alone a higher art may arise out of a more primitive one?²⁶ Is it not furthermore obvious that, as has already been shown, the *Poema del Cid* was born of conditions materially different from those which produced the *Iliad* and the *Chanson de Roland*, and therefore cannot be classed with these works as a purely national, to say nothing of popular, product?

According to Paris and others, as we saw, the immediate fixation of heroic tradition in poetic form serves the purpose of preserving it from oblivion.²⁷ Here again we find the Madrid critic taking a considerably different position. In his opinion, it is not because it would otherwise be forgotten altogether that heroic legend must be immediately cast into a poetic mould, but because it would lose that exceptional historical exactitude which he claims to be the distinctive characteristic of his popular Castilian epopee. That the term "historical exactitude" is here to be taken in the literal, precise sense, not merely as a more or less approximate expression for that idealized picture of reality, conceived under the impression of the moment, which poetry is expected to give us,²⁸ the reader may see from such utterances as the following: "Les faits historiques qui constituent le sujet des chansons de Fernan Gonzalez et des Infants de Lara se passèrent au X^e siècle; si l'on

²⁶ Cf. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, p. 14 ff.; Comparetti, *l. c.*, pp. 327, 330.

²⁷ Chadwick, to whom the communal dance and the universal gift of improvisation as the basis of poetic genesis are apparently wholly unknown, says (*l. c.*, p. 110): "When a story is put into metrical form by a skilful poet it becomes more or less chrystallised and has a good chance of being preserved. In fact the result is somewhat similar to that of committing it to writing. Stories which are not put into poetic form are more liable to become obscured and forgotten." Cf. also *l. c.*, p. 113.

²⁸ For a few remarks on this point, see II, p. 340, and III, I, p. 427.

tient compte de l'exactitude du récit dans les poèmes, on en conclut que ceux-ci durent recevoir leur première forme au lendemain même des événements qu'ils chantent;"²⁹ again: "Tous les poèmes héroïques espagnols ont un fondement historique; la plupart et les meilleurs d'entre eux sont historiques jusque dans une foule de détails secondaires. . . . Ce caractère nettement historique de l'épopée espagnole doit être attribué en partie à ce que la vie en fut plus tardive que celle de l'épopée française et plus exactement contemporaine des exploits célébrés;"³⁰ or again, with reference to the conjectured epic on the Infantes de Lara:³¹ "La précision et l'exacte liaison des idées, qui sont la marque propre de la chanson, se fondent dans le romance en je ne sais quel vague mystère,"³² and finally from his designation of the supposed epics as *crónicas ó novelas rimadas*³³ and from the assertion of his disciple Puyol y Alonso, that popular poetry—by which term he designates the hypothetical popular epics—sings the events in chronological order.³⁴ We saw above³⁵ that Menéndez Pidal himself admits that we do not know the earliest form, that is the form coetaneous with the events, of what he terms the primitive Castilian epopee. One is at a loss, therefore, to understand how he is prepared to say that this form was historically so much more exact than that of the French epics which he represents as earlier, and of which as little is known. Nothing is said of the character of later redactions of these poems, though their existence is taken for granted. With the exception of the *Poema del Cid*, there is no composition by

²⁹ *Épopée*, p. 12.

³⁰ *L. c.*, p. 34.

³¹ *L. c.*, p. 162.

³² Elsewhere, however (*Épopée*, pp. 35-36), the Lara-epic is judged differently. See above, III, 2, note 297.

³³ See the extract from the *Romancero* given above, III, 1, p. 242 f. Other statements of similar import may be found: *Leyenda*, pp. 38-39; *Romans de D. García*, pp. 84-85, and *Épopée*, p. 54. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 2, pp. vii-viii. Quite a different view of the case, and one decidedly more within the pale of facts, is given by Menéndez Pidal, *Épopée*, p. 36: "Cependant nous aurions tort d'attribuer la vraisemblance plus grande de l'épopée espagnole uniquement à la proximité où elle se trouvait des événements; il faut surtout l'expliquer par la forte tendance réaliste qui prédomine à toutes les époques de la littérature."

³⁴ *La Gesta de D. Sancho II*, p. 8.

³⁵ III, 1, note 95.

which to test the theory under discussion, and by that composition it is entirely disproved, as has already been seen.³⁶

We are informed that in the course of its long existence the Castilian epopee also took up the singing of non-Castilian heroes, such as the Gothic King Rodrigo and the Leonese Bernardo del Carpio.³⁷ What was the exact historical record of these personages? How did the legends of these personages, much older than those of the Castilians, maintain themselves until put into the form of long epics at so late a date?³⁸ How did the alleged epics originate, and when? How do they stand the historical test? Of all this we learn nothing.

As the assumption of extensive poems outside the one on the Cid is based entirely upon the extant *romances* and the partially poetical coloring of late chronicle-accounts, it is in these texts of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century that we must expect to find warrant for the dogma of the extraordinary historical accuracy of the Castilian epopee. Let us examine, with all possible brevity, the case of Fernan Gonzalez, which is the oldest, and as representative as any.

Menéndez y Pelayo, who here follows the opinion of Menéndez Pidal,³⁹ tells us that in Count Fernan Gonzalez two personalities must be distinguished, the historical and the epical, and that the first of these is known to us in a very imperfect manner through a few official documents and some references in the Latin chronicles of Sampiro, Lucas de Tuy and Archbishop Rodrigo, who took no notice of the poetical tradition in the shape of long epics which must have existed in their day, but are now lost. These epics were likewise neglected by the compilers of the *General* for the reason that the learned character of the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, written some time after 1236, was naturally preferred by them as a more authoritative text than popular songs.⁴⁰ Thus Menéndez y Pelayo. Now, if the Castilian epopee had such historical accuracy as to give

³⁶ See III, 2, p. 425 ff.

³⁷ *Romancero español*, pp. 6-7.

³⁸ Cf. II, pp. 309-310.

³⁹ Contained in his "*Notas para el Romancero de Fernan Gonzalez*, in *Home-naje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, p. 438 ff.

⁴⁰ *Antol.*, II, pp. 224-225. By popular songs the author here meant extensive epics.

it the character of *crónicas rimadas*, and if this accuracy increased in proportion as it approached the time of the events it celebrates,⁴¹ is it not pertinent to ask why poems of this nature, committed to writing as they were according to Menéndez Pidal, were not utilized by the Latin chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? These were the very persons who could have read them and who, if we may believe Cirot,⁴² do not appear to have spurned altogether such popular poetic sources as the *romance*. And is it not also pertinent to ask for specific reasons why the compilers of the *General* should have excluded such important historical documents in favor of a late monkish production like the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, whose deviations from reality were too manifest to escape notice?⁴³ It seems hardly conceivable that they should have done so in the case of Fernan Gonzalez when, as we know, they embodied in their work the vulgar legend of other heroes. To cite only one or two instances. The story of Bernardo del Carpio is told in the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*. Nevertheless, Alphonse X and his collaborators utilized for their account the vulgar *cantares* dealing with Bernardo and his antagonist D. Bueso,⁴⁴ *cantares* which, as has been shown,⁴⁵ were minor lays rather than extensive productions. Or again. The *General's* narrative of the Cid is based not only on the Latin accounts of Lucas de Tuy, Archbishop Rodrigo and the *Gesta Roderici Campidocti*, works which in scholastic merit certainly yield nothing to the verse of the monk of Arlanza, but even more on the vulgar poetic tradition as presumably preserved in another redaction of the *Poema del Cid*, the only poetical nar-

⁴¹ See, e. g., *Épopée*, p. 35.

⁴² The dialogue between Sancho II and the Cid before the battle of Golpejar, not related in any text other than the Latin *Chronique léonaise inédite* studied by Cirot, appears to have been borrowed from some *romance* (see *Bulletin hispanique*, II, p. 271, § 7).

⁴³ Cf., e. g., Baist, *Grundriss*, II², p. 394 (§ 11); Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 226 ff. Cf. above, III, 2, p. 428.

⁴⁴ See *P. C. G.*, pp. 351 a; 355 b 49; 371 a 25, 375 a 25, and *Antol.*, II, p. 198.

⁴⁵ II, pp. 308-311, 344-349. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bernardo's time and the fight of his king with Roland are referred to by Alonso de Cartagena (see *Obras del Marqués de Santillana*, p. 500), but that Bernardo himself is not mentioned, nor any hint given of the existence of any large poem on this subject such as the one said by Menéndez y Pelayo to have been composed in the fourteenth century.

rative of Castile from which anything like reliable inferences regarding the historical value of Spanish heroic song may be drawn. It is clear that facts like these are far from supporting the plea that the several long poems, in which the deeds of Fernan Gonzalez are supposed to have been sung, were left out of the texture of the *General* because the compilers of the latter discarded them for the sake of an intervening clerical treatment of the subject. Nor do these facts argue in favor of the supposition put forward by Menéndez y Pelayo and others,⁴⁶ that the conjectured long poems were consigned to oblivion by the appearance of the school of the *cua-terna via*, a supposition which loses in force in proportion as these poems, which are only hypothetical at best, are represented as approaching the nature of rhymed chronicles. Besides, it is not at all certain that the literary interest awakened by the new poetic movement embodied in the *mester de clerecía*, instead of condemning to oblivion, would not rather have tended to preserve, narrative verse of the kind described, just as it accounts largely for the fact that the *romances* themselves began to be written down about that time.⁴⁷ We may say then that, much as the compilers of the *General* may have shared the opinion of Thucydides⁴⁸ that the rhapsode is prone to alter his stories, the reason for their neglect of the vulgar legend in our case must have been a different one. Not indeed that, as Menéndez y Pelayo elsewhere holds,⁴⁹ in disagreement with his previously cited opinion, the absence of a poetic text from the *General* proves that this text did not exist at all, or at least was not sung, in those days. This explanation appears unacceptable on several grounds. In the first place, a number of facts render it reasonably certain that one or more legends of Fernan Gonzalez did exist in poetic form at the time of Alphonse X. In his interesting study of the *Romancero de Fernan Gonzalez*,⁵⁰ Menéndez Pidal derives the *romance* "Castellanos y leoneses" (*Primavera*, no. 16)⁵¹—doubtless understanding by this a more primitive version

⁴⁶ *Antol.*, II, p. 228.

⁴⁷ See above, III, 2, p. 401 f.

⁴⁸ I, 21.

⁴⁹ *L. c.*, p. 320.

⁵⁰ See above, III, 2, p. 410.

⁵¹ See now Menéndez Pidal's welcome fac-simile edition of the *Cancionero de Romances, sin año, Amberes* (Madrid, 1914), p. 161.

than the one extant—from a so-called lost popular epic composed between the completion of the *General* in 1289 and the Chronicle of 1344.⁵² We have already adduced reasons why the existence of such epics must be regarded as exceedingly doubtful.⁵³ But granting for the moment the claim of such a poem, it must be borne in mind that its production at that time presupposes for its basis an anterior poetic form, and that the assumption of such a form is in the present instance supported by the fact that a poetic legend is generally said to underlie part of the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*.⁵⁴ On Menéndez Pidal's own showing, then, a showing which is accepted by Menéndez y Pelayo,⁵⁵ legends of Fernan Gonzalez must have existed in verse in the days of Alphonse X. The same conclusion is reached when we consider the history of the *romance* "Castellanos y leoneses." According to the Madrid critic,⁵⁶ this fine rhapsody is older than the Chronicle of 1344 and reflects more faithfully than does the *Rodrigo* (or *Crónica rimada*) the popular epic which he postulates as its source. Now, the arguments advanced in favor of this opinion, the admission that the *romance-matter* fully covers the matter of the respective portions of the Chronicle, and particularly the insistence upon the close correspondence in contents and language between the two texts, all these points combine to raise the question why in place of the alleged epic it was not in fact a more primitive version of the *romance* itself that was woven into the texture of the Chronicle, the discrepancies between the two texts being, as Menéndez Pidal himself remarks,⁵⁷ easily accounted for as the effect of oral transmission. Let us bear in mind, in answering this question, that apart from the *Rodrigo* our *romance* is after all the only poetical rendering we really have of the two short chapters of the Chronicle,⁵⁸ and that without it neither the critic's detailed study of the version of the legend contained in

⁵² *Homenaje*, l. c., pp. 445-461 (= pp. 17-23 of reprint).

⁵³ See above, III, 2, p. 430 ff.

⁵⁴ Cf., e. g., Baist, *Grundriss*, II², pp. 393-394; Menéndez Pidal, l. c., p. 448 ff. (= pp. 19-21, note 2).

⁵⁵ *Antol.*, II, pp. 231-236.

⁵⁶ *Homenaje*, p. 450 ff.

⁵⁷ *L. c.*, p. 452.

⁵⁸ Extracted by Menéndez Pidal (l. c., p. 438, note 2) from MS. Ii-73, fol. 145 c-147 a, of the *Biblioteca Nacional*. Cf. also MS. 2-I-2, fol. 113 c-115 d, of the *Biblioteca Real*.

them, nor his conception of the so-called popular epic would have been possible. Indeed, such an epic can be regarded as nothing more than a critical figment⁵⁹ unless it be shown, as has not been done so far, with some degree of definiteness and precision, what were the contents and the sequence of the *laissez* constituting it, what the place and the part assigned in its plot to the episodes related in the Chronicle, what its structure and form. Such evidence is particularly requisite in a case like the one before us, in which the elements of the legend, as known through the *Poema*, the *General*, the Chronicle of 1344, the *Rodrigo* and the *romances*, are for the most part of scholastic, not of purely national or popular, character. The only notable exceptions are the Count's marriage with the Infanta of Navarre, his repeated imprisonment and the emancipation of Castile, subjects adorned respectively with the widely disseminated novelesc themes of a man's liberation by his wife, and of the purchase-price.⁶⁰ Viewed in the light of their connection with widely separated periods of the Count's long life (b. about 895, d. 970),⁶¹ these legendary incidents cannot, without unmis- takable and positive evidence to that effect, be considered as having formed part of one or more long poetic narratives. But even if we had a text of the postulated epic, or at least sufficient and authen- ticated extracts from which to reconstruct it in substance, it would not by any means follow from the mere agreement of part of it in subject-matter and assonance with our *romance*, that the latter must be derived from it. Before accepting such an inference, we should want specific proof that the concordance was not due to priority of the *romance* or to community of origin. In the absence of any reasons to the contrary, then, we may regard the extant ballad "Castellanos y leoneses" as the first recorded redaction of a song

⁵⁹ That it is part of Menéndez Pidal's regular method to bridge the wide gulf between the *romances* and their pretended source by the assumption of as many epics as may appear necessary, may be seen from the following utterance in *Leyenda*, p. xiv: "La serie de gestas hoy perdidas que es necesario suponer para explicar satisfactoriamente los primitivos romances carolingios que tan apartados se muestran de sus originales franceses."

⁶⁰ Cf. Baist, *Grundriss*, l. c., pp. 393-394; Menéndez Pidal, l. c., p. 454; Mar- den, *Poema*, p. xxxi ff.

⁶¹ Milá, *P.H.*, pp. 173-179; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans*, 2, p. 44 ff.; Mar- den, l. c., p. xiii.

of independent origin, a more primitive version of which is reflected in the Chronicle of 1344.

A similar reasoning applies to the *romance* "Buen Conde Fernan Gonzalez" (*Primavera*, 17), which deals with the Count's summons to Leon, and in which Menéndez Pidal would recognize another episode of his vanished epic, again without giving any indication of its probable place in it.⁶² And it applies once more to the very interesting song known as *La Pelegrina*, which is not handed down to us in the collections of the sixteenth century, but in the oral tradition of modern Asturias.⁶³ As is well known,⁶⁴ this *romance* echoes in its first part the legend of the imprisonment of the Count—whose name is lost—in Leon, and of his liberation conceived in the mystical form of his soul being borne to heaven by that of Doña Sancha. As the first episode, the imprisonment of the Count and the appearance in his prison of the Countess disguised as a pilgrim, is also found in the *General*,⁶⁵ and may therefore have been contained in the lost portions of the *Poema*, Menéndez Pidal is doubtless right in saying that to this extent our Asturian *romance* reflects an older version. It is difficult, however, to agree with his suggestions⁶⁶ regarding the ultimate origin of this older version: "Como no conocemos versiones intermedias entre el romance asturiano y los relatos del siglo XIII, no podemos conjeturar el origen de los versos modernos; si son restos de antiguos cantares de gesta,⁶⁷ como 'Castellanos y leoneses' y 'Buen Conde Fernan Gonzalez,' ó si provienen sólo de algún romance hecho en el siglo XVI sobre la prosa de las crónicas, como sucede con el de la penitencia de D. Rodrigo, que es hoy también popular en Asturias."

It will not be necessary to consider more than the second alternative proposed by the distinguished critic. We may readily grant that more than one *romance*, particularly among those handed down in the collections of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

⁶² *L. c.*, p. 455 ff.

⁶³ Published by Rios, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Philol.*, 3, p. 280; Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular*, p. 102 ff., 291 ff.; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 10, p. 51.

⁶⁴ See *Homenaje*, p. 465 ff.; *Antol.*, 11, pp. 238-239.

⁶⁵ P. 420 b—421 a (§ 718).

⁶⁶ *L. c.*, p. 467.

⁶⁷ *L. c.*, p. 460, only one, and the same, *gesta* is represented as the source of both romances.

was consciously fashioned out of the prose of a chronicle.⁶⁸ But such an explanation of the origin of any *romance*, as of other texts, must obviously be supported by specific proof, an obligation certainly far more incumbent upon those who would refer the ballad as we have it to a literary process, whether of degenerate art or of individual authorship, than upon those who look for its ultimate source, as in the case of language itself, in spontaneous creation, the unconscious nature of which does not allow of documenting every step in the development of its product. As Menéndez Pidal manifestly had no evidence to produce in favor of his conjecture regarding the origin of the sixteenth century *romance* underlying *La Pelegrina*, not giving even the name of the chronicle that might have served as its source, he might have given serious consideration to the question whether the existence of the postulated *romance* could not be accounted for in some other way. To say nothing of the fact that the loss of a lay of the supposed literary make is far less likely than that of one living only on the lips of men, we may ask in the first place why the learned investigator did not in this case, as he rightly did in others,⁶⁹ assume the existence of more primitive versions elaborated a hundred or more years before; in other words, why he did not put his conjectured sixteenth-century substratum on a par with other *romances* on Fernan Gonzalez, as "Castellanos y leoneses," the deviations of which from the versions supposed to antedate the Chronicle of 1344 he ascribes to the effect of oral transmission? Was it because this substratum does not appear in the collections of the time? But neither does, for instance, any version of the *romance* on Count Rodrigo Gonzalez still sung in the choral dances of Asturias in the seventeenth century according to Fray Francisco Sota.⁷⁰ Nor any of the group of *romances* on Don Bueso, partly surviving in modern Hispanic folk-song, spurned as old and trite by Juan Alvarez Gato about 1455, and probably related to the *Cantares* cited by the *General* as dealing with a Don Bueso and Bernardo del Carpio.⁷¹ Nor any of the old *romances* on the *emplazamiento* of Fernando IV culled directly

⁶⁸ See II, p. 343, note 275.

⁶⁹ See above, and, e. g., also *Revista de Libros*, 2 (1914), pp. 4-5. Cf. II, p. 320 and note 131.

⁷⁰ See for this ballad II, pp. 343-344.

⁷¹ See II, pp. 309-311, 344-348.

from the oral tradition of the fifteenth century by Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal.⁷² Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that these songs, for which descent from epics "aux vastes proportions" has not so far been claimed, hark back to an ancient poetic tradition.⁷³ It may again be asked why the poetic conditions appearing from the direct and important testimony of the historian Alonso Tellez de Meneses of Toledo, writing toward the middle of the sixteenth century,⁷⁴ with regard to the *romance* "El Conde y Don Rodrigo" (*Primavera*, 25)⁷⁵ were not taken into account. His words read as follows: "... el conde Garci Fernandez venció al poderoso Almançor en la gran batalla de Caxcaxares, do le fueron tan buenos los siete ynfantes de Lara que, segun dizen hasta hoy los cantares de aquellos tiempos, dezia muchas vezes por ellos el conde: que si por ellos no fuera, no tornaramos aca. . . ."⁷⁶ What conclusion is to be drawn from this statement? Let us first hear Menéndez Pidal who, after citing it, remarks:⁷⁷ "*Los cantares de que habla Tellez de Meneses son, naturalmente, los romances populares*,"⁷⁸ a los que alude también Garibay⁷⁹ cuando dice de Gonzalo Gustios que su memoria es celebrada no sólo en historias, mas aun en cantos antiguos, que hasta hoy día se conservan? Quizá existiese un romance sobre la batalla de Cascajar."⁸⁰ As appears from this, the distinguished critic takes it to be a matter of course that the *cantares* or *cantos* cited by the two historians just named were "popular" *romances* found in oral circulation in their day.⁸¹ He does not indicate, however, to what extent, if at all, he accepts Tellez de

⁷² See the passage quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 12, p. 99, from Barrantes' *Aparato bibliográfico para la historia de Extremadura* (Madrid, 1879).

⁷³ Cf. II, p. 344 ff.

⁷⁴ See A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Anales de la literatura española*, p. 29.

⁷⁵ *Historia del Principado del Orbe*, vol. XIV, in manuscript of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, F—18, fol. 13, cited by Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda*, p. 92.

⁷⁶
Que muy buenos fueron ellos
En aquella de Cascajar,
Que si por ellos no fuera,
No volviéramos acá.

⁷⁷ *L. c.*

⁷⁸ The italics are those of the present writer.

⁷⁹ *Compendio historial de España* (Aprobación 1567), I, l. x, c. xiv.

⁸⁰ It is to be observed that both Tellez de Meneses and Garibay speak of more than one *cantar* or *canto*.

⁸¹ See *l. c.*, and cf. II, p. 314.

Meneses' characterization of these ballads as being "de aquellos tiempos," that is, as belonging to, or coming from, the time of the events commemorated in them. Possibly this is because he did not take it literally enough to see in it a serious contradiction of the theory to the demonstration of which his work on the *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* is chiefly devoted; possibly because, while admitting the fact itself, he treated it merely as an isolated case not affecting the validity of what he conceives to be the rule. Nor is he more explicit on this point in his closing remark that a *romance* on the battle of Cascajar may have existed. Yet it is evident that the expression used by Tellez de Meneses is too definite to be dismissed in silence. This historian would scarcely have chosen it if, instead of looking upon his *cantares* or *romances* as descendants of songs of similar scope and style composed under the immediate impression of the events, he had entertained the idea that they did not, in anything like the character familiar to him, reach further back than one or two hundred years before his own day, but were merely fragments of other more extensive and elaborate poems dating from what is called the period of epic decadence. And it is needless to say that this latter idea would have been the only one held by him and other men of letters of his epoch, and would have been taken into account by them in one way or another in their references to the subject, if it had been in substantial accord with the phenomena of poetic development taking place under their very eyes. To give an example. The historians in question would hardly have represented their *cantares* as being of the time of Garci Fernandez if it was through such processes of disintegration as those described by Milá and his disciples that the Cid-ballad "Cabalgando Diego Laínez" (*Primavera*, 29), first appearing on record in the sixteenth century, was obtained by the people from a recast of the *Rodrigo* assigned to the early fifteenth;⁸² or that the *romance* conjectured as the substratum of *La Pelegrina* was extracted from a long, continuous poem or from a chronicle in their very days.⁸³ But no such idea of epic evolution is expressed, or even implied, in the comments on

⁸² See Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, I, pp. 451-452; *Épopée*, pp. 141-142.

⁸³ For the theory that the ballads were derived from the prose of chronicles see Baist, *Grundriss*, II², p. 399 (§ 17); Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 2, p. xxx; II, pp. 44, 48, 78, 321; G. Bertoni, *Il Cantare del Cid*, p. 180. Cf. above, III, 2, p. 431.

poetry and metre made by poets and theoreticians like Santillana,⁸⁴ Nebrija, Encina,⁸⁵ Salinas⁸⁶ and others. On the contrary, as far as one may judge from what they do say, they treated the *romance* as a distinct poetic type, as the normal form of traditional heroic song in Spain, without so much as a hint of its musical structure being identical with, or derived from, that of the *laissez* of antecedent long narrative poems, without so much as a hint of the existence of such a higher art.⁸⁷ Any different interpretation of the matter on their part would in all probability have been discerned and commented on by such students of Spanish music as Felipe Pedrell, who discusses the chapters of Salinas bearing upon the *romance*,⁸⁸ or Collet and Villalba, who, as has been seen,⁸⁹ affirm in agreement with Wolf, Mussafia and others the structural affinity

⁸⁴ See II, pp. 303-322.

⁸⁵ See II, pp. 329-334.

⁸⁶ See his work, *De musica libri septem*, especially bk. 6, ch. 14, 15, and bk. 7, ch. 6; also Pedrell, pp. 392, 393 and 397 of the article mentioned in the next note. In so far as Nebrija and Salinas may be said to differ from Encina's doctrine regarding the structure of the *romance*, it must, as was pointed out before (II, pp. 329-330), be borne in mind that these metricians were both governed by classical preoccupations. This opinion is fully supported by the judgment of so excellent a musical critic as Felipe Pedrell, who ("*Folk-lore musical castillan du XVI. siècle*," in *Zeitsch. der Internat. Musikgesellschaft*, 1 (1900, pp. 379-380)) expresses himself as follows: "Salinas de même que Nebrija a commis l'erreur d'assimiler les vers espagnols aux vers latins, et de ne voir partout que monomètres, dimètres, tetramètres, adoniques simples et doubles," etc.

⁸⁷ A propos of the *areytos* or choral dances and heroic songs of the Mexicans, upon which he reports in his "General y Natural Historia de las Indias" (composed 1533, printed at Salamanca in 1547), Pte I^a, l. v, cap. 1, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés writes as follows: "Y no parezca al lector, que esto que es dicho, es mucha salbagez, porque en España se usa lo mesmo, y en Italia; y en las mas partes de los cristianos pienso yo que se debe hacer así. Que otra cosa son los romances y canciones que se fundan sobre verdades, sino parte de las historias pasadas? A lo menos entre los que no leen, por los cantares saben que:

Estaba el Rey Don Alonso
En la ciudad de Sevilla
Y le vino al corazon
De ir a cercar a Algecira.

Asi lo dice el romance, y en la verdad asi fue ello, que desde Sevilla partio el Rey D. Alonso XI a cercar a Algecira quando la ganó a 28 de Marzo de 1344 años. Asi que ha 189 años que tura este cantar, o Areyto."

⁸⁸ "*Folk-lore musical castillan du XVI^e siècle*," in *Zeitsch. der Internat. Musikgesellschaft*, 1 (1900), pp. 372-400.

⁸⁹ See above, III, 1, p. 257, and cf. II, pp. 329-337.

of the miracle-lays of Alphonse X to the traditional *romance* of the age of Santillana and Encina, an affinity which is all the more significant for the age of this type as the melodic diversities of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* indicate the presence of several composers.⁹⁰ Is it not, after all, in perfect consonance with this state of things that the advocates of Milá's doctrine have not only, as will be shown in detail later, entirely failed to give satisfactory proof of the derivation of any of the extant *romances* from a higher, decadent art, but have found themselves obliged to admit the independent origin of some of them.⁹¹ Thus, not to mention Menéndez Pidal's concessions regarding such songs as "A Calatrava la Vieja" and "Yo me estaba en Barbadillo,"⁹² or Menéndez y Pelayo's already cited suggestion that lays similar to the *romance fronterizo* may have been sung in the early thirteenth century,⁹³ we may instance here the fine ballad "Helo, helo, por do viene" (*Primavera*, 55). This lay shows its independence of the *Poema del Cid* not only by that entirely different style and that different spirit of the hero which distinguish all the Cid-ballads from the *Poema del Cid*, but even more by its assonance, its subject-matter,⁹⁴ its composition, and by its survival with all these characteristics in the modern oral tradition of the Hispanic domain. This fact, first demonstrated by Carolina Michaelis,⁹⁵ was accepted by Menéndez y Pelayo as sufficient reason for the admission that there must have taken place an elaboration of *romances* independently of the *can-*

⁹⁰ Collet and Villalba, *l. c.*, p. 288.

⁹¹ Bertoni, without even mentioning the epics fancied by Menéndez Pidal and his predecessors, regards the extant *romances* as literary compositions mostly fashioned out of the prose of chronicles (cf. above, III, 2, pp. 406, 431 f.), while Rajna (*l. c.*, pp. 18-20) insists upon the numerous points of unmistakable discordance of Milá's theory with the facts.

⁹² *Leyenda*, pp. 84-87.

⁹³ See above, p. 50, and Rajna's comment (*l. c.*, pp. 25-26) on the reflections of Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, 12, p. 167) regarding the *romance fronterizo*.

⁹⁴ In the version of the Cid-epic reflected in the *Cronica de Veinte Reyes* (MS. Biblot. Nac., F-132, fol. 215 v^o-235) there is as little trace of the characteristic incidents of this ballad as in the *General* and the copy of Per Abbat.

⁹⁵ *Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, 16, pp. 40-89. Cf. the same author's *Estudios sobre o Romanceiro Peninsular*, pp. 13-15. The two ballads on this theme which have since been found in Tras-os Montes and among the Jews of Tangier (*Revista lusitana*, 9, p. 305; *Catálogo Judío-Español*, no. 6) do not affect the main question.

tares de gesta.⁹⁶ It would seem as if cases like these might have broken the spell of Milá's theory. Unfortunately, however, its followers treat them as nothing more than isolated exceptions, failing to see that the admission of their existence is equivalent to the surrender of their own case.⁹⁷ It is equivalent to conceding the absolute originality of the type and its close affinity to the traditional epico-lyric song of the Russians, the Serbs, the Danes, the British and other nations to whom, as we saw, the power is accorded to create an individual form in which to give vent to their feelings.⁹⁸ No one denies that the *romances* found in the oral tradition of the Hispanic world of to-day are a survival of those current among the people in the fifteenth century; and the writers of that period, Juan del Encina and Juan Alvarez Gato among others, distinctly characterize as old those that they knew,⁹⁹ thus fully justifying Menéndez Pidal's opinion that a more primitive version of the extant lay "Castellanos y leoneses" existed before 1344.¹⁰⁰ What, then, authorizes critics to assume that the traditional life of this type does not reach further back than the threshold of the fourteenth century; that the compilers of the *General* employed the expression "romances y cantares" in a different sense from Santillana and his contemporaries;¹⁰¹ that Alphonse X employed the term "cantares" differently when he declared with reference to a miracle-legend (CM. 172): *desto cantares fezemos que cantassen os jograres*? Apart from the arguments previously advanced, is not the exist-

⁹⁶ *Antol.*, II, pp. 361-363. Without so much as attempting to disprove the dissenting views of Carolina Michaelis and Menéndez y Pelayo, views which he nevertheless knew (*Homenaje*, I, p. 366), Menéndez Pidal has asserted anew the direct descent of this ballad from the *Poema* (see *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, p. 29).

⁹⁷ Cf. Baist, *Grundriss*, II², p. 399 (§ 17): "Ihr (i. e., the *General*) folgen natürlich die Geschichtschreiber im 14. und 15. Jh.; die Masse der Romanzen geht unmittelbar oder mittelbar auf sie zurück; nur bei sehr wenigen kann Unabhängigkeit vielleicht vermutet, bei keiner bewiesen werden."

⁹⁸ Cf. A. Lang in his article on the English and Scottish ballads in *Chambers' Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, I, p. 521: "The objection that the people does not versify applies only to the modern populace of civilized Europe . . . that the peasantry of early mediæval Scotland and England were incapable of what the peasants of modern Greece can do, or could do at the time of the War of Independence, it is hard to believe."

⁹⁹ See II, pp. 330-333, 344-348.

¹⁰⁰ See above, p. 57.

¹⁰¹ See II, pp. 304-317.

ence of the *romance*-type before the fourteenth century sufficiently proved by its practically exclusive application to foreign as well as indigenous themes,¹⁰² by the vigor of its life in all parts of the Hispanic domain in the age of Columbus, and by the fact that other poetic forms, both lyric and narrative, living among the people of Asturias and Northern Portugal, appear in the artistic verse of the Castilians and Portuguese of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and there echo a still older, more primitive custom?¹⁰³ In the light of facts like these then—facts which have long been accessible—Menéndez Pidal might have seen in the words of Tellez de Meneses, substantially endorsed as they are by Garibay, an unmistakable testimony to contemporary belief that songs like the ones cited by him were handed down by oral tradition from the time of the events they relate, and he might have applied this principle to the question as to the origin of the type.

Returning now to the legend of Fernan Gonzalez, we may regard it as an established fact that it existed in vulgar verse in the age of the *General*, though not in the pretended form of extensive popular epics. As for Menéndez y Pelayo's explanation of the silence of the *General* with regard to our legend, it must be observed in the second place that it cannot be taken for granted, as he appears to do, that ancient chroniclers were as systematic and impartial in their use of sources of information as the modern historian is supposed to be.¹⁰⁴ They did not hesitate to discard a document for political or similar considerations, as, for example, Dozy suspects Alphonse X to have done with the *Rodrigo* because of its anti-royalist spirit;¹⁰⁵ or they overlooked it, though accessible to

¹⁰² Cf. Carolina Michaelis, *Grundriss*, II², p. 155; W. P. Ker, *On the History of the Ballads*, I. c., p. 200: "This ballad form cannot be new when it first appears; it must have a long history. The greater its success in transforming bookish matter to the likeness of a ballad, the stronger is the proof of its age. Ballad poetry is a long established custom before it can produce such things." Rajna, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, pp. 38-40.

¹⁰³ Cf. I, pp. 18-23.

¹⁰⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo himself (*Antol.*, II, p. 236) speaks of "el servilismo con que los historiadores de la Edad Media transcribían sus documentos." Cf. also I. c., p. 324.

¹⁰⁵ *Recherches*³, I, p. 97. On the other hand, Menéndez y Pelayo (I. c., p. 324) and Menéndez Pidal (*Homenaje*, I, p. 456 ff.; *Épopée*, p. 124) somewhat hastily conclude from the *General's* silence on this point that the *Rodrigo* did not exist at the time.

them, as seems to have happened to the compilers of the *General* with the Leonese Chronicle in Latin, whose account differs in many respects from theirs.¹⁰⁶

It would seem, therefore, as if it were either objection to its rebellious tone, or else mere inadvertence on the part of Alphonse X and his collaborators, that was responsible for the absence of our poetic legend from the *General*. As for inadvertence as the cause of such omission, it could hardly be assumed in the case of long, continuous poems, especially if these, as Menéndez Pidal holds, had been committed to writing since the time of their composition in the tenth century, and invested with almost the same historical value as professional chronicles. It would have been singular indeed if such poems had been ignored by the very aristocratic circles for whom they are said to have been written, and to whom two centuries or more of epic enthusiasm and of constant recasting could scarcely have failed to transmit one or more copies. On the other hand, it was natural enough that songs of the character of our *romances* should have been overlooked, especially if they had not been transferred to script from the oral memory of the people. It must be borne in mind that the argument from the silence of brief lays is of far less weight than that from the silence of large compositions.¹⁰⁷

We are thus again brought into the presence of conditions which argue for minor lays rather than for extensive works as the form in which the popular legend of Fernan Gonzalez was handed down to the days of Alphonse X, and we may now sum up the results of our brief examination of the evidence available for the alleged historical exactness of what is called the popular epopee of Castile.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ See above, III, 1, note 137. More serious is the neglect of this Latin chronicle on the part of Puyol y Alonso in his treatise on the hypothetical epic on Sancho II, since this writer had at his disposal a careful discussion and the text of the parts concerning the reigns of Sancho II and Alphonse VI in the easily accessible scientific review "Bulletin hispanique."

¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 60, and II, p. 339.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 12, pp. 109-110: "La poesía popular, que rara vez va acorde con la historia en sus predilecciones, olvidó por completo al vencedor del Salado, al conquistador de Algeciras." . . . And continuing: "una cronica rimada, que participa mucho de la poesía popular por el metro, pero que en rigor pertenece a la epica erudita, hasta por su carácter demasiado his-

In so far as the lack of anything like a complete and critical study of the period and life of Fernan Gonzalez permits one to form any definite judgment, his poetical legend does not exhibit any notable fidelity to historical fact, both the accounts in prose and in verse being largely made up of late scholastic matter and of romantic elements common to the fiction of other nations; it is remarkable rather for the conspicuous absence of reference to the series of warlike deeds which filled the long life of the founder of the independence of Castile. With the exception of the *mester de clerecía* of the thirteenth century, there is no evidence in favor of the production of any extensive poem on the subject, while there is much against it, and the tradition of the first heroic personage of Castile affords therefore no basis whatsoever for the theory under review. Similar conclusions would result from an examination of the legends of Garci Fernandez and the Infante Garcia.

A few remarks on the general question of historical truth in heroic poetry may conclude the present article. While arguing for the historical accuracy of the Castilian epos, the learned Madrid critic expresses himself as follows with regard to the conjectured poem on the *Infantes de Lara*, whose legend belongs to the period of Garci Fernandez (970-995), the son and successor of Fernan Gonzalez: "C'est uniquement dans les poèmes castillans les plus éloignés des données historiques qui les ont inspirés, par exemple dans le poème des Infants de Lara, que les héros luttent seuls contre des milliers de Mores, et qu'ils se rendent non par suite de blessures, mais par épuisement."¹⁰⁹ Let us note in passing that here the original Lara-epic is assigned to the second half of the eleventh century, instead of to the tenth century, as elsewhere,¹¹⁰ and that consequently the very earliest period of Castilian heroic legend is credited with an exception to the rule that the primitive epics were composed almost immediately after the events narrated. As Menéndez Pidal does not believe in the existence of a more primitive art

tórico, a tal punto, que ha hecho nacer en algunos la sospecha infundada de que el poema de Alfonso XI y la crónica en prosa hayan salido de la misma mano." Cf. also *l. c.*, II, p. 319.

¹⁰⁹ *Épopée*, pp. 35-36.

¹¹⁰ See above, III, I, p. 264, the passage cited from *Épopée*, p. 12, and *Épopée*, p. 9, where the production of not less than three epics on the Infantes de Lara is claimed.

of heroic song synchronous with the events, we are left to assume, with Baist and others,¹¹¹ that the Lara-legend survived a whole century without fixation in poetic form. Unless we misunderstand the passage cited, it assumes that historical incorrectness or improbable statements in a Castilian poem signify lateness of its production and that, conversely, historical correctness implies contemporary origin. Let us consider this idea for a moment. It is evident that not all divergences from historical truth observable in a poetic narrative are of the same character, or due to the same causes. To begin with the hyperboles noted in the poetical legend of the Infantes de Lara, they are by no means peculiar to comparatively late or decadent epics, but occur in the early heroic song of many peoples, and reflect that delight in a combat against odds, that unreasoning courage, which medieval France knew as *desmesure*.¹¹² An example of this universal trait of popular poetry is offered in that song, instructive in so many other respects, with which the women of Israel greeted David upon his return from the victory over the Philistine:

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands.¹¹³

Aristotle¹¹⁴ cites the pursuit of Hector around the walls of Troy and the landing of Odysseus on the shore of Ithaka in illustration of the thesis that "the irrational, on which the wonderful depends for its chief effects, has wider scope in epic poetry than in the drama because in the former the person acting is not seen." Such exaggerations or improbabilities as those noted in the Greek and the French epic must be judged by the principle that artistic treatment may impart an air of probability to things incredible in real life.¹¹⁵ Similar observations apply to what are called inconsis-

¹¹¹ Cf. above, p. 48 and note 1.

¹¹² Cf. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, pp. 64, 119, 249, 303.

¹¹³ I Sam. XVIII. According to the chronicle of Neocorus (ed. Dahlmann, I, p. 176 ff., II, p. 559 ff.), the Cimbrian peasants celebrated in their ballads their victories over enemies of far superior strength. Ormsby, *The Poem of the Cid*, p. 48, appositely compares the Cid's call to his men for a fight against odds before the battle of Tebar (*Poema*, ll. 985 ff.) with that of Roland Cheyne before the battle of Harlan. Needless to remind the reader that this spirit was of the very essence of the Spaniard. (Cf. Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros Varones*, t. 17.)

¹¹⁴ *Poetics*, XXIV, 9, 10. See Butcher's commentary, pp. 170-173.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Wilmotte, *Romania*, 44, pp. 62-63.

encies. There is no question that the epics of ancient Greece and medieval France served in a measure as historical documents, and that the historical sense of primitive peoples was indeed, as has well been said, awakened and strengthened by heroic song, which replaced, as it were, by the deeds of men those of the gods celebrated in the myth. It is precisely in this function of heroic poetry that we have one of the best proofs of its impersonal popular origin, and of the existence of a poetic art more primitive than that of the first recorded examples.¹¹⁶ But it is not to be inferred from this that the audience of the heroic age sought chronological sequence and consistency rather than the free play of the imagination.¹¹⁷ It was not at the point of view of the modern critic. As Thomson says in his suggestive "Studies in the Odyssey": "When we have a literature of the spoken word, it is the audience that chooses the subject."¹¹⁸ Then, as now, the demand was for a stirring story. There was no interest in such inconsistencies as when Apollo is represented as slaying the Greeks though he was still feasting with the Gods in Ethiopia,¹¹⁹ nor as when, in the *Roland* (l. 1282), Turgis dies at the hands of Anseis and a little later (l. 1358) once more at those of Oliver, nor even as when the twelve peers themselves vary in name.¹²⁰

As regards other inaccurate features of a narrative poem, suffice it to say at present that they may have been inevitable at the time of its origin, or may not have appeared so to those who took part in the events or witnessed them. The account of the poem may have corresponded very closely to their idea of what happened. In the very nature of the case, it is precisely at the moment when a

¹¹⁶ Cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 2; Comparetti, *l. c.*, p. 329.

¹¹⁷ Cf. A. Lang, *Homer and the Epic*, pp. 111-112, 118-119, 248, 290, 321; *Homer and his Age*, p. 322; Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, I, p. 305 ff.; Wilmotte, *l. c.*, pp. 58, 78; Hart, *l. c.*, p. 299.

¹¹⁸ Oxford, 1914, p. 190 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Iliad*, I, ll. 382 and 423.

¹²⁰ Cf. ll. 103 ff., 792 ff., 2402 ff. However just may be the historical considerations urged by Bédier (*Légendes épiques*, 4, pp. 295-334) against Hildegare's account of Clotaire II, they do not materially affect the question as to the existence of the reported song on St. Faro, since such a song may well have been inspired by a legend not in harmony with what is now regarded as historical fact.

memorable event occurs that it is most difficult, if not impossible, to grasp it in its entirety or in its true bearings. We have all noted in our own time the widely divergent, nay often positively contradictory versions given by intelligent and conscientious witnesses of important happenings. We all know to what extent such reports are colored by the preoccupations and the emotions of the moment. Bearing this in mind, and having due regard to the information furnished by ethnology, it is not too venturesome to surmise what must have been the essential features of a narrative song improvised under the impression of the moment.

Instead of anything like a developed recital of an event, such a song can give only a direct impression of one incident or series of incidents, sketched with rapid movement from scene to scene, from narrative to dialogue, in simple and objective language very close to life.¹²¹ Hence the energy of the genuine old ballad, hence that leaping over preliminaries and other connective matter¹²² which is wrongly regarded as indicative of origin in degenerate art; hence also another of its characteristic traits which G. Paris¹²³ has well described as: "L'élément lyrique, l'orgueil de la victoire, la douleur de la défaite, le regret des morts, l'espoir de la revanche, ou d'un succès plus complet encore." This lyric note, naturally more prominent in a song more romantic than heroic in content, is indeed generally recognized as an original element of the heroic ballad, impersonal in matter and in origin.¹²⁴ It diminishes with the progress of epic art, but lingers on even in the developed epic.¹²⁵ It shows

¹²¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that this does not mean the use of a patois.

¹²² Cf. La Villemarqué, *Barzaz et Breiz*, 4th ed., I, p. lvi. C. Michaelis, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, 16, p. 44 ff.; Steenstrup, *l. c.*, p. 230; Gummere, *The Pop. Ballad*, pp. 82, 85 ff.

¹²³ *Romania*, 13, p. 617.

¹²⁴ See, e. g., G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, pp. 1-2, and the excellent remarks by Steenstrup, *l. c.*, p. 57: "The simple man conceals his emotion under the form of a simile or picture, or assuming the character of a dispassionate narrator, he employs an epic situation to give vent to the feelings under which he labors. It is precisely on this basis that the epic-lyric romances have become the most accepted form for all folk-poetry, and this is most eminently true of our Danish ballads."

¹²⁵ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, p. 27, note 1, is himself inclined to see a sort of lyrical refrain, expressing the enthusiasm felt over the union of Castile and Leon under the sceptre of Ferdinand I, in ll. 2923 ff. of the *Poema del Cid*.

how arbitrary is the position of those who would draw a hard and fast line between narrative and lyric forms in early verse.¹²⁶ As found in the Spanish ballads of the collections, this lyric element comes in substance from their more primitive, impersonal versions, and is not to be referred to the deflection of this type, under courtly or other influences, from the manner of a supposed earlier epic of large proportions. The simple fact that assonance has been as typical a characteristic of lyric as well as of epic poetry in Peninsular tradition testifies sufficiently to the close genetic relationship of the two forms.

Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo¹²⁷ looked upon the *romances fronterizos* known since the days of Alphonse XI as examples of "la elaboración del canto popular tal como brotó del hecho mismo," and it may be readily conceded that rhapsodies like that of the "Moricos de Baeza" (*Primav.*, no. 71) afford a fairly good idea of the simpler form of the Spanish ballad. It must be remembered, however, that in the form in which they have come down to us, even the border ballads referring to facts of the fourteenth century are not themselves purely popular productions, but rather literary redactions of such; and furthermore, that they do not represent the first form of the type, but the result of an earlier development.¹²⁸ Considerably nearer to the primitive mould into which events may be supposed to have passed immediately was doubtless the previously mentioned lay¹²⁹ sung by the soldiers of Alphonse X about James I of Aragon in 1257. Unfortunately, the only part of this *cantar* which Don Juan Manuel still remembered at the time of his reference to it was the refrain:

¹²⁶ Cf. A. Lang, *Encyclop. Brit.* (9th ed.), 3, p. 283; and J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey*, p. 225: "Again, Stesichoros composes a kind of lyric markedly epic in character and of almost epic dimensions. His odes were sung at the festivals of various local Heroes in the Western Colonies"; and p. 226: "We may say much the same of the odes of Alkman and Ibykos, of Simonides and Bacchilides. Moreover, Stesichoros helps us to understand how the epos could be developed from a choral form." See also II, pp. 300, 302.

¹²⁷ *Antol.*, 12, p. 168.

¹²⁸ Cf. II, pp. 342-344, and the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo cited above, p. 50, note 16.

¹²⁹ Above, III, 2, note 163.

Rey velho que Deus confonda,
Tres son estas con a de Malonda.¹³⁰

But the agreement of this popular song, in the use of the refrain and the octosyllable, with Gonzalo de Berceo's 'Duelo que hizo la Virgen' and with the large body of contemporary narrative lays, both sacred and secular, in the Gallego-Portuguese idiom, shows beyond any reasonable doubt that it represents an archaic stage in the history of what is usually regarded as the normal type of the *romance*; and this all the more so as the same formal traits occur in many of the ballads collected from the later tradition of the Peninsula and from that of the Jewish colonies.¹³¹ The fact that the forms reviewed are the only forms of the poetic treatment of national legends in the native style of which there is any positive evidence in the thirteenth century, establishes another strong presumption in favor of the opinion that the *cantares* consulted by the *General* were of a similar nature, and not epics. Other contemporary narrative songs, like the one of Ayras Nunes previously discussed,¹³² might be adduced as throwing light upon the question as to the essential characteristics of the ballad composed under the immediate inspiration of the events. Though of literary make in the redaction in which we have them, these songs are based upon a popular type the archaic nature of which appears sufficiently from its embodying all those structural features which are now generally recognized by competent critics as the organic tests of the ballad of tradition, namely: the refrain, the brief, emphatic treatment of one striking moment chosen from an action or situation,¹³³ and the repetition of thought and expression which attends the improvisation alternating with the refrain.¹³⁴ This type serves to bridge

¹³⁰ As in Gallego-Portuguese prosody a final syllable terminating in a nasal may form synaloephe with a following vowel, the second line of our refrain is as correct an octosyllable as the first. See the present writer's note to l. 5872 of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (ed. C. Michaelis) in *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, 32, p. 304.

¹³¹ Cf. II, pp. 332-333, and above, III, 2, p. 405 f.

¹³² See above, III, 2, p. 405, regarding no. 466 of the *Canc. Vatic.*

¹³³ Cf. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, p. 30 ff.

¹³⁴ Cf. Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, p. xxxii; *Beginnings*, p. 193 ff., 252 ff.; *Popular Ballad*, pp. 93, 133 ff.; Kittredge, *English and Scottish Ballads*, p. xix ff. Cf. Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, p. 175: "As a rule savages do not understand how to invent and to compose a long connected story or a complete poem; they

over, in an appreciable measure, the gap between the traditional ballad, as recorded in literature, and the spontaneous communal song. As is well known, collective improvisation in the dancing throng is a survival of a primitive stage of thought which is dying out in the unlettered communities of Europe, but which ethnology has shown still to exist in full vigor among those savage races which are closest to conditions of prehistoric life.

It is true that the reports of ethnologists do not agree nearly so well as one might desire with regard to some of the questions which are of importance to the student of poetic beginnings. But this can surprise no one at all familiar with the nature and history of this department of research. The historical study of ethnology and of folksong have never gone hand in hand. As Professor Kittredge has well said in his fine introduction to the "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" edited by him, the materials collected by anthropologists and travellers "have the greater value for our purposes because they were gathered by men who had no thought of any theory of ballad authorship and were not concerned with the origin of poetry." This fact, quite apart from the nature of this field of research, explains by itself why our knowledge of the history and forms of natural poetry is at best very fragmentary. We must further consider, however, that until not very long ago the explorer did not have the guidance of a critical method for the study of poetic evolution. The materials available must therefore be used with great care. To cite an instance. According to such men as the missionary W. W. Gill, in his interesting work "From Darkness to Light in Polynesia,"¹³⁵ and W. Matthews, in "Legends of the Navahos,"¹³⁶ the narrative poetry found is all of individual authorship, no reference being made to collective improvisation and the choral dance. Are we justified in concluding from this that these customs never existed in those regions and that the folksong

simply take up any current event, put it into two or three strophes, and repeat this several times." As a good example of this may be cited the song which Mungo Park, the great African explorer, heard his kindly hostess and her household compose and sing about himself in 1796. (See "Travels in the Interior of Africa," in *The Life and Travels of Mungo Park*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1840, pp. 100-101.)

¹³⁵ London, 1894; containing a collection of illustrative clan songs.

¹³⁶ In *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, 1897, pp. 23-27, 35, 124-128.

of the Polynesians and American Indians was from the very beginning of individual making?¹³⁷ Or is it not, on the contrary, more rational to suppose, on the basis of general principles, that the art of individual composing with which these and other travellers became acquainted during the time of their residence in those regions, was the result of a comparatively recent development which was preceded by a more primitive, social process?¹³⁸ It is the second alternative that will in all probability be adopted by those who reflect that the history of poetic expression is indissolubly bound up with that of language, and must consequently share its social foundation. However imperfect, or even contradictory in detail, the available records of ethnology may appear for purposes of poetical criticism, they fully warrant us in insisting upon the principle that the comparative method must be strictly applied to the study of poetic origins quite as much as it has been, with now general approval, to language, religion, law and other manifestations of the human mind. Without a careful investigation of the poetry of races still in the collective, unconscious stage of literary art, we cannot expect to cast much real light on the origin of poetry or the successive stages of literary development.

Returning now to the question as to the distinctive characteristics of the early ballad, it is instructive to note that Yrjö Hirn, in his excellent work on the Origins of Art,¹³⁹ points out that the varying experiences of war have everywhere acted as a strong incentive on the commemorative impulse, and historic song has been most developed among tribes obliged to be constantly at war with their neighbors. It is by means of poetry and pantomimes commemorative of heroic deeds that barbaric races of to-day are known

¹³⁷ Such appears to be, in general, the view of L. Pound in an article on "The Beginnings of Poetry" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 201-232), which has come too late to be taken into account.

¹³⁸ This, at least, is in accord with the results of Wallaschek's researches (*l. c.*, p. 180 f.): "When it (i. e., recitative) occurs, the more primitive form of choral dances is to be found at the same time. These two distinct classes of songs, the choral dance songs and the solo song (recitative), we have been able to follow throughout the book." Cf. also *l. c.*, pp. 186, 257.

¹³⁹ *The Origins of Art. A psychological and sociological Inquiry* (London, 1900), pp. 179 ff., 268 ff. (with an ample bibliography of the subject of savage poetry, pp. 159 ff., 177 ff., 261 ff.).

to sing themselves full of pride and courage,¹⁴⁰ precisely as the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus,¹⁴¹ advanced to battle with "carmina quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur." In their social function, then, quite as much as in their structural simplicity, these songs are closely akin to those of medieval Europe of which Gaston Paris said that whether in praise or in condemnation of a deed, they served as a powerful stimulus to valor and civic virtue.¹⁴² Now, it is clear that the ballad cannot perform this office if its story is not felt to be substantially true.¹⁴³ If it contains inaccuracies, they may, as Steenstrup correctly observed,¹⁴⁴ have come from a false rumor current at the time, or from a certain political attitude giving rise to a one-sided, though natural, view of a situation. In these cases, an incorrect feature will rather indicate that the ballad was composed on the spur of the moment than that it served the purpose of distorting the truth. When recognized as contrary to a generally accepted view of certain facts, a ballad is likely to be discarded. It is largely for this reason that the historical *romance*, as Juan Menéndez Pidal justly remarked in his collection of Asturian ballads,¹⁴⁵ "es de suyo ménos duradero que el novelesco y el religioso, pues se conforman éstos mejor con todas las épocas y arguyen la aspiración constante de la sociedad."¹⁴⁶

From what has been said it must be apparent that historical exactitude, in so far as we do not expect it in a degree incompatible with poetical value,¹⁴⁷ is a characteristic of all early balladry. It is not in any sense a distinguishing mark of the poetry of Castile,

¹⁴⁰ Hirn states (*l. c.*, pp. 261-267) that choral dances are most developed where war is a customary occurrence.

¹⁴¹ *Germania*, III.

¹⁴² *Histoire poétique*, p. 2. Cf. Rios, *Historia crítica*, pp. 414-415.

¹⁴³ Cf. Villemarqué, *Barzas Breiz*, I, p. xxxviii: "L'actualité et la bonne foi sont deux qualités inhérentes au chant populaire primitif. Le poète de la nature chante ce qu'il a vu ou ce que tout le monde-sait comme lui."

¹⁴⁴ See his excellent discussion of the relation of the ballad to historical truth, *l. c.*, p. 241 ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Poesía popular* (Madrid, 1885), p. 64. It is interesting to note that Gill, in the work cited above (p. 74, note 135), attests the substantial accuracy of the historical songs of the Polynesians, but finds that they die away, while religious songs and prayers survive.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Rios, *Historia crítica*, 7, p. 439.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX, 9.

whether in the form of the *romance*, or in that of the Poem of the Cid. As for epics, if we understand by them not merely rhymed chronicles, but works of the imagination, their departure from historical fidelity does little more than exemplify what Aristotle set down as the true difference between history and poetry, namely, that the latter has a higher subject-matter than the former in that it expresses not the particular, but the universal.¹⁴⁸ While history, so continues *il maestro di color che sanno*,¹⁴⁹ is chiefly concerned with an account of particular events recorded in order of time without any clear causal connection, poetry conceives a more rigorous connection of events, cause and effect being linked in probable or necessary sequence.¹⁵⁰ It is scarcely necessary to say that one may take this view of the relation of the ballad to historical truth without at all intending to deny that the bard more distant from the facts he sings is less likely to confine himself closely to them than a contemporary. But such freedom as he uses manifests itself in the introduction of later material and in the expression of the spirit of his own day rather than in exaggeration or distortion.¹⁵¹

The question now presents itself how this substantial accord with reality which has been found to be so common a trait of the heroic lays and ballads of the whole Germanic North, of England and of other countries, maintained itself for any considerable length of time. Some critics, as we have seen,¹⁵² conclude from the dependence of historical exactitude upon the aid of texts that the extensive epics attributed by them to the tenth and eleventh centuries must have been committed to writing at the time of their composition. To this belief they were probably led in part by the appeal of the *General* to *cantares* on Bernardo del Carpio and other personages,¹⁵³ in part also by inference from the direction of the *Siete Partidas* that kings and knights should have *cantares* read or recited

¹⁴⁸ *Poetics*, IX, 3, and Butcher, pp. 183, 190.

¹⁴⁹ Cervantes echoes Aristotle when (*D. Q.*, II, 13) he represents the *bachiller* Carrasco as saying:

"... el poeta puede contar ó cantar las cosas no como fueron, sino como debían ser, y el historiador las ha de escribir no como debían ser, sino como fueron, sin añadir ni quitar a la verdad cosa alguna."

¹⁵⁰ *Poetics*, XXII, 1-2, and Butcher, *l. c.*, pp. 190-191.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Steenstrup, *l. c.*

¹⁵² P. 67, and vol. VIII, p. 267.

¹⁵³ See II, pp. 307-309.

to them.¹⁵⁴ If so, they overlooked several important facts. In the first place, the historical and legal works cited had reference to poems existing in written form in the thirteenth century only, without any hint whatsoever that writing had been used for the preservation of vernacular verse before that time. That such use of the vulgar tongue before the time of Alphonse VII is not to be assumed has already been shown.¹⁵⁵ In the second place, the *Siete Partidas* testify in explicit terms to the fact that some of the *cantares* from which king and cavalier were expected to draw inspiration for noble deeds, were not available in writing (*escrituras*), but only in oral tradition, a circumstance which argues in favor of the assumption that more than one of the *cantares* quoted by the *General* and later chronicles was obtained from oral tradition. We see, then, that the military aristocracy of the days of Alphonse X was wont to hear, and to sing, *cantares* of two kinds, according to the mode of their transmission. The first kind existed in oral tradition, the second both in the oral and the written. The latter kind was naturally to be preferred for its greater stability, since the written text acted as a check upon the variation of the oral source. There

¹⁵⁴ (Ed. Valencia, Por Joseph Thomas Lucas, año 1758.) Pta. II, title 21, law 20:

"E porende ordenaron que assi como en tiempo de guerra aprendiessen fecho de armas, por vista, por prueua; que otrosi en tiempo de paz la prisiessen por oyda, por entendimiento. E acostumbrauan los caualleros quando comian que les leyessen las estorias de los grandes fechos de armas que los otros fizieran, e los sesos e los esfuerços que ouieron para saberlos vencer e acabar lo que querian. E alli do non auian tales escrituras fazianlo retraer a los caualleros buenos e ancianos que se en ellos acertauan. E sin todo esto aun fazian mas; que non consentian que los juglares dixessen ante ellos otros cantares, si non de guerra, o que fablassen en fecho de armas. E esso mismo fazian, que quando non podian dormir, cada uno en su posada se fazia leer, e retraer estas cosas sobredichas."

Cf. *l.c.*, t. 5, l. 21 (entitled: De que alegria deue el Rey usar a las uegadas, para tomar conoste en los pesares, y en las cuytas:

"Alegrias y ha otras, sin las que diximos en las leyes ante desta, que fueron falladas, para tomar ome conorte en los cuydados, e en los pesares, quando los ouiesse. E estas son, oyr cantares e sonos de estrumentos, e jugar axedrez, o tablas, o otros juegos semejantes dellos."

In the third last line of the first extract, some texts (as, e. g., the one used by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 14) read "gesta" for "guerra." The latter reading is also the one of the Salamanca edition of 1555.

¹⁵⁵ Above, III, 1, pp. 265-278. The same applies, of course, to the heroic age in general. Cf. Steenstrup, *l. c.*, pp. 9, 247; Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, pp. 30, 132; Chadwick, *l. c.*, p. 38.

is no indication either in the directions of the *Siete Partidas* or elsewhere that the *cantares* accessible in written form were at all different in length and character from those having only an oral existence. Nor is such difference in any way to be inferred from the occasion or the mode of their rendition. As we saw before,¹⁵⁶ both brief lays and long poems were adapted to recitation in the castles and the camps of the nobles as well as in the market place. In so far, therefore, as the language of the *Siete Partidas* permits us to judge, both the written and the unwritten songs referred to belonged to one and the same class of heroic poetry. They must have been either ballads or epics. As for the latter class, the "chansons aux vastes proportions," which is currently regarded as the only form of epic poetry known in Castile previous to the fourteenth century, it is not to be supposed that it was the one had in view. Not only because, as we have already seen, there are no sufficient reasons for assuming its existence, while there are many arguing against it, but also because poems of such development are at once committed to writing like every production of a literary nature, and must be if their identity is not to be impaired within a few generations.¹⁵⁷ It must consequently have been the minor art of heroic poetry, songs of the kind later known as *romances*, which the *Siete Partidas* meant. This being so, the question arises how lays contemporary with occurrences of the time of the Infantes de Lara could be handed down orally to the second half of the thirteenth century in such condition as to appear useful for the purposes contemplated by Alphonse X and his collaborators.

According to the *Siete Partidas*, the *cantares* were read or sung to the knights either by one or more of their own number ("los caualleros buenos e ancianos que se en ellos acertauan"), or by *juglares*. At that time, therefore, it had become customary for the warriors to leave to the minstrels the recital of the lays which, as was the case elsewhere in medieval Europe,¹⁵⁸ it had been their wont to sing themselves with their retainers. The relegation of this singing to the minstrel, whose appearance in Western Spain is first

¹⁵⁶ Above, III, I, p 246 ff.

¹⁵⁷ Menéndez y Pidal rightly insists upon this with respect to the *Poem of the Cid* (*Cantar* I, p. 31 ff.).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, p. 11; *La littérature française au moyen-âge*, pp. 36-37.

recorded in 1136,¹⁵⁹ is one of the manifestations of that intellectual division of lay-society which, as we saw,¹⁶⁰ was prepared by the rise of literary art in the twelfth century. It does not mean, as is frequently supposed,¹⁶¹ that the *cantares* chanted by the *juglar* were as a species due to his authorship. There is as little reason for this idea as for seeking the origin of these lays in the aristocratic circles which delighted in hearing them. The few references to the activity of the minstrel that have come down to us represent him only as singing, not as making *cantares*.¹⁶² True, the author of the *Libro de Alexandre* contrasts the *mester de clerecía* with that of *juglaría*,¹⁶³ but there is nothing in this to justify the supposition that he thought of the *juglar* as the original author of the songs he recited. Neither the Marqués de Santillana, nor Nebrija, Encina and other metricians of the sixteenth century, who discuss the *romances*, ascribe them to, or connect them with, the minstrel. If any inference may be drawn from Gonzalo de Berceo's calling himself a *juglar*, it is that it was in poetic writing of a didactic, erudite order, not in popular balladry, that the minstrels did original work. Nor does it appear that the *romances* or *cantares* were as a rule taken down from their lips or note-books. As was seen above, both the historian Tellez de Meneses and the celebrated author of the "Carta al Condestable de Portugal" cite the people themselves as the source from which ballads were obtained.¹⁶⁴ In so far, then, as available evidence goes, the minstrel of Castile stood in very much the same relation to the narrative and lyric verse he chanted as his fellow in Greece, France, Great Britain, and elsewhere.¹⁶⁵ He was, as Gummere has well said,¹⁶⁶ "merely a link between later artistic poetry and older communal song." Such original part as he had in the poetic material which he aided in transmitting to posterity, consisted mainly in refashioning and expanding the songs which had

¹⁵⁹ See Terreros y Pando, *Paleografía española*, p. 101.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. above, III, 2, p. 403, and II, p. 303.

¹⁶¹ As by Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 86.

¹⁶² Most all of these references are cited by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, pp. 15-39.

¹⁶³ See note 160.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. II, pp. 303-304, and above, p. 61 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Comparetti, *l. c.*, pp. 357-358; Gummere, *Beginnings*, p. 181 ff.; *Popular Ballad*, pp. 8 ff., 50 ff.; Kittredge, *l. c.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

¹⁶⁶ *Beginnings*, p. 181.

come down to him and to which he owed the very essence of his own art, its technique, its style, its spirit. Examples of such elaboration of the older ballad material we have in what modern criticism has termed *romances juglarescos*. Significantly enough, most of these belong to the class of ballads which deal with chivalresque, and more particularly Carlovingian legends. With regard to the age of this class of minstrelsy, the data at hand do not permit us to determine it further than to say with Duran that, in their extant redaction at least, they are not earlier than the first part of the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁷ In view of the fact, however, that with the exception of the Infant Garcia and the Siege of Zamora, it is only subjects of primarily French provenience such as the legends of Bernardo del Carpio, Don Bueso and Maynete, for which the *General* cites *cantares* as sources of information,¹⁶⁸ it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the Carlovingian lays, favored as they naturally were by the intellectual supremacy of France in early Castile, were the first to receive development at the hands of the professional minstrel, and that through their example a similar direction was given to some of the simple ballads dealing with native themes. The matter informing these songs doubtless came to Northwestern Spain with the French pilgrims and knights of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is thus that we can best explain the great distance between their content and that of their originals.¹⁶⁹ Unaided by writing, these early songs could not propagate themselves in the memory of the *joglar* without rapid variation of the subject-matter. The divergencies observable between the various versions of the heroic poems of the Middle Ages were, as Chadwick remarks,¹⁷⁰ chiefly due to the fact that writing was not used to any great extent for their preservation. With what liberty the minstrel compresses or expands the oral songs committed to him may be seen

¹⁶⁷ *Romancero General*, I, p. xxiv; Wolf, *Studien*, p. 465; C. Michaelis, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philos.*, 16, p. 41. The manner, however, in which Diego de Burgos refers to the *romances* of Lanzarote and Galaz in his *Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana* (1458), as well as the previously discussed reference of Alvarez Gato to the *romances* of Don Bueso, show that ballads of this class were current in the popular tradition of the early part of the fifteenth century, if not before.

¹⁶⁸ See II, pp. 304-312.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* 12, p. 321.

¹⁷⁰ *Heroic Age*, p. 38.

in the living balladry of Serbia.¹⁷¹ Owing to the very nature of purely oral and unchecked transmission, then, and owing also to his increasing tendency to individualism, the minstrel does not preserve balladry in anything like its original state. This fact is not only in itself a strong argument against regarding him as the main source of early narrative poetry, but it points as well to the communal dance, in which the genuine ballad of tradition took its rise, as the chief conservative force. This agrees with what has been observed to be the case among peoples still in the impersonal, spontaneous stage of poetic art.

In his already cited instructive work on "The Origins of Art,"¹⁷² Hirn, after adverting to the importance which Spencer¹⁷³ and others ascribed to the social influences of war, continues: "But perhaps sufficient attention has not been paid to the share which art has had in the development of those peculiarities which are common to all military nations. And yet as a means of facilitating tribal unity of action and feeling, music and dance must be of exceptional sociological importance in warlike communities."¹⁷⁴ We shall therefore meet with highly developed choral dances in those nations in whose life war is a customary occurrence. The North American Indians, as well as the Dahomeyans, are noted for the soldier-like regularity of their dances. But nowhere among the lower tribes of mankind is the time-sense so refined as among the pre-eminently warlike Maori. . . . To the same cause one is also tempted to ascribe the regularity of the Kaffir dances which by their choral character stand in so marked a contrast to the amusements of the neighbor tribe, the peaceful Hottentots, among whom every dancer acts 'separately for himself.'¹⁷⁵

In the course of the present study attention has repeatedly been called to the fact that the choral dance and other forms of collective singing produced that exactness of rhythm which comparative poetics and ethnology have found to be the keynote of primitive

¹⁷¹ *L. c.*, pp. 101-102.

¹⁷² Pp. 261-267.

¹⁷³ *Principles of Sociology*, I, pp. 553 ff., 567 ff.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, p. 287.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Sparrman, *Resa till Goda Hopps-Udden*, etc. (Stockholm, 1783-1818), 1, p. 375 ff.; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingebornen Süd-Afrikas* (Breslau, 1872), p. 328.

poetry.¹⁷⁶ It is obvious that the factors which made for the exact preservation of the rhythmical form of a song must have been likewise operative in the maintenance of its text. Upon this point, we may again cite some excellent observations of Hirn: "It is undeniable that some of the most important qualities in literature were developed during the time when it was used chiefly as a means for conveying information. The practical considerations therein have undoubtedly influenced the form of the oral narrative. It is evident, for example, that the metrical and rhythmical recital must have proved the more serviceable whenever a thought-content was to be preserved for futurity."¹⁷⁷

The close connection of the ballad, or narrative lyric, with the choral dance, we hardly need repeat, is not confined to uncivilized races. It exists also in the traditional poetry of the unlettered communities of Europe, as is sufficiently attested by literary records from the early Middle Ages down to our own time. A fairly clear reference to this poetical condition is the much-debated report of a popular ballad of the seventh century sung by the women in honor of St. Faro,¹⁷⁸ a ballad presenting a pretty close parallel to the

¹⁷⁶ See I, pp. 17-23; II, p. 301 ff. Cf. Hirn, *l. c.*, pp. 87 ff., 256 ff.; Gummere, *Beginnings*, p. 30 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *L. c.*, p. 184 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti* (Venetis, 1733), 2, p. 590: "Ex qua victoria carmen publicum juxta rusticitatem per omnium pene volitabat ora ita canentium, feminaeque choros inde plaudendo componebant." Bédier, who argues (*Légendes épiques*, pp. 295-335) emphatically against the value of Hildegare's account for the history of the French epic, disposes of this welcome glimpse of the poetic life of France as follows: "De quel texte de l'antiquité sacrée ou profane, de quelle description de mystérieux païens, ou de quel *carmen saeculare*, ou de quelle vie de saint a-t-il tiré l'idée de ces chœurs de femme? Nous ne savons pas; mais il n'est pas nécessaire, en vérité, qu'il l'ait tirée du spectacle de la vie contemporaine." But why should Hildegare not have taken the idea from contemporary life when, as a matter of fact, it represented a common practice of that life? Cf., to cite only one source of information on this subject, Jeanroy's *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge*, on the important part played by woman in poetic composition in France, in Portugal and elsewhere. See also, e. g., Priscus' account of his visit to Attila in 446, cited above (III, I, p. 247), and the union of dance and song implied in a Latin description of a bear-dance, in Grimm-Schmeller, *Latein. Gedichte des X. u. XI. Jhs.*, p. 144. As for the custom of accompanying dance and song with the clapping of hands (*plaudendo*), see, e. g., Sidonius Apollinarius, I, 9, and for the same usage among savages Wallaschek, *l. c.*, p. 87, and Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, 6, p. 78.

Hebrew woman-song quoted above.¹⁷⁹ A testimony of similiar purport may be seen in the tributes paid by the chroniclers to St. William, as in the one of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May 811: "Qui chori juvenum, qui conventus populorum, praecipue militum ac nobilium virorum, quae vigiliae sanctorum dulce non resonant et modulatis vocibus decantant qualis et quantus fuerit . . . ?" No less positive, as might be expected, particularly as to the part played by women in communal song, is the evidence presented by Spain.¹⁸⁰ As we are informed by the Chronicle of Alphonse VII,¹⁸¹ Empress Berenguela, in 1138, appeared on the battlements of the *alcazar* of Toledo to the army of the Almoravides, surrounded by maidens who sang in the vulgar tongue to the sound of instruments. In the following year,¹⁸² Alphonse VII having returned from the conquest of Oreja:

Omnis exercitus, et principes et duces reversi sunt, unusquisque in sua [propria domo], canentes et laudentes Deum quia facta est magna victoria in manu pueri sui Aldefonsi Imperatoris.

Of the ovation offered to Alphonse VIII in Toledo in 1212, Archbishop Rodrigo writes as follows:

Nos vero cum nobili rege Aldephonso ad urbem pervenimus Toletanam; ibique cum pontificibus et clero et universo populo . . . processionaliter est receptus, multis Deum laudantibus et in musicis instrumentis acclamantibus, quod eis regem suum reddiderat sanum et incolumem et corona victoriae coronatum.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ For other instances, and for choral poetry among the Hebrews in general, see Lowth, *De sacra poesi Hebraea*, ed. Rosenmüller, p. 205 ff.

¹⁸⁰ Regarding the general subject of dances which are performed by men and women jointly, or by one or the other sex only, see Wallaschek, *l. c.*, pp. 203-213.

¹⁸¹ §§ LXVIII and LXIX.

¹⁸² *l. c.*, § LXXI. See also (*l. c.*, § XXV) the story of the reception of Alphonse VII at Zaragoza in 1134: "Cum omnis populus audivisset, quod rex Legionis veniret in Caesaraugustam, omnes principes civitatis et tota plebs exierunt obviam ei, cum tympanis et citharis et psalteriis et cum omni genere musicorum, canentes . . ."; again, *l. c.*, § LXXII, at Toledo in 1137 after his victory over the Moors; *l. c.*, § XXXVII, the account of the marriage of Doña Urraca, daughter of Alphonse VII, with D. Garcia of Navarre in 1144, with songs by women and maidens; and *l. c.*, § LXXIX, the account of Muño Alfonso's victory at Almodovar del Campo in 1142.

¹⁸³ *De rebus Hisp.*, l. viii, c. 12.

In a manuscript work on the Coronation of Kings in Castile (Escorial X—III—3), written according to Rios before 1248 and dedicated to Ferdinand III, choruses of singing maidens are prescribed for coronation ceremonies. Though the existence of identical customs in Galicia may be taken for granted, the following report from the year 1116 will be of interest:

Regi puero [Aldefonso VII] ingredienti Civitatem [Compostellanam] occurrit universus populus Civitatis cum summa laetitia, et eum salutantes *ex consuetudine Gallaeciae* ipsius adventui congratulantur, utpote Domini sui. . . . Tunc cursus alipedum equorum, phalanges armatorum peditum, *choreas psallentium mulierum* videre satis jucundum erat.¹⁸⁴

It is unquestionably the traditional practice of his own country that the author of the *Libro de Alexandre* had in mind when he described the entrance of his hero in Babylon (copla 1376):

Al entrar en la villa mugieres et varones
Exieron recibilo con diversas canciones:
Quales eran los cantos nen quales et los sonos,
Non lo sabrien deçir paraulas nen sermones.

If it be contended that none of the passages quoted mentions a *romance* as having formed part of the singing in the celebrations referred to, it may be said that there was no reason for doing so, since ballads as well as hymns and songs, like the one on Ferdinand I woven into the Poem of the Cid,¹⁸⁵ served as the time-honored expression of the religious and social life of the Spanish race. Even if the chroniclers of the period did not tell us so,¹⁸⁶ we might take it for granted that the Castilians had the Cross borne before them in marching against the Infidel, and sang the praises of the Lord on their victorious return. It would therefore be quite arbitrary to assert that no ballads were chanted on such occasions. That the *romance*, an element of choral song quite as much as the hymn,

¹⁸⁴ *Historia Compostelana*, l. i, c. 59. Cf. also the coronation of Alphonse VII as king of Galicia in 1110 (*l. c.*, c. 56): "Dies illa, in hymnis iubilationis et canticorum canticis peracta, pertransiit." For further instances see *Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, pp. xc-xci.

¹⁸⁵ Ll. 2923 ff.; *Rodrigo*, l. 759. As is well known, the verses in question form part of a *romance* on Sancho II (*Primavera*, no. 33). Cf. above, note 125.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. e. g., the Chronicle of Alphonse VII, § LVII.

played its part in the singing of clergy and people, of lord and liegeman, is placed beyond a reasonable doubt, not only by what has already been said of its history, but by its record down to our times.

By his remark about "estos romances e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condicion se alegran," the Marqués de Santillana, as was pointed out previously,¹⁸⁷ doubtless referred to the singing of the traditional *romance* by festal throngs, whether in processions, on pilgrimages, or other occasions of communal singing. A half century later, as we saw,¹⁸⁸ Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, in his Natural History of the Indies completed in 1533, compared the heroic lays and choral dances of the Mexicans to what he knew to be the identical custom of Spain. Salinas, in his important and much-cited musical treatise, testifies to collecting the ballads studied by him at pilgrimages, festivals, and similar communal gatherings.¹⁸⁹ A hundred years later, the chronicler F. Francisco Sota relates¹⁹⁰ that a *romance* dealing with the imprisonment of Count Rodrigo Gonzalez, a rebellious vassal of Alphonse VII, was still sung at his time in the *bailes y danzas* of Asturias. More abundant and explicit, as might be expected, becomes the testimony of the union of *romance* and choral dance with the awakening of literary interest in folksong in the eighteenth century. Without pausing over the opinion of the learned and judicious Sarmiento that the *romances* on the twelve Peers, on Bernardo del Carpio and Fernan Gonzalez, composed presumably in the very age of those personages, were in substance the ones chanted by the people of his own day,¹⁹¹ we may note that the well-known writer and patriot Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811) gives us the first direct

¹⁸⁷ II, pp. 317-321.

¹⁸⁸ Above, note 87.

¹⁸⁹ L. vi, cap. 9. It is in this sense that the passage referred to is also interpreted by F. Pedrell ("Folk-lore musical castillan du XVI^e siècle," in *Zeitsch. d. internat. Musikgesellschaft*, I (1900), p. 388). Cf. also Salinas, VI, cap. 5: in vulgaribus cantilenis et saltationibus; also *l. c.*, cap. II, 14, 15; VII, cap. 6.

¹⁹⁰ In a passage quoted II, p. 302, note 46, from "Chronica de los Principes de Asturias y Cantabria" (ed. Madrid, 1861). See also II, p. 343. On p. 444 of the same work, Sota cites the first line of another old *romance*—*coplas antiguas*, as he calls it this time—sung by the people in his day.

¹⁹¹ *Memorias para la historia de la poesía y poetas españoles*, Madrid, 1775, p. 242, § 548.

and clear statement of the close alliance of the *romance* with the ancient choral dance as observed in Asturias.¹⁹² According to Jovellanos, there are chorals performed by men, and others by women, both having this in common that the dancers, arranged in a circle, hold each other by the hand and turn to the rhythm of the song with slow and measured movement. The men dance to the music of a *romance* in octosyllabic verse, sung by some one known for a good voice and memory, the whole chorus responding to each *copla* or *cuarteto* of the *romance* with a sort of *estribillo* or *estrambote*¹⁹³ consisting of two single verses or half a *copla*. Identical in essence, though more precise in matters of detail, particularly with respect to the character of the *danza prima*, the principal and oldest of the Asturian choral dances, are the accounts of Amador de los Rios¹⁹⁴ and Juan Menéndez Pidal,¹⁹⁵ the first systematic collectors of Asturian *romances*.¹⁹⁶

According to the last-named scholar, the *danza prima* is performed at religious festivals by two choruses, one of men and one of women:¹⁹⁷

Un hombre y una mujer, los más ancianos por lo regular, guían la danza, diciendo en concertado son alguno de los romances proverbiales cuya tonada es harto parecida al canto litúrgico; y á cada dos de los versos que repiten, exclama el coro una de estas diferentes invocaciones religiosas al tenor del asonante: ¡Válgame el Señor San Pedro! ¡Nuestra Señora me valga! ¡Válgame Nuestra Señora la bendita Madalena! . . . Desde remotas eras llegó [el canto romancesco] con muy leves variantes á nosotros; y por diferente que aparezca en cada región, ofrece el mismo tono y notas dispuestas a tal suerte, que al cabo producen un resultado igual. Cada cuarteta encierra todo un pensamiento, y uno y otra se ajustan perfectamente á cada período musical que se repite con pertinacia hasta la terminación del *romance*.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹² *Obras*, in the *Biblioteca* of Rivadeneyra, II, p. 299. Cf. I, pp. 18-21.

¹⁹³ For the uses of this term see the present writer's contribution to the *Scritti varii di filologia in honore di Rodolfo Renier*, Torino, pp. 613-621.

¹⁹⁴ *Jahrbuch für roman. u. engl. Litteratur*, 3 (1860); *Historia crítica*, 7, pp. 441-442.

¹⁹⁵ *Poesía popular, Colección de los viejos romances que se cantan por los Asturianos en la Danza prima, Esforyzas y Filandones*, Madrid, 1885, p. 65 ff.

¹⁹⁶ This remark is, of course, not intended to detract in the least from the merits of the work of Duran.

¹⁹⁷ *L. c.*, p. 65. Cf. I, p. 18.

¹⁹⁸ *L. c.*, pp. 66-71.

As the lamented editor of "Poesía popular" well says, the solemn, rather melancholy music of the *romance*, and its likeness to the liturgical chant, point to the close connection of this poetic type with ritual observances.¹⁹⁹ We are thus again made to see how intimately in Spain, as elsewhere, popular and religious songs are related, and how arbitrary is the attempted separation of the *romance*-type from the miracle lay and the hymn.²⁰⁰ No less significant than the ritual character of the *romance*-music is the war-like symbolism of the *danza prima*, a feature to which Rios and Juan Menéndez Pidal also duly called attention.²⁰¹ In this respect, once more, the poetic conditions of Northwestern Spain bear a striking resemblance to those of living savage tribes and of ancient nations, as mentioned above.²⁰² That choral dances like the *danza prima* are not the only centre of ballad-singing need scarcely be said. As is the case elsewhere, and as Menéndez Pidal's collection indicates in its very title, the *romances* are also sung by the communal throng at pilgrimages and at such rural gatherings as the *esfoyazas* and *filandones*.²⁰³

What it is all-important to recognize as a long-established fact, and one vital for the critical appreciation of the subject in hand, is that in Asturias, the cradle of the Spanish nation, the narrative lyric or *romance* is still normally handed down from generation to generation in the choral chant, and not in the recitation of individuals, as is too often inferred from the methods adopted by most col-

¹⁹⁹ Cf. *l. c.*, p. 67:

"Reconocida la antigüedad de este baile, en que por igual, y sin perder la respetabilidad que dan los años, hacen coro el anciano octogenario y el lampiño joven, la moza casadera y la adusta quintañona, no es sin embargo fácil inquirir de cierto su origen, aunque hay barruntos de que debió ser religioso—guerrero."

²⁰⁰ Cf. Steenstrup, *l. c.*, p. 164: "In the Middle Ages, there existed no difference between the ecclesiastic and the secular music, or in other words, the secular songs and the folk-songs were in the Greek modes," etc. Juan Menéndez Pidal (*l. c.*, p. 21 ff.) duly recognizes the great influence of the Church on all phases of life in Asturias.

²⁰¹ *Jahrbuch*, 3, p. 274; *Poesía popular*, pp. 67-70. Cf. I, p. 19.

²⁰² See p. 75 ff.

²⁰³ Cf. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Romanero español*, p. 104:

"las danzas corales de los labradores, las reuniones de las mujeres del pueblo para hilar, cardar, u otros trabajos colectivos; los juegos infantiles; las bodas de los judíos españoles; he aquí las ocasiones principales de recitación de romances en común."

lectors.²⁰⁴ The significance of this ancient custom for the question of ballad tradition in Spain is emphasized by the fact that it exists not only in Asturias, but also in other parts of the Hispanic world. It is true that in the Central and Southern provinces of Spain it does not seem to be known any longer,²⁰⁵ and that in the Hispanic colonies it has been recorded only here and there, as in the Philippines, in Montevideo,²⁰⁶ in Brazil,²⁰⁷ and among the Jews.²⁰⁸ It is still in vigor, however, in Galicia and in Northern Portugal,²⁰⁹ that is, in precisely those regions of the Peninsula which form with Asturias an unbroken chain of poetic as well as linguistic development.

The poetical affinity of these three regions is not a mere theory, as many still seem to think. First formally asserted by Santillana, it has been proved beyond question by the abundant evidence contained in the works of the Gallego-Portuguese school of the thirteenth century and by the critical study of these works during the past fifty years.²¹⁰ It is not too much to say that it is largely because of the common neglect of this literary condition that the current method of epic criticism is so precarious.

In view of these circumstances, it cannot be regarded as a mere accident that most of the *romances* heard in Asturias are also found in Tras-os-Montes, and that it is in the three provinces mentioned that ballad tradition is best preserved.²¹¹ Upon this point we may well cite Menéndez y Pelayo:

²⁰⁴ The use of the term "recitación" instead of "canto," in the passage quoted from Menéndez Pidal in the foregoing note, is open to the objection that it is misleading.

²⁰⁵ Cf. C. Michaelis, *Revista lusitana*, 2, p. 158. In her brief remarks on the singing of *romances* in Andalusia, Fernan Caballero (*La Gaviota*, Madrid, 1861, pp. 127-128) refers only to solitary singers not accompanied by music.

²⁰⁶ Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero español*, p. 98 ff.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Sylvio Romero, *Estudos sobre a poesia popular do Brazil*, 1888, p. 32 ff.

²⁰⁸ Menéndez Pidal, *l. c.*, p. 104. The archaic character of the ballads surviving in the Canaries, in Madeira and the Azores renders it very probable that in those colonies choral song must, until comparatively recent times at least, have been the dominant instrument of oral transmission.

²⁰⁹ In the province of Tras-os-Montes and in that part of the province of Beira which borders on the Duero.

²¹⁰ See I, pp. 18-23; Rios, *Historia crítica*, 7, pp. 440-442; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 10, p. 236:

"Admitiendo, como hoy admite todo crítico sensato, que en arte y en literatura no hubo fronteras entre Portugal y Castilla hasta el siglo pasado, hay que estimar el romancero portugués como apéndice valiosísimo del castellano."

²¹¹ Cf. C. Michaelis, *l. c.*

Por espíritu de mal entendido regionalismo han llegado doctos escritores á negar en términos poco ménos que absolutos la existencia de romances en Galicia. . . . Tal afirmación podía negarse a priori por el solo hecho de estar colocada Galicia entre dos regiones afines, Asturias y Portugal, que son cabalmente las que mejor los han conservado. Pero afortunadamente hay pruebas directas de la existencia en Galicia de romances gallegos, y también de romances castellanos. Y para que se entienda que hablamos de verdaderos romances, es decir de romances octosilábicos, prescindiremos de los romancillos ó jácaras en versos de seis sílabas, etc.²¹²

Seeing, then, that the *romance* is found best preserved in the very regions in which it is predominantly, if not exclusively, as a matter of tradition, handed down in the song of the communal dance, we need not hesitate to say that outside of writing it is the choral dance and chant that provides the one and only reliable foundation for a metrically and textually exact transmission of ballad poetry.²¹³ Nor will this surprise any one who thinks of dance not in the exclusively modern sense, but in the sense of regular, ordered movements,²¹⁴ and who reflects that the melody and instrumental music accompanying the *romance*, even without the aid of manuscript copies which, in Portugal at least, most towns have,²¹⁵ are sufficient to prevent alteration in its rhythm or text.

In view of these facts the question naturally arises how it comes that this traditional choral method of transmission, and the ballad versions perpetuated by it, have not long ago been carefully examined and treated as the indispensable basis of a truly critical study of Spanish balladry; how it comes that even enthusiastic and serious students of the subject, men like Amador de los Rios, though aware of the union of ballad and communal dance in Asturias, and of the dependence of the untutored mountaineer upon the intellectual stimulus of collective action,²¹⁶ nevertheless failed to go for their material to the traditional source so easily accessible to them, taking it instead from the lips of separate individuals.²¹⁷

²¹² *Antol.*, 10, pp. 203-204. Cf. also *l. c.*, p. 9: "Corresponde á Asturias la gloria no menor de haber conservado los textos más genuinos y completos que la tradition oral ha revelado hasta ahora."

²¹³ Cf. II, pp. 302-303.

²¹⁴ Wallaschek, *l. c.*, p. 188. Cf. Steenstrup, *l. c.*, p. 10 ff., on the differences between modern and medieval dancing.

²¹⁵ Cf. C. Michaelis, *l. c.*, p. 162.

²¹⁶ *Historia crítica*, 7, pp. 441-442, and note 1.

²¹⁷ *L. c.*

The answer to this question may be found in part in the technical and practical difficulties attending the task;²¹⁸ in part also in the failure of collectors to recognize the organic bond existing between ballad and choral song. The technical and practical difficulties lie of course in the noting down of the melody and the words of the songs as rendered by the chorus. Even if the tunes were not, as has already been pointed out, mostly in ecclesiastic or medieval modes, instead of in the major or minor scale, it would require a special command of musical technique to transcribe them correctly. And every one who reflects how difficult it is to seize words exactly when they are sung instead of spoken, will appreciate the seriousness of the task of writing down the text of a *romance*, particularly when it is chanted by a chorus to the deafening accompaniment of the *pandero* of the Asturians, or of castanets or some other instrument. If even natives cannot understand all the words of a song they do not already know by heart, how much less one not to the manner born? To the task, therefore, of studying at its true source the choral songs, one must bring not only a complete command of the language of the country and of the ballad texts, but an expert knowledge of the musical problems involved. In the absence of such preparation, the eager folklorist contents himself, unconsciously in many cases, with a wholly inadequate image of the song, or he has recourse to something much worse, a mere recitation instead of singing of the ballad, by an unlettered individual. The latter expedient was adopted some years ago by the learned Scandinavian hispanist A. W. Munthe, though with the frank admission, creditable alike to his honesty and his critical insight, that it was imposed upon him by want of time. It was chiefly on the basis of Munthe's collection²¹⁹ that Madame Vasconcellos showed that such recitations were nothing less than modern corruptions of the text and the rhythm of the genuine tradition.²²⁰

This will surprise no one who considers that, to the folk at any rate, the words of a ballad mean much less than the melody, which,

²¹⁸ Most of these difficulties were set forth very clearly by Madame Vasconcellos in the article of the *Revista lusitana* repeatedly cited in the preceding pages, and worthy of the most careful attention.

²¹⁹ *Folkpoesi från Asturien*. Ur Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet, Upsala förhandlingar. Upsala, Universitets Arsskrift, 1888, pp. 105-126.

²²⁰ *L. c.*, pp. 160-161.

in the very nature of the case, is older than the subject-matter cast into it. As Steenstrup correctly observes,²²¹ the subject-matter never interferes with the use of the ballads in the dance. Now, it is clear that, as Madame Vasconcellos remarks,²²² without the guide and restraint of the rhythm, so clearly marked in popular melodies and so sharply accentuated by the instruments and the movement of the dance, without the example of the leader²²³ and the vital sympathy of the other singers, untutored persons, however willing and intelligent otherwise, are as a rule disconcerted and unable to remember the words correctly when separated from the habitual group. They cannot repeat a *romance* without singing it, and even when singing it, lose the thread if interrupted by any question or pause made by the collector. We have here a psychological state observable everywhere among the unlettered and uncivilized.²²⁴ It is only in collective, not in solitary effort, that the acts of such people are rhythmic or certain.

Furthermore, being an unconscious expression of the daily life, of the joy and sorrow of the folk, the ballads are not easily and naturally remembered by them when divorced from that life, and it is difficult for the folk to understand why any one should want to write them down.²²⁵ No wonder, then, that in such an inherited state of mind individuals can only with difficulty be coaxed or bribed into singing alone, to say nothing of reciting, a ballad which

²²¹ *L. c.*, p. 21.

²²² *L. c.*

²²³ In the presence of the leader, as in other important features, the choral dance of northwestern Spain resembles very closely that of the Scandinavian countries described by Steenstrup, *l. c.*, p. 9 ff.

²²⁴ With regard to this, it is instructive to hear a direct testimony from Brazil, given by Celso de Magalhães (d. 1879), as reported in Braga's introduction to Sylvio Romero's *Cantos populares do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1883, 1, p. xx):

"Declaramos que temos unicamente colligidos por escripto os romances do Bernal francez, Nao Catherinetta e Dom Barão, e que os outros que houvermos de comparar, foram ouvidos, é verdade, mas não pudemos tel-os por escripto por causa da grande difficuldade que encontramos nas pessoas que as sabiam, as quaes sómente podiam repetil-os cantando, e quando paravam não lhes era possivel continuar sem recommear."

²²⁵ In his *Canti popolari siciliani* (2d ed., Palermo, 1891, vol. 1, p. 11) the lamented Pitre remarked: "Se il popolo conoscesse l'autore d'una canzone, forse non la imparerebbe, peggio se roba di persona dotta."

they learned to sing, and in a certain measure to act, only in concert.²²⁶

In the case of the *romance* it must finally be borne in mind that its rendition, whenever necessary, is accompanied with narrative and other explanatory parts in prose relative to its connection with the legend.²²⁷ Now, when a *romance* is sung, as it naturally is and should be, it stands out clearly from the prose additions. When it is only recited, however, the distinction between metrical and prose parts disappears, and the result is confusion. It is exactly traits of recitation like these that largely account for such erroneous ideas as Hanssen, in a passage previously referred to,²²⁸ derived from Olmeda.

There is no question, then, that from the recitation of ballads neither a true nor a complete conception of the nature and actual status of this poetic type can be obtained, and that Madame Vasconcellos was fully justified in her assertion that it is not the people that corrupt their poetry, but inadequate or wrong methods of collecting it.²²⁹

Where, as now seems to be the case in most parts of the Hispanic world, the traditional dance as centre of the *romance* has disappeared, this poetic form should be collected as exclusively as possible from the song of those who are its natural guardians, and by those who have the musical as well as the literary knowledge necessary for this task. Ballad versions obtained from recitation should in every case be clearly so characterized and carefully revised by comparison with more reliable texts. Where, however, as in As-

²²⁶ Compare with this such experiences as that of the American explorer, Charles Frederick Hartt, in collecting the myths of the tribes of the Amazon, as told by A. Lang in *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 1, pp. 85-86.

²²⁷ Cf. Madame Vasconcellos, *l. c.*, p. 160, and *Grundriss*, 2, 2, p. 155. This popular practice is one of a number of facts, later to be brought forward, which argue against the theory that absence of connective matter in the ballad is evidence of its origin in degenerate art.

²²⁸ II, pp. 301-302. Similar misconceptions appear in Baist's work in *Grundriss*, 2, 2, p. 390 (§ 8), etc.

²²⁹ Cf. *l. c.*, pp. 168-169:

"As pessoas que recitam e contam defeituosa e infantilmente, são as mesmas que cantando, não estragam um unico verso, e ainda as mesmas que, procedendo como *autores*, i. e., narrando acontecimentos que presenciaram . . ., fallam uma prosa vivaz e pittoresca que tem, até certo ponto, valor poetico. Só recitando é que costumam deturpar textos."

turias, Galicia and Northern Portugal, regions whose poetic sap still flows through the Hispanic race, the art of ballad singing is identified with the ancient choral dance, whether it be the mimetic *danza prima* or some other form of it, modern criticism is in duty bound to study the *romance* as sung there. This is all the more urgent as it is well known that the choral dance is giving way to the vulgarizing influences of modern life. It is difficult to understand how those nearest to its home could, with but few exceptions, have so disregarded it as to leave in doubt its very existence. While the reciprocity of influence in both the ballad and the communal dance of Denmark was long ago made the theme of a careful inquiry by Steenstrup, and while the researches of men like Gummere and Kittredge have been similarly instructive for the history of British balladry, no attempt has yet been made to examine the structure and the texts of the extant ballad material of the Hispanic world in the light of the versions preserved by the choral dance of the Northwest of the Peninsula, nor have reasons even been given why this traditional form of ballad singing has not been taken into account in the discussion of ballad origins and ballad transmission.

It is generally admitted that the modern oral tradition of the *romance* is inseparable from the ancient, that is, from that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represented in the collections of that time.²³⁰ We saw above that the records of the choral dance, as centre of ballad tradition, carry us back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that Santillana's reference to the *romances é cantares* of the people implies the existence of this custom a hundred years before. Apart, however, from the general testimony of ethnology and comparative poetics in favor of the communal dance as the ultimate source of the ballad, there is specific evidence that the choral dance as the centre of folksong is much older than the fifteenth century. As was shown in an earlier part of this study,²³¹ the strophic form of the so-called *romance* beginning "¡Ay un galan d'esta villa" agrees in essentials with that of some fifty composi-

²³⁰ This is fully admitted by Menéndez Pidal (*Romancero español*, p. 85): "La tradición antigua es inseparable de la moderna. . . . La música es una poderosa fuerza vital del Romancero, es como las alas que le llevan á través del tiempo y del espacio" Cf. *l. c.*, 106.

²³¹ I, pp. 18-21.

tions of a primitive popular type handed down in the verse of the Gallego-Portuguese school.²³² Having the same interlacing of parallel stanzas as the Asturian song, they also must have been sung by two choruses, and must have originated in the choral dance.²³³ If we finally consider the important traits which connect the present version or versions of the *danza prima* ballad and of its archaic thirteenth-century parallels with the metrical forms of Latin popular and hymnal poetry,²³⁴ one cannot but conclude that in the Northwest of the Peninsula at least the union of ballad singing and choral dance existed long before the beginnings of vernacular literature.

It is in the form of oral tradition revealed by the facts just reviewed that we find the answer to the question²³⁵ how ballads contemporary with events of the age of Fernan Gonzalez were borne down the tide of time in such condition as to appear serviceable to the purposes of Alphonse X and his collaborators in the *General* and the *Siete Partidas*. By this it is not intended to say, of course, that the choral dance preserved all the ballads used by it at one time or another. We know of the existence of ballads which are not now extant. Some of these, to be sure, may yet turn up. Many, however, which once formed part of the poetic annals of Spain, are doubtless lost altogether. The violent political changes of the petty, rival Christian states must have brought many a ballad in conflict with a later, more generally accepted view of facts. In such a case, as has already been pointed out, the ballad was likely to be discarded. This factor, it need hardly be said,²³⁶ affected especially the so-called historical *romances*. Here, once more, the fact is significant that the three Northwestern provinces in which poetic tradition is best preserved have in common substantially the same *romances*.²³⁷

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²³² Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 3, p. xliii ff.

²³³ See regarding this the present writer's *Liederbuch*, pp. xcv, cxxxviii ff., and C. Michaelis, *Cancion. da Ajuda*, 2, p. 870 ff.

²³⁴ I, pp. 21-23.

²³⁵ See above, p. 79.

²³⁶ See above, p. 76.

²³⁷ In view of the instances of the name *Andria* adduced by V. Crescini from Muntaner and other writers (cf. n. 231, vol. viii, p. 417), Menéndez Pidal has recently (*Revista de Filología española*, 4, 1917, p. 298) expressed himself in favor of admitting this form in l. 1971 of the Poem of the Cid in place of his emendation *Alexandria*.

CORRECTION. Vol. viii, p. 402, n. 166, read: *στυγερή δαιδῆ*.

ESPAGNOL *anchova*.

DIEZ, *Wb*⁵, 5, s.v. *acciuğa*, voyait la base du mot italien dans **ΑΡΥΑ* dont il déduisit l'existence du latin *APUA*. Il croyait la forme italienne seule correcte, celles des autres langues auraient été altérées. En différence de lui, M. Meyer-Lübke tire, dans son *REW*, n° 520, s.v. *APHYE* 'anchois,' l'it. *acciuğa*, le sic. et génois *ançova* d'où viendrait *amplova* du dialecte niçois, ensuite l'esp. *anchoa* qui aurait pénétré en français, et enfin le port. *anchova* du lat. **APIUVA* qui serait attesté par *ΑΡΥΙΑ* du *CGIL*, III, 256, 66. Il dit à la suite des formes citées :

“Die Geschichte des Wortes ist nicht aufgeklärt. Ital. -čč- weist nach dem Süden oder nach Genua; siz. -o- fällt auf und erweckt den Verdacht der Entlehnung aus dem Span.; im Span. ist -ch- aus -p̃- nicht die übliche Entwicklung, auch bleibt -v- zu erklären. . . .”

Si la base des deux savants ne convient pas tout à fait aux formes romanes, elle ne convient pas non plus à la phonétique latine.

Cette langue offre deux formes du mot grec : *APHYE*, emprunté sans doute par le véhicule de la littérature et à une époque tardive, et *APUA* dont le *p* et l'*u* à la place des grecs *φ* et *υ* témoignent de son incorporation très ancienne dans le latin. Mais alors l'accent tonique qui repose sur l'*ŷ* de la pénultième, et la substitution du grec *υ* par *iu* de la base supposée par M. Meyer-Lübke (si l'on ne veut pas s'aventurer dans des hypothèses du genre de celle de M. Clauszen, *Rom. Forsch.* XV, p. 100 du tirage à part) sont difficiles à comprendre.

Mais il y avait en latin une troisième forme que ne connaît même pas le *Thesaurus* et qui est offerte par Lebrija. Il définit dans son *Dictionarium* *APHYA* par : “herba quaedam est quae interpretatur aplua”; et “pisciculus qui ex pluvia nascitur.” Enfin le mot *APLUA* : “piscis qui nascitur in spuma aquae.” *APHYA* et *APLUA* désignent donc un même poisson.

La croyance que ce poisson naît de la pluie était répandue chez les Romains, comme il ressort de deux passages de Pline : *Nat.* 31, 95 ("Caepit tamen et privatim ex inutili piscicula minimoque confici; apuam nostri, aphyen Graeci vocant, quoniam is pisciculus e pluvia nascatur."), et *Nat.* 9, 160 ("Provenit apua spuma maris incalescente, cum admissus est imber."); elle remonte à la grèce où elle avait été occasionnée par l'étymologie populaire (v. Boisacq, s.v. ἀφύη note 1 : "l'étymologie populaire, rapprochant ἀφύη de gr. ἀφρός 'écume' ou l'expliquant par ἀπό + ὕει 'il pleut' a créé les légendes dont on trouve un écho dans Aristote, HA. XIV, 3 sq. et Pline, HN, IX, 160. XXXI, 95") et a déterminé la modification par laquelle s'expliquent déjà les formes romanes : on a rattaché APUA à PLUERE ou encore à PLÖVERE d'où APLUA, *APLUVA, *APLOVA. L'accent reposait à l'origine sur la première syllabe, mais, par suite de la décomposition, il a passé sur la pénultième : *APLÖVA. Plus tard, sans doute sous l'impulsion d'une autre association (AMPLUS?), on a intercalé encore *m*.

Le reflet le moins changé de cette base qui convient aussi bien au latin qu'aux langues romanes, *amplova* du dialecte niçois, est considéré par M. Meyer-Lübke comme emprunté au génois. Mais l'ü ne devrait-il pas donner *u* (= fr. *ou*) dans ce dialecte, si l'on part de *APLUVA, ou *ö* si c'est de *APLÖVA? Il n'y a donc que la Sicile qui peut être la patrie du mot : c'est là que PL passe à č, dans le coin sud-est de l'île (à Noto, à Modica, etc., cf. *It. Gr.*, § 188). Comme *o* y donne *u*, la forme *APLŮVA est exclue. Il faut donc partir de *APLÖVA ou déjà de *AMPLÖVA : en faveur de la dernière forme parlent non seulement les mots catalan et niçois, mais aussi, outre le gén. *ančova*, l'*n* des emprunts vér. *ančoa*, vénit. *anchioa*.— L'it. *acciuga* présente deux particularités : la chute de l'*n* et la substitution de *g* à *v*. Le slovène *ančuga* qui paraît emprunté à l'italien, ne demanderait-il pas aussi en toscan l'existence de **anciuga*?— Quant au passage de -v- à -g-, il se rencontre en toscan, mais les conditions dans lesquelles il se produit, ne sont pas celles que présente *ančova*. Il vaut donc mieux adopter soit l'influence de l'étymologie populaire (*asciugare*?) comme l'avait déjà fait Littré (s.v. *anchois*) et qui expliquerait en même temps *u* pour *o* et la disparition de l'*n*; soit le passage du mot en toscan d'une région voisine du dialecte

émilien dans lequel -g- donne -v- entre o et a (*dogadova*, etc., *It. Gr.*, § 207) et où il pouvait y avoir hésitation dans un mot étranger.

Les langues de la péninsule ibérique présentent des formes semblables au sicilien, port. *anchova*, esp. *anchova*, *anchoa*, cat. *anxova* (enregistré seulement par Vogel). L'o de l'espagnol et l'ø du portugais demanderaient la base *AMPLŮVA ce qui irait contre la base exigée par le sicilien. En renvoyant pour *anchova* à *anchoa*, le *Diccionario de la Academia* semble préférer la dernière forme, bien que *anchova* soit le plus ancien puis qu'il est enregistré par Lebrija (au moins dans l'édition de 1553 que j'ai sous la main).—Comme l'avait déjà dit M. Meyer-Lübke, la chute du -v- fait difficulté. Mais la signification du mot montre nettement qu'il est étranger en espagnol. Le *Diccionario* dit, s.v. *anchoa*: "Pescado. Es nombre que se da al bogueron cuando está salado." Le poisson qui est indigène en Espagne, ne prend donc le nom de *anchoa* que comme produit de l'industrie et on comprend qu'avec l'art de conserver le poisson le nom étranger de celui-ci ait été implanté en espagnol. D'où l'on peut conclure qu'il est également étranger en portugais. Est-il d'origine française sous forme de *anchoa*, sous celle de *anchova* plutôt d'origine sicilienne que ce soit directement ou bien par l'intermédiaire du dialecte génois? Explication compliquée, mais non pas tout à fait impossible.

Vogel donne le cat. *anxova* que ne connaît pas Labernia et qui est sûrement emprunté ou le traitement de MPL. Mais Labernia offre, au sens de 'sardineta,' *amploja* qu'il désigne comme terme familier. Cette forme qui paraît bien indigène, vient-elle de *AMPLOVIA ou bien de *AMPLUVIA, vi donnant y surtout dans le Nord des provinces de Barcelone et de Gérone (*Grundriss*, I², p. 857)? Le groupe vi et la voyelle donnent le même résultat qu'en cat. *royarubia* (v. *Grundriss*, I², p. 857, note 2), cependant cf. *pluja*. *AMPLOVIA, AMPLUVIA aurait-il été substitué, par une association propre au catalan, à l'ancien *AMPLOVA?

Enfin le fr. *anchois* qui apparaît pour la première fois en 1564 (v. le *Dictionnaire général*) est emprunté directement ou indirectement au sicilien.

Pour résumer, la forme du terme ἀφύη a suscité en Grèce la croyance que le petit poisson naissait de la pluie. Cette croyance

s'est propagée aussi dans le monde latin et a déterminé, d'après PLUERE, PLOVERE, le changement du primitif APUA en APLUA, *APLOVA, et sans doute sous l'influence d'une association avec un autre mot, AMPLOVA, *AMPLOVIA. Sous cette forme le substantif s'est développé régulièrement dans le dialecte niçois, dans le coin sud-est de la Sicile et en Catalogue; les autres langues et dialectes romans qui le possèdent, l'ont emprunté, directement ou indirectement, au sicilien.

LES CORRESPONDANTS NON-IDENTIQUES DES \bar{o} ET \check{u} LATINS DANS LES
CONDITIONS IDENTIQUES EN ESPAGNOL, EN PORTUGAIS, EN
CATALAN ET EN ITALIEN.

1. "De même que \bar{e} et \check{i} du latin littéraire, \bar{o} et \check{u} sont identiques en roman au point de vue de la qualité du son : ils se sont confondus en o . Le sarde qui distinguait \bar{e} et \check{i} , distingue aussi \bar{o} et \check{u} ; pour le second point au sarde se joignent encore l'albanais et le roumain."

Ce n'est pas seulement dans les langues que M. Meyer-Lübke énumère dans le passage cité (I, § 118) de sa *Grammaire des langues romanes*, que \bar{o} du latin classique aboutit à un autre résultat que \check{u} ; on voit, dans certaines conditions, la même différence en espagnol, en portugais, en catalan et en italien.

2, 1. Le suffixe *-ōnius*, *-ōnia* des noms communs (*veduño*, *vi-dueño*, *pedigüeño*, *cigüeña*, etc., *carroña*, *visoño*, *ponzoña*) et des noms de lieux se présente en espagnol sous trois formes : *-oño*, *-ueño* et *-uño*. La plus grande partie du domaine castillan et de certains dialectes avoisinants, surtout celle de léonais, possèdent *-ueño*; le reste, *-oño* dont le territoire est parsemé de rares îlots de *-uño*, surtout dans les Asturies. Il suffit de constater ces faits ici parce qu'ils seront exposés avec plus de détail dans un autre article.

La voyelle tonique de *cuño* < *cuneus* diffère de celle de *-ōnius* sans qu'il soit possible d'assigner le substantif à quelque parler où *-ōnius* donne *-uño*.

Les conditions des groupes *-ōnius* et *ūneus* étant autrement parfaitement identiques, cette différence ne peut tenir qu'à la différence originaire des voyelles toniques. Pourtant dans tous les autres cas, \bar{o} et \check{u} suivent un même développement. Donc, on ne peut attribuer ces deux résultats qu'à l'action de $n\grave{}$ qui suit et qui a exercé, avant

la confusion de voyelles *ō* et *ũ*, son influence sur la voyelle qui précède.

Cũneus est le seul exemple sûr du groupe -*ũneus*, cependant certaines circonstances en rehaussent singulièrement la valeur.

2, 2. Ce sont d'abord les deux autres langues romanes de la Péninsule, le portugais et le catalan.

Aux trois formes espagnoles du suffixe -*ōnius*, le portugais n'en oppose qu'une seule, -*onho*: cf. esp. *vidueño*, *veduño*, port. *vidonho*; esp. *cigüeña*, port. *cegonha*, etc. Mais là encore, *cuneus* donne *cunho*, *cunha*.

M. Meyer-Lübke rattache, il est vrai, dans son *REW*, n° 2396, à la même base le port. *conho* 'roc isolé' au milieu d'une rivière, et l'alemtej. *conho* 'caillou' outre le port. *cunho*, *cunha* qui ont le même sens qu'en espagnol. Mais parmi les dictionnaires portugais que j'ai à ma disposition (Roquete, Barbosa, Wildik, Ey) le premier seul porte *conho* qui paraît par conséquent rare.—Le sens du mot alemtejan 'caillou' appelle plutôt la base cochlea qui avait la même signification déjà en latin et qui l'a encore dans le frioul. *kógul* (*REW*, n° 2011, s.v., 4). On s'attendrait à **colho*. La substitution de l'*ñ* à l'*l* s'est produite comme dans l'astur, *sueñu* 'pez' qui vient de solea, et *rueñu* 'pequeño rodete de tela rehenchida ó de helechos . . . para poner en la cabeza debajo de la ferrada ó de otra carga' qui se rattache à rotulus (ces mots fournis par le *Vocabulario de las palabras y frases bables* . . . de Apolinar de Rato y Hévía ne sont pas enregistrés dans le *REW*).—L'autre signification 'roc isolé au milieu d'une rivière' se déduit sans difficulté de la première.

L'inégalité entre le développement de *ō* et de *ũ* se rencontre donc aussi en portugais.

2, 3. En catalan les exemples de -*ōnius*, -a, *cegonya* (qui n'a que le sens de l'espagnol *cegoñal*) ou encore *cigonya* (qui s'accorde avec le prov. *cigonha*), *cotoneus* > *codony*, *codonya* auxquels on pourrait ajouter *ronya* et *carronya* (esp. *roña*, *carroña*), présentent *o* devant *ny*. Ils diffèrent du nom propre *Catalunya* qui n'est pas clair. Le catalan n'a-t-il pas substitué au nom correct de la province le nom appartenant, à l'origine, à l'une de ses parties ou même, par suite de sa dépendance politique, le nom dont se servait quelque région du pays qui la dominait? C'est par un procédé analogue

que l'originare *Catalueña* a été remplacé, en espagnol, par le catalan (comme le croit M. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual elemental*,² § 4, 6) *Cataluña*. Du reste la désinence a pu être ajoutée au radical telle quelle, assez tard, comme il ressort de l'opposition de la voyelle tonique de l'adjectif *catalá*, *catalana* avec l'*u* du nom propre du pays.

Le résultat régulier de *-ōnia*, *-us* est donc, paraît-il, *-ony*, *-onya*.

Que donne cūneus en catalan? M. Meyer-Lübke cite dans son *REW*, l. c., *cony*, mais Labernia et Vogel n'emploient que *cuny* comme le *Nou diccionari manual catalá-castellá* per T. G. Y. O. (Gerona 1845).

Le résultat de grunium n'est pas plus clair. Cette fois-ci, le *REW*, n° 3894, s.v., donne *gruny* d'accord avec le *Nou diccionari manual*, mais Labernia et Vogel, *grony* (mais *grunyir*).

Malgré les hésitations mentionnées, *ũ* aboutit, le plus souvent, à *u*.

Les trois langues romanes de la péninsule ibérique s'accordent donc à traiter, devant *ni*, *ũ* latin autrement que *ō*.

3, 1. Comment se comporte *ũ* devant *ñ* provenant d'autres sources que *ni*?

En espagnol, *ñ* est encore le résultat des groupes *gn*, *nge*, *ng'l*, *ndi*, *nn*, *mn*. Devant *nge*, *ũ* ne se rencontre que dans le verbe *uñir*. Ungicula > *onceja* prouve que *nge* donne, avant la syllabe tonique, *nce* devant lequel *ũ* se change, comme ailleurs, en *o*. L'*ñ* du verbe vient donc de *nge* après la syllabe tonique et l'*u* de l'espagnol est dû à l'influence de l'*ñ* qui suit.—La voyelle prend, devant ces *ñ*, trois formes :

pugnus > <i>puño</i>	verecundia > <i>vergüeña</i>	cunus > <i>coño</i>
ungula > <i>uña</i>		autumnus > <i>otoño</i>
jungit > <i>uñe</i>		

En portugais, *nh* vient également de *gn*, *ng'l*, mais non plus de *ndi* ni de *nn*, *mn*:

pugnus > <i>punho</i>	verecundia > <i>vergonça</i>	autumnus > <i>outono</i>
ungula > <i>unha</i>		

Le produit portugais de *gn*, *ng'l* exerce donc sur *ũ* exactement la même influence qu'en espagnol.

Le catalan change *gn*, *ndi*, *nn* en *ñ*, mais il conserve *ng'l*; voici les résultats de la voyelle :

pugnus > *puny* verecundia > *vergonya* cunnus > *con*
 ungula > *ungla*

Par sa consonne dure, le dernier mot est en contradiction avec d'autres exemples tels que *pany*, *any*. L'irrégularité aurait-elle été amenée par l'analogie comme dans *Areñs de Lledó* (Alghero, Jernel) [cf. *Arenys de Ampurda* (Gerona), *Arenys de Mar*, *Arenys de Munt* (Barcelone), v. *Grundriss*, I², p. 859, note 1]? Il est difficile de le croire. Malheureusement, aucun de nos trois dictionnaires n'offre le mot que donne le *REW*, n° 2399.—Quoiqu'il en soit, la différence entre *vergonya* et *puny* est sûre et conforme à l'espagnole.

3, 2. Le résultat de *ũ* devant *ñ* de gn est donc dans toutes les trois langues, et devant *ñ* de ng'l en espagnol et en portugais le même (*u*), mais autre que devant *ñ* de ndj en espagnol (*ue*) et en catalan (*o*), et encore autre que devant *ñ* de nn, mn en espagnol (*o*).

L'accord de ces langues prouve que l'*u* est partout, comme dans *cuneus*, l'effet de l'évolution phonétique normale, bien que chacun de ces mots ne soit qu'un unique exemple de ces groupes.

4, 1. Il a été dit (§ 2, 1) qu'avant sa confusion avec *ō* latin, *ũ* avait été arrêté dans son évolution normale par *ñ* de *nj*. A ce moment, la quantité latine était-elle encore intacte? Le fait que les consonnes palatales ferment, dans la Péninsule, les voyelles qui précèdent, ainsi que certaines considérations d'ordre chronologique indiquent que c'est la qualité de la voyelle qui a subi l'influence de l'*n*. La qualité avait donc été substituée à la quantité latine (*ũ* = *u*, *ō* = *o*). Ces changements sont traduits par la succession suivante qui résulte de la confrontation de *-ōnius* et *-ūneus*:

$$\begin{array}{l|l} \check{u} = u & \\ \bar{o} = o & u^{\#} = u^{\#} | u = o \\ n\check{i} = \check{n} & \end{array}$$

Le rapport chronologique des trois membres de la première colonne reste indéterminé.

L'*ñ* de gn, ng'l ng° comme celui de *nj* a changé *ũ* en *u*; celui de *ndj* a agi sur *ũ* comme *ñ* de *nj* sur *ō*. Les quatre premiers groupes ont donc abouti à *ñ* avant la fermeture de *u* devant la nasale mouillée. Dans les groupes ng° et ng'l la première partie seule était

$$\begin{array}{l|l|l|l} \bar{o} = o & & & \\ \bar{u} = u & & & \\ \bar{n}_i = \bar{n} & u^a = u^a & u = o & \\ \bar{g}n = \bar{n} & & & \\ \bar{n}g'l = \bar{n} \dots & & & \bar{o}^a = \text{non } \bar{o}^a \quad \left| \begin{array}{l} \bar{n}n = \bar{n} \\ \bar{m}n = \bar{n} \end{array} \right. \\ \bar{n}g' = \bar{n} \dots & & & \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \bar{n}d_i = \bar{n}d' \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \bar{n}d^a = \bar{n}d^a \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

4. 2. L'évolution du portugais garantit dans une certaine mesure l'exactitude de la chronologie des changements espagnols : les plus anciens seuls peuvent s'accorder dans les deux langues et ils s'accordent en effet tous (car certaines considérations conduisent à la conviction que la partie nasale du groupe ng^1 était à l'origine mouillée aussi bien en portugais qu'en espagnol).

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uniquement ng'l qui fait difficulté: comment, dans ces conditions, ng'l = ñ qui est plus ancien, occupe-t-il un territoire moins grand (esp. et port.) que $\eta^{\pi} = \eta^{\pi}$ (esp., port., cat.), qui est plus jeune? On admet que les changements antérieurs ne couvrent pas toujours un territoire plus étendu que les postérieurs. Mais il se peut aussi que η se soit fermé devant ñ de ni, gn et ng'l dans la Péninsule entière et que ñ de ng'l, plus jeune que les premiers et borné à l'espagnol et au portugais, ait encore participé à cette influence qui s'est prolongée seulement dans ces deux langues.

Voilà pourquoi la succession des changements établis en espagnol peut être considérée comme exacte.

Il ressort de tout cela que ò et ù toniques ont abouti, dans les conditions identiques, à des résultats différents.

5, 1. L'évolution de ù dans la syllabe non tonique est, semble-t-il, identique à celle de ù tonique:

lat.	esp.	port.	catal.	prov.
jungere	<i>uñir</i>		<i>yunyir</i>	<i>jonher</i>
pungere			<i>punyir</i>	<i>ponher</i>
*grunjire	<i>gruñir</i>	<i>grunhir</i>	<i>grunyir</i>	<i>gronhir</i>
*pugnalis	<i>puñal</i>	<i>punhal</i>	<i>punyal</i>	<i>ponhal</i>
pugnare	<i>puñar</i>	<i>punhar</i>		<i>ponhar</i>

Comme il y a accord, dans ces verbes ou ces mots dérivés, entre les langues de la Péninsule contre le provençal, il est probable que le développement phonétique n'a pas été altéré par l'analogie.

5, 2. Il y a certaines formes qui vont contre la règle, mais elles ne sont pas tout à fait sûres.

Le *REW* tire le galic. *ronhar* "gronder" de ... grumjare (s.v., n° 3893). Si *verecundia* a donné *vergoña*, comme le prétendent les *Elementos de gramática histórica gallega* de M. Vicente García de Diego, pp. 16, 37 et 170 (mais p. 57, ils donnent *vergonza*), ne supposerait-on plutôt *grundiare?—Esp. *acoñar* que cite le *REW*, n° 2396 (s.v. *cuneus*), surprend également par son *o*, mais les dictionnaires espagnols (celui de l'Académie, Wildik, Paz y Mélia, Manuel do Canto e Castro Mascarenhas Valdez, Booch-M'Rossey, Nebrissensis, partie lat.-esp., s.v. *cuneo*) sont unanimes à donner *acuñar*.—Cat. *ponya* "devoir," semble douteux. Le *REW*, n° 6813, le dérive de *pugnare*. Vogel le désigne comme sa trouvaille et La-

bernia n'enregistre que *punya* (non cité par Vogel) en renvoyant à "empenyo, esfors" (il l'emploie donc au sens que suppose M. Meyer-Lübke comme intermédiaire entre le sens latin et celui de "devoir"). Le mot n'est pas sans doute beaucoup usité et *punya* est régulier.

6, 11. Les mêmes différences se retrouvent en italien: *ō* y reste devant *gn* de *nj*, *ũ* devient *u*, cf. -*ōneus* = -*ogno* (*affricogno*, *giallogno*, etc.), -*ōnia* (*menzogna*, *cigogna*, *carogna*), *cotogno*, *fogno* -*favōnius* contre *grugno*. M. Meyer-Lübke a remplacé, dans son *REW*, par *cugno* de Lusques, la forme *cogno*, citée dans sa *Gr. d. l. rom.*, son *It. Gr.*, dans Bartoli-Braune et encore dans le *Grundriss*, I², § 36.—Sunnea, a. it. *sogna*, *bisognare*, s'il est d'origine franque, peut être venu en italien après coup.

La cause de cette différence est la même que dans la péninsule ibérique.

6, 12. Les autres *gn* que possède ou possédait l'italien n'agissent pas tous comme celui de *nj*: *pugno*, *giugnere*, *giunge*, *arungia* -*sugna*, mais *vergogna*, et on n'attribue pas toujours l'*u* à l'action de *gn* (= *ñ*). Voici comment M. Meyer-Lübke comprend le passage à *u* dans l'*It. Gr.*, § 223, reproduit sans changement dans Bartoli-Braune, § 121): "Sarà lecito ammettere che *gn* (cat.) sia diventato in prima *nn*, cioè che la gutturale *g* siasi assimilata alla *n* diventando *n* gutturale—e qui si avrebbe la ragione per cui . . . davanti a questo nesso l'*o* dà *u* e invece l'*e* non dà *i*: la velare *n* richiedeva appunto la vocal più velare, cioè *u*, e viceversa non comportava la più palatale, cioè *i*—; poi *nn*, propagginandosi l'elemento gutturale dalla prima alla seconda *n* (quasi *nn*, *nh*, *nj*), sarà giunto a *ñ*." Mais il serait difficile de justifier *tronco* où *n* devait être aussi guttural, et *gn* influence sûrement l'*u* dans *cugno*, circonstances qui autorisent à supposer la même évolution dans *pugna*.

Pour *giunge*, c'est encore, comme dans *giugnere*, la nasale mouillée par l'assimilation au *d'* suivant, qui a déterminé la fermeture de *u* avant de redevenir dure après le passage de *d'* à *ġ* (*ng^o*—*nd'*—*ñd'*—*ñġ*—*ng* dans les paroxytons, *ng^o*—*nd'*—*ñd'*—*ññ*—*ñ* dans les proparoxytons).

Mais il semble impossible de rien conclure pour l'influence de *gn* de *ngj* et de *ndj*, parce que *ō* de *spōngia* aboutit au même résultat

que l'ũ de *sugna*-axungia (si l'on ne veut pas admettre comme base de *spugna* *spũgia dû à l'adaptation du mot grec à l'articulation latine comme dans *fungus*, ou bien dû à l'influence immédiate de celui-ci), et parce que *vergogna* peut tenir son *o* du verbe comme il en tient peut-être son *gn* (cf. *pranzo*, *fronza*, etc.).

Ce qui est donc sûr, c'est que *o* est le résultat italien de *ō* devant *gn* de *nj*, et *u* celui de *ũ* devant *gn* de *nj*, *gn*, *ng*.

6, 2. La chronologie de ces changements est la même qu'en espagnol :

$$\begin{array}{l|l} \text{ũ} = \text{u} & \\ \text{ō} = \text{o} & \\ \text{nj} = \text{gn} & \text{u}^{\text{gn}} = \text{u}^{\text{gn}} | \text{u} = \text{o} \\ \text{gn} = \text{gn} & \\ \text{ng} = \text{d}' | \text{n}^{\text{d}'} = \text{n}^{\text{d}'} & \end{array}$$

Confrontés avec -ĩneus- *-igno* et *pingere*, les exemples *legno*, *degno*, etc., montrent que la nasale mouillée s'est développée dans les deux cas où elle influence la qualité de la voyelle, plus tôt que dans les derniers, ce qui donne la succession suivante :

$$\begin{array}{l|l} \text{nj} = \text{gn} & \\ \text{ng} = \text{d}' | \text{n}^{\text{d}'} = \text{n}^{\text{d}'} & \text{i}(\text{e})^{\text{gn}} = \text{i}^{\text{gn}} | \text{gn} = \text{gn} \end{array}$$

Comme l'italien n'offre pas le groupe -ēni, il reste indécis si l'ñ des groupes *nj*, *n̄* a agi sur *i* avant sa confusion avec *e* ou après. Voilà ce que veut dire *i(e)ñ = iñ*.

Cette succession précise le rapport que était resté indécis, entre quelques membres de la première colonne de la première succession italienne. Par la combinaison des deux, on obtient la chronologie suivante :

$$\begin{array}{l|l} \text{ũ} = \text{u} & \\ \text{i} = \text{i} & \\ \text{nj} = \text{gn} & \text{i}(\text{e})^{\text{gn}} = \text{i}^{\text{gn}} | \text{gn} = \text{gn} \\ \text{ng} = \text{d}' | \text{n}^{\text{d}'} = \text{n}^{\text{d}'} & \text{u}^{\text{gn}} = \text{u}^{\text{gn}} | \text{u} = \text{o} \end{array}$$

Le rapport chronologique des nasales mouillées issues de *nj* et de *gn* est confirmé par le fait que le premier a donné dans toutes les langues romanes *n̄*, tandis que pour l'évolution de *gn*, certains dialectes italiens, le sarde, le roumain et le dalmate se séparent du reste

du domaine roman. Quant à ng^o , l'accord des langues romanes est moins grand que pour $n\grave{\underline{i}}$ (le logoudorien et le dalmate seuls font exception) et plus grand que pour gn .

7. Y a-t-il rapport entre les quatre langues? Nous n'en doutons pas pour l'espagnol, le portugais et le catalan, vu la proximité géographique de leurs territoires, et vu aussi la succession identique des phénomènes qui précèdent et qui suivent; en Italie où le changement est spécifiquement florentin, il s'est opéré par suite de l'identité des conditions non pas historiques, mais simplement physiologiques.

8. Voici comment se présente le développement des sons en question dans la péninsule ibérique. Après avoir perdu son caractère syllabique et abouti à l'état de mi-consonne, le y du groupe $ni +$ voyelle mouilla la nasale; un peu plus tard sans doute (à en juger par leur développement non identique dans les langues romanes), les groupes gn et ng^o , celui-ci au moins dans la première partie, aboutirent également à la nasale mouillée. Celle-ci ferma l' μ où la qualité s'était substituée à la quantité latine. Cette influence qui a pu commencer au plus tôt après la transformation $n\grave{\underline{i}} = \tilde{n}$, se prolongea en espagnol et en portugais jusqu'au développement de l' \tilde{n} au commencement du groupe $ng'l$ qui n'a donné \tilde{n} que dans ces deux langues et non plus en catalan. Après la confusion de μ avec ϕ et l'assimilation de la nasale au d' suivant du groupe $nd\grave{\underline{i}}$, l' \tilde{n} n'était plus à même, dans la péninsule ibérique, d'altérer la qualité de ϕ excepté une partie considérable du castillan et du léonais où il développa sans doute i après l' o . Cette diphtongue y aboutit, plus tard, à ue . Enfin devant les derniers \tilde{n} espagnols répondant aux groupes nn et mn , l'évolution de l' o ne diffère plus de celle de ϕ devant toute autre consonne.

En italien, après le passage de $n\grave{\underline{i}}$ à \tilde{n} et l'assimilation de l' n au représentant palatal de g^e (qui devait être d') dans le groupe ng^o , l' \tilde{i} qui était issu de \grave{i} classique, se ferma devant ces deux \tilde{n} dans le florentin. Le changement était terminé ou au moins bien avancé lorsque gn latin vint augmenter le nombre des nasales mouillées qui toutes les trois exercèrent sur u la même influence que dans la péninsule ibérique. Ce n'est qu'après cette évolution que disparut toute différence entre μ et ϕ comme avait disparu celle de \tilde{i} et e après le passage de ign à $\grave{i}gn$.

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PRAGUE

MISCELLANEOUS

GRINGO

ALL those who have any acquaintance with Spanish America, either by personal experience or through books, are more or less familiar with the word *gringo*, which is in use from Mexico to Argentina, and it is interesting to inquire into the origin and application of the term. When and where was it first used? What is its derivation? To whom is it applied? The fact that there is more than one answer to these questions casts some degree of discredit on all, for there is no variety in the truth.

The last question is the easiest to answer, though even here there is no lack of diversity of opinion. A Mexican writer defines a *gringo* as a native of the United States. The same definition is given in a Honduran dictionary. In Guatemala the word is applied to natives of the United States and to Englishmen. In Salvador Anglo-Americans and Europeans are so called. A Chilean dictionary considers a *gringo* an Englishman. To a Venezuelan he is a foreigner who does not speak Castilian, or who speaks it badly. To the Peruvian, again, he is an Englishman. Salvá says that in South America all foreigners, and especially Italians, are so called.

The truth seems to be clearly stated by Daniel Granada in his *Vocabulario Rioplatense*, in his comment on Salvá's assertion:

"Salvá was ill informed. None were ever nicknamed *gringos* except those who speak a language unintelligible to the natives, as the French, English, Germans, Poles, Russians, etc., etc., etc. There is no occasion to give the name especially to the Italians. The fact is that in a place where, as in the Río de la Plata, the Italian immigration predominates, one scarcely hears anyone except the Italians called *gringos*, for the simple reason that, meeting them at every step, occasion for dealing with them presents itself constantly and consequently for using the designation of which we are speaking, either humorously in a familiar sense, or angrily among the common people. The same thing happens in other parts of America, if we are not much mistaken, with the individuals of any foreign nation there predominant who speak a language difficult for the natives."

It is of interest to note that the Italian writer, Paolo de' Giovanni, in his recent book on Argentina, says that the word *gringo*, of unknown origin, but with a contemptuous signification, is applied to Europeans in general and to Italians in particular. In another place he says that the Italians of Buenos Aires are often called *Tanos*, a contraction of *Napolitanos*, 'Neapolitans,' because so many of the Italian immigrants come from the city of Naples. The Italians of South America are also sometimes called *Bachichas*, the word being a contraction of Giambattista (John the Baptist), a name which is very frequently used among them, just as the Mexicans or Spaniards of the Southwest of the United States used to be called *Dagos*, from Diego (the Spanish form of James), which was a very common given name among them. The connotation later included the Portuguese, and is constantly bestowed on Italians, because of their predominance in our Latin population.

The French are often called *Gabachos* or *Gavachos*, the word being derived, it is said, from *Gave* or *Gabas*, the generic name of mountain streams in the French Pyrenees. The geographical position naturally brought the French of this region into frequent intercourse with the Spaniards, who sometimes extended the local name to the nation in general.

All this may seem to be a digression, but it serves to show that *gringo* is not the exclusive name of the Italians—who have their peculiar designations, as have the French also—and this leads to the conclusion that, except where they are greatly in the minority, Americans or Englishmen are generally indicated by the word.

As for the first question—When and where was *gringo* first used?—there is scarcely a doubt that it originated in Spain. The fact that its use in Spain's former colonies is so very general, is in itself almost a proof of its origin in the mother country; and besides this Terreros, a Spanish lexicographer of the eighteenth century, gives instances of its use in Madrid and Malaga in his time. Still, with the exception of Terreros, dictionaries of Spanish—or rather Castilian, as spoken in the peninsula—generally define *gringo* as an 'unintelligible jargon,' and the word is used mostly in the expression *hablar en gringo*, 'to talk gibberish,' and its application to persons, if recorded, is given as an Americanism. This suggests the

possibility that the personal application may have been of transient duration in Spain, but may have persisted in her colonies, where discarded forms often have a longer life. As to the antiquity of the word, it can be found in the form *grysko* as early as the fifteenth century, and perhaps even earlier.

The third question—the derivation—is perhaps even more difficult than the others. We may unceremoniously dismiss the idea that it came from “Green grow the rashes, O,” or “Where the Green Grass Grows,” songs sung by the army which invaded Mexico in 1846–48, for the term was used long before that time. The Peruvian Paz Soldan believed that it might be a corruption of some of the words most frequently used by Englishmen, such as *drink*, for which the Spanish Americans have the related verb *trincar*, ‘to drink,’ used only in very familiar style, cf. the question *trinki fortis?* equivalent to “Will you have some strong drink?” with which the more temperate Latins recognize a weakness of the British.

The Mexican García Icazbalceta presents another theory. It may be recalled that after the battle of the Boyne (1690), which definitely reestablished a Protestant dynasty on the British throne, many of the Irish Catholics sought refuge in Spain, where they settled and prospered. Now Terreros, as mentioned above, says that the name *gringo* was used in Spain, and he adds that it is given particularly to the Irish, and García Icazbalceta suggests that *gringo* may be a contraction of the first two words of the well-known Irish motto *Erin go bragh*.

Castilian writers consider the word a form of *griego*, Greek, although they do not account for the substitution of the *n* for *e*. This is perhaps the most probable, and certainly the oldest explanation offered, and it agrees with the fact that the term is never applied except to those speaking a language decidedly different from Spanish, for it is never bestowed on the Portuguese or Brazilians, whose language is so similar to Spanish.

In conclusion it may be added that the feminine *gringa* is used as well as the masculine *gringo*, and that Paz Soldan records the affectionate diminutives *gringuito* and *gringuita*.

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LADINO MELDAR AND ALMUÑAR

MELDAR, v., to read. Originally, in Old Spanish, *meldar* meant to recite or sing a prayer; cf. the following line in the *Danza de la Muerte*: "Venit, vos Rrabi, aca, meldaredes." Cuervo (*Apuntaciones Críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano*, Paris, 1907, p. XXIII) derives *meldar* from the Germanic *melden*, he does not, however, insist on that etymon and suggests also the Latin verb *meditari*. Phonologically, if we assume an interchange of d and l in Old Spanish, *meditari* could have given *meldar*; but that change or substitution of l for d occurs in one word only—*melezina* instead of *medizina*, and is not a regular Old Spanish phenomenon.¹ Furthermore, *meditari* scarcely accounts for the meaning of *meldar*, for its original meaning, at least, since it was never used in Vulgar-Latin with a meaning approaching that of *meldar*.

The Germanic *melden* does not account for the meaning of *meldar*, and then, the etymon of *melden* itself is uncertain. Kluge, Pauls and Grimm derive *melden* from a middle and high Old German *meldôn*, 'treason, betrayal.' It is true that Kluge mentions also *nennen* as one of the meanings of *meldon*, but in Grimm's examples that meaning comes in rather late, and under its modern form *-melden*.²

It seems more likely that *meldar* (possibly also the Germ. *melden*) is derived from the Vulgar-Latin *melodus* or *meloda*. Du Cange gives its meaning as 'cantus, cantator'; from his quotations, however, we may presume that the word was also used with the meaning of 'religious song': "Dulce carmen et melodum, gesta Christi insignia; cantat dulcessones pro Virginitate melodus." Phonologically, *melodus*, when it became a verb, could not have given

¹ *Calabrina* from Latin *cadaver* plus *ina* occurs rarely, and then, the etymon itself is rather uncertain.

² Professor Leo Wiener, in his recently published work, *Commentary to the Germanic Laws*, mentions our Ladino word and rather hastily connects it with the above OHG. *meldôn*, the meaning of which he gives as 'delatura, proditio.' It seems to me quite hard to conceive how *meldôn* underwent such a strange development of meaning from that of *betrayal* to that of *reciting a prayer*. Nor does it seem propable that *meldar* is derived from the Hebrew *lamad*, 'to study'; *Lamdon*, the Hebrew word for scholar, is used both in Yiddish and in Judaeo-Spanish and under its Hebrew form. The methathesised form of *lamad* would have been furthermore not *meldar* but *maldar*.

anything else but *meldar*; as for the development of meaning, this can easily be accounted for; *melodus*, a song, a religious song; *melodar*, *meldar*, to sing a religious song, to read a prayer, and, finally, to read—in the general sense of the word.³

Alemuñar, v., to mourn. The word is found only in Ladino, and has several forms: *alemuñar*, *almuñar*, *almunñar*, *almunhar*, *lemuñar*, etc. Grünbaum refers to it in his *Chrestomathie*; he offers, however, no etymon for it: "Alemunyose als Uebersetzung von 'vaisabel' (he mourned) and lemunyoso als die von 'aval' (mourner) findet sich auch in der Wiener Uebersetzung . . . in den spanischen Wörterbüchern findet sich das Wort nicht."⁴

Professor Leo Wiener brings in the word in his article on the Ferrara Bible: "Lemuño, n. luto, R. Gen. xlix, 10. L. Lemunho, R. Gen. xxvii, 48. Du Cange gives *lemines exequiae*. I cannot ascertain the etymology."⁵ *Llemuño*, *lemuñoso*, as well as the verb form *alemuñar*, *almuñar*, is doubtless derived from the Hebrew *alm on*, *alm ona* 'widower, widow,' wherefore 'mourner.' This seems the more certain, because of the fact that the word is found only in Judaeo-Spanish.

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LAS "NUEVAS ESTRELLAS" DE HEREDIA

BIEN conocidos son los versos finales del soneto de José Maria de Heredia, *Les conquérants*, con que abre la serie intitulada también *Les conquérants* en el volumen de *Les trophées*:

Ou penchés à l'avant des blanches caravelles,
Ils regardaient monter en un ciel ignoré
Du fond de l'Océan des étoiles nouvelles.

En artículo escrito a raíz de la muerte del poeta cubano-francés, su conterráneo Aniceto Valdivia (*Conde Kostia*) afirmó que la imagen de las "nuevas estrellas" provenía de unos versos del grande amigo de Montaigne, Étienne de la Boétie.

³ Professor Fitz-Gerald called my attention to Professor Lang's article in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, Vol. 3, pp. 416 ff., in which is given a complete account of the different meanings attributed to *meldar*.

⁴ Grünbaum, M., *Chrestomathie*, p. 9, note 2.

⁵ *Modern Lang. Notes*, Vol. xi, No. 1, p. 16.

Posteriormente, he hallado en autores diversos, de los siglos xvi y xvii, la imagen de las "nuevas estrellas" vistas por descubridores y conquistadores; y paréceme que no fueron necesariamente los versos de La Boétie la fuente donde bebió Heredia, sino que otras pudieron ofrecérsele, siendo él, como era, ávido lector en varios idiomas.

Antes del descubrimiento de América, se sabía la existencia de astros diversos de los conocidos en Europa; así se ve en las obras de astronomía, desde Aristóteles (*Tratado del cielo*, II, 14) hasta Alfonso el Sabio. En la literatura no abundan las referencias a estrellas desconocidas, si bien Lucano habla de los movimientos celestes vistos desde África y Dante tiene muy presente la idea de que el cielo austral difiere del boreal.*

Pero con el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo y los viajes de Magallanes y Vasco de Gama, las "estrellas nuevas" adquirieron popularidad en la literatura; de los exploradores y geógrafos† la noticia pasó a los poetas, y las imaginaciones se sintieron atraídas por la figura del viajero que inesperadamente ve surgir nuevos astros ante sí.

Los cuatro fragmentos que van a continuación, dispuestos cronológicamente, indican que la popularidad de las "nuevas estrellas" duró cien años:

. . . "Interrogati à me nautae hi, an antarcticum viderint polum: stellan se nullan huic arcticae similem, quae discerni circa punctum possit, cognovisse inquirunt. Stellarum tamen aliam, aiunt, se prospexisse faciem, densamque quandà ab horizonte vaporosam caliginem, quae oculus ferè obtenebraret. Tumulum attolli in terrae medio contendunt, qui, nè antarcticus videatur, obstet, donec illum penitus traiecerint. At stellarum imagines, ab hemispherii nostri stellis valdè diversas, se vidisse credunt. Haec dederunt, haec accipito. Davi sunt, non Oedipi."

* Cf. los célebres versos 126-129 del canto XXVI del *Infierno* y 22-27 del canto I del *Purgatorio*. Se ha querido ver una alusión a la Cruz del Sur en las cuatro estrellas que simbolizan las Virtudes Cardinales (así, por ejemplo, Alexander von Humboldt, en el *Cosmos* y en el *Examen crítico sobre la historia de la geografía en el nuevo continente*); pero esas estrellas bien pudieran ser invención de Dante (v. F. d'Ovidio, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, Milán, 1906, páginas 21 y siguientes; C. H. Grandgent, argumento del canto I del *Purgatorio*, en su edición de la *Divina Comedia*).

† Ya Humboldt había indicado diversos pasajes alusivos, tomando uno de ellos a la literatura,—el verso de Ercilla en el canto XXXVII de la *Araucana*:
Climas pasé, mudé constelaciones. . . .

Pedro Mártir de Anghiera, *De Orbe novo*, década I, libro IX. La primera década se publicó en 1511. Las siete restantes, en 1530. Cito por la edición de Colonia, 1574.—Los nau-tas a que se refiere este pasaje son los marineros del viaje de Vicente Yáñez Pinzón en 1499.

. . . Vidimus excidium: quid adhuc calcare parentis
Busta iuvat? patriae quanto nihil est opis in me,
Parcam oculis. Fuerat melius vitare ruentis,
Quam nunc eversae conspectum: munera sed ne
Poeniteat gratum praestasse (sic) novissima civem,
Et sese officio pietas soletur inani,
Ipsa fugam iam tum nobis minus aquae monebant
Numina, cum ignotos procul ostendere sub Austro
Telluris tractus, & vasta per aequora nautae
Ingressi, vacuas sedes et inania regna
Viderunt, solemque alium, terrasque recentes,
Et, non haec, alio fulgentia sidera coelo.

Étienne de la Boétie, Epistola *Ad Belotium et Montanum*, escrita probablemente hacia 1550. Cito por la edición anotada de Paul Bonnefon, Paris, 1892.

Jà descoberto tinhamos diante
Là no novo hemispherio nova estrella,
Não vista de outra gente, que ignorante
Alguns tempos esteve incerta della:
Vimos a parte menos rutilante,
E por falta d'estrellas menos bella,
De polo fixo, onde inda se não sabe
Que outra terra comece, ou mar acabe.

Luis de Camoens, *Os Lusíadas*, canto V. *Los Lusíadas* se imprimió por primera vez en 1572. Cito por la edición de París, 1819 (Didot).

Del interés la dulce golosina
los trajo en hombros de cristal y hielo
a ver nuevas estrellas y regiones.

Bernardo de Valbuena, *La Grandeza Mexicana*. El poema se publicó por primera vez en 1604. Cito por la edición académica de Madrid, 1821, con *El siglo de oro*.—Ya sobre este pasaje había llamado la atención Alfonso Reyes en su interesante, aunque inconcluso, estudio sobre *El paisaje en la poesía mexicana* (México, 1911).

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PAUL MEYER

(Cf. Vol. viii, p. 352)

Lo sconvolgimento attuale d'ogni cosa ha fatto sì che io abbia ignorato per poco men di due mesi la morte avvenuta a Parigi del Decano degli studi di Filologia Romanza. Ne ho avuto primamente notizia dalla pubblicazione, per opera dell' "Institut de France," dei discorsi pronunziati ai suoi funerali l'11 settembre.

Con Paul Meyer—si guardi bene ognuno dal profferirne il nome altrimenti che in maniera schiettamente francese—erano cessate, pur troppo, le mie relazioni dirette. Emorragie cerebrali prodotte da arteriosclerosi avevano finito per otte-
nebrarne la vivida mente. Manifestazioni gravi del male si ebbero anzitutto al principio dell'aprile 1910, durante un viaggetto pasquale, che lo aveva ricondotto anche in terra italiana. Era entrato in Italia dal Monginevra; aveva percorso la linea Torino-Savona; era uscito da Ventimiglia. Fu colpito a Hyères; e fu lesa la memoria verbale. Tennero dietro oscillazioni continue; dell'intelligenza mi poteva scrivere ancora l'11 aprile 1915 Alfred Morel Fatio, che era intatta soggiungendo tuttavia—e ben ne facevo l'esperienza—che al Meyer accadeva di mettere una parola per un'altra. Poteva migliorare le sue condizioni concedendosi a tempo alcuni mesi di riposo assoluto. Ma al riposo egli non volle mai rassegnarsi. Smise di lavorare solo quando furono propriamente fiaccate le forze.

Che enorme quantità di lavoro aveva egli compiuto da quando, ventunenne appena (era nato a Parigi il 17 gennaio 1840), era uscito dall'*Ecole des Chartes*, ch'egli avrebbe poi diretto con zelo instancabile per ben trentaquattr'anni, dal maggio del 1882! Lavoro svariato, che aveva per caratteristica l'assenza assoluta di qualsivoglia mira ambiziosa. Faceva per fare; perchè si fosse fatto; non gl'importava punto di quel che altri ne dicesse. E così prendeva volenterosamente sulle sue spalle i compiti più gravosi ed ingrati. Quale esploratore di biblioteche, quale conoscitore e descrittore di manoscritti, non fu pareggiato da nessuno.

Eppure era dotato di un ingegno poderoso, singolarmente acuto, originale. Dovunque ponesse il dito lasciava il segno. Ragguardevoli le sue giovanili *Recherches sur l'épopée française*, suscitate dall'*Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* di Gaston Paris e dal primo volume delle *Épopées françaises* di Léon Gautier. Ma ancor più significative le vedute affatto personali espresse nel 1875 e ribadite nel 1876 in opposizione agli *Schizzi franco-provenzali* dell'Ascoli. L'Ascoli si era condotto a individuare nella regione gallica una famiglia idiomantica intermedia tra la francese e la provenzale. Il Meyer sostenne che "le dialecte est une espèce bien plutôt artificielle que naturelle"; che "toute définition du dialecte est une *definitio nominis* et non une *definitio rei*" (*Romania*, IV, 295). Di delimitazione geografica sono suscettibili per lui solo i singoli fenomeni fonetici e non le parlate, e meno che mai i gruppi di parlate. Di svolgere queste idee egli, occupato in cose che gli stavano maggiormente a cuore, non trovò il tempo né allora né poi. Le svolse bensì Gaston Paris nel 1888 in una lettura intitolata *Les parlers de France*; e se esse non presentano che un

lato della verità, hanno incontestabilmente modificato non poco il modo di vedere in questa importantissima materia.

L'abbondanza strabocchevole di materiali che le esplorazioni continue mettevano fra le mani del Meyer ebbe per conseguenza che talune delle sue intraprese rimanessero interrotte. Manca il terzo fascicolo del *Recueil d'anciens textes bas-latins, provençaux et français*, che, compiuto, terrebbe il primo posto fra a manuali congeneri. Della seconda edizione, rifatta di pianta, della *Flamenca*, non s'ha che il primo volume; manca cioè il commento. Interrotto in realtà, senza averne l'aria, il *Giart de Roussillon*, poiché all' introduzione e alla versione sarebbe dovuta tener dietro un'edizione critica del testo. Naturale di certo, se si considera la data, che il primo volume, uscito solo nel 1909, dei *Documents linguistiques*, destinati a dar solido fondamento alle indagini storico-dialettali, non sia stato seguito da altri.

Ma sono varie pur sempre le opere di lunga lena condotte a termine. Segnerà *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*, 1875 e 1879; *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen-âge*, t. I, stampato per la massima parte già nel 1870, uscito col t. II solo nel 1886; *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal comte de Striguil et de Pembroke*, 1891, 1894, 1901. E non lascerò senza menzione le dugento pagine in 4° (254-458) del volume XXXIII dell' *Histoire littéraire de la France*, concernenti vite e leggende francesi di Santi: una letteratura allo studio della quale il Meyer portò contributi assai numerosi e considerevoli.

Li portò a questa letteratura, ne portò non so mai quanti ad ogni altro genere trattato durante il medioevo del pari che nel linguaggio d'oïl, in quello dell'oc, dov'era signore e donno. Farà cosa molto utile chi compilerà la bibliografia de' suoi scritti. Lui vivo mal si sarebbe potuta avere. Bibliografie siffatte sogliono accompagnarsi a onoranze giubilari, da cui, quanto a sé, egli rifuggiva con orrore.

Ma un'efficacia forse ancor maggiore che cogli scritti suoi propri Paul Meyer la esercitò quale disciplinatore e promotore dell' opera altrui. Che maestro egli fosse, attestano con piena conoscenza gli scolari. Fuori della scuola e di ciò che ad essa si connette, si fa innanzi quale ideatore e fondatore, nel 1865, con Hermann Zotenberg, della salutare *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*; poi con Gaston Paris, subito associato anche alla prima intrapresa, della *Romania*, principata ad uscire nel 1872, e della *Société des anciens textes français*, costituita tre anni dopo. E quanto fosser buone le idee, quanto ben poste le fondamenta, mostra luminosamente il fatto che *Revue critique*, *Romania*, *Société des anciens textes* perdurano rigogliose di vita.

Il nome di Gaston Paris mi è venuto necessariamente più volte sotto la penna. Dalla fondazione appunto della *Revue critique* data la singolare fratellanza fra i due campioni, che raddoppiò a ciascuno le forze. Erano così diversi, e nondimeno procedettero indissolubilmente uniti. S'integravano, si correggevano l'un l'altro. Pur sapendo di fare un po' di torto al Paris, vien fatto di applicar loro le parole della *Chanson de Roland*:

Rollanz est pruz e Oliviers est sages;
Ambedui unt merveillus vasselage.

Dissi già, commemorando il Paris or sono quattordici anni, come questi mi

dicesse un giorno: "Paul Meyer ha sempre ragione." Tacqui allora, che cosa dicesse alla sua volta il Meyer: "Ma sicuro che ho sempre ragione!" Caratteristiche le due dichiarazioni; colle quali s'intona una che il Meyer fece a Kristoffer Nyrop (un uomo al quale si pensa ora con gratitudine profonda) in una riunione parigina dove si ballava: "Sa lei perchè Gaston Paris è un filologo più grande di me? Perché sa ballare."

Il Meyer era orso; e la natura orsina era in lui significata materialmente dalle folte sopracciglia. Come l'orso aveva poderose le zampe; colle quali menava colpi che buttavano a terra. La sua critica era temuta; e la *Revue critique* delle prime annate fu il campo dov'ebbe primamente a esercitarsi. Tenendosi appartato, non aveva riguardi da usare; e non li usava. Coll'andar del tempo si ammorbì; e la famiglia dalla quale si trovò circondato ebbe certo in ciò una parte ben grande.

L'ebbe, svolgendo, non già creando. Non si diventa quale il Meyer fu nell'ultimo ventennio della sua vita senza un animo profondamente buono. In realtà il Meyer, con quelle sue apparenze da orso, con quella sua causticità, aveva un cuore eccellente ed era di una cortesia inesauribile. A scolari e ad amici, a noti e ad ignoti, aveva sempre reso servigi innumerevoli, con largo consumo di ciò che sopra ogni altra cosa teneva prezioso: il tempo. Nel suo intimo avevo già letto; ma più addentro vi lessi in una giornata indimenticabile dell'agosto 1903, nella quale, a Neuville, sulle alture prossime a Dieppe, in seno alla famiglia della rara donna divenuta da non gran tempo sua moglie—la patriarcale famiglia di Albert Reville, storico illustre delle religioni—lo vidi, avanti che la colazione meridiana fosse terminata, levarsi dalla seggiola, e, seguito da una fila di ragazzi in ordine di statura, aggrappati all'abito di chi precedeva, fare processionalmente più volte il giro della lunga tavola. E così faceva abitualmente. "Oncle Paul," che figliuoli non aveva avuto mai, era, rimase sempre, e meritava di rimanere, l'idolo dei nipotini e nipoti: egli, lo spauracchio di tanti filologi barbuti e occhialuti. Subito dopo ebbi poi anche a sperimentare in Inghilterra, a Brighton, Londra, Oxford, Cambridge, che gradevole compagno di viaggio egli fosse, oltre ad essere guida colà impareggiabile. E l'esperienza potè ripetersi per me l'anno appresso al di là dell'Atlantico.

Amantissimo dell'Inghilterra, amava molto altresì l'Italia nostra. Ci venne, credo, per la prima volta nell'autunno del 1878; e allora, il 7 ottobre, mi scriveva a Milano da Firenze: "Je suis venu à Florence pour étudier l'italien en général et Dante en particulier. Je n'y réussis qu'imparfaitement, ayant découvert que la langue la plus généralement parlée ici est l'anglais." Ritornò poi replicatamente, e solo, e con la moglie, sempre allora conducendo con sé qualche graziosa nipote. Memorabile il ritorno a cui dette motivo il Congresso storico romano dell'aprile 1903. Ad esso il Meyer partecipò sotto il rispetto scientifico con una memoria "De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie pendant le moyen-âge"; superiore di gran lunga a tutto ciò che intorno a questo rilevantissimo e attraentissimo argomento era stato scritto fin allora; e alla quale nondimeno, appena fu stampata, egli avrebbe avuto da fare notevoli aggiunte. È questo il maggior contributo portato da lui allo studio della nostra storia letteraria. Ed ecco che subito nel giugno fu eletto corrispondente dell'Accademia della Crusca. Di quella dei Lincei era stato fatto Socio Straniero fino dal 1899. Che nell'una e nell'altra Accademia, e fra tutti i nostri cultori di studi consimili ai suoi, avesse

numerosa e calde amicizie, appena occorre dire. Segnalo quella che lo legava da tempo remoto ad Alessandro D'Ancona.

E dal D'Ancona muove una lettera da Parigi, che avrebbe l'aria di avermi portato per l'ultima volta la sua parola:

20 Novembre 1916

Mon cher ami,

Je vous suis bien reconnaissant de l'envoi du Marzocco qui contient votre article et celui de Biagi sur D'Ancona. J'avais su que notre excellent et ancien ami, était depuis longtemps très souffrant. Lui-même, il y a environ trois [ans], m'avait écrit qu'il était atteint de diverses maladies, notamment de la vessie. J'ai su aussi qu'il avait vendu sa magnifique bibliothèque, en Amérique peut-être? C'était pour moi un bien ancien ami, et, pendant plusieurs années je le visitais à Pisa, pendant les vacances. La dernière fois, autant que je me rappelle, c'est à (sic) 1903 que je le vis au congrès de Rome. Plus tard, quand il était à Florence, il m'a été (sic) une lettre dans laquelle il ne souriait plus comme autrefois. Pour moi je ne suis pas non plus en bonne situation. Ma tête est faible (maladie des artères); je parle mal car j'oublie mes mots, même l'orthographe. Mais dans les vacances j'ai été, avec ma femme et une de mes nièces [en Angleterre]; nous avons passé en Ecosse, mais j'avais peine à parler anglais. Nous sommes rentrés à Dieppe; ma femme à (sic) été soigner les blessés allemands, où aucun médecin ni infirmière ne savaient l'allemand. Moi je n'ai rien fait de bon; j'ai lu inutilement des journaux et les cartes. Ici je fais encore mes cours, mais mal; un ancien élève que je voulais employer comme remplaçant est assez gravement blessé. Nous n'avons à l'Ecole des Chartes, à la suite des examens, que 12 élèves, dont cinq n'entreront que l'an prochain que l'an de novembre 1915, car ils étaient déjà en uniforme. Vivront-ils? Les "intellectuels" sont plus horribles que les militaires, en Allemagne. Les blessés allemands du moins (j'en ai vu beaucoup) espèrent la paix. Mais nous n'obtiendrons rien du Kaiser, qui, hélas! n'est pas de cette (sic) avis. C'est un fou! heureusement c'est lui qui dirige la guerre, et il n'y entend rien. Quelle horreur! J'ai tant d'amis tués ou blessés! Le jeune mari de ma nièce Suzanne Reville, que vous avez vue à Florence et qui a une petite fille de deux ans est blessé et prisonnier à Halle (où malheureusement mon ami Suchier est mort le dernier juin). Il n'est pas mal du reste, mais il demande à être échangé (sic); mais Suzanne espère que cela ne sera permis!

Adieu, cher ami. Votre pauvre ami

Paul Meyer

J'écris très mal; excusez-moi!

È una lettera questa ben nobile e commovente, che per quel che concerne le condizioni cerebrali, co' suoi errori e omissioni, si commenta da sé medesima. Nella data stessa è stato posto "1916" in cambio di "1914." Il contrapposto fra Paul Meyer e Gaston Paris doveva fatalmente apparire anche nella morte: subitanea, incosciente, avvenuta addirittura nel sonno, in un periodo politicamente tranquillo, per quest' ultimo; graduale, lentissima, penosissima per il malato e per quanti lo circondavano, durante un cataclisma spaventoso, per il Meyer. Povero, caro, indimenticabile amico!

PIO RAJNA

[Il Marzocco, 11 novembre, 1917.]

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the French Novel (to the Close of the Nineteenth Century). By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vol. I. *From the Beginning to 1800.* London, Macmillan, 1917. 8vo, pp. xxii, 491.

In the preface to the present volume Professor Saintsbury says: "I wish to give a full history of how what is commonly called the French Novel came into being and kept itself in being; but I do not wish to give an exhaustive, though I hope to give a pretty full, account of its practitioners." Professor Saintsbury has realized the negative part of his wish—he has not given an exhaustive list of novel-writers "from the beginning to 1800." To show that he has not realized the positive part of his wish, that is, that he has not given a full history of the origins and the growth of the novel prior to Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand, is the main purpose of this review.

In the first place, Professor Saintsbury has treated in an inadequate manner the period of French fiction which extends from the eleventh to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Instead of 151 pages, at least one fourth of the entire work (which will contain about one thousand pages, judging by the length of the first volume) would have been a fairer allowance for the period in question. In the first 151 pages the following topics are discussed: Greek and Latin prose fiction; saints' lives; the "matters" of France, Rome, and Britain; romances of adventure; the prose novelettes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; allegory, *fabliau*, and the prose story of common life; Rabelais; the successors of Rabelais, and the influence of the *Amadis* romances. As a result of crowding so many large subjects into so small a space, the author has been unable, as will be shown presently, to lay anything like a firm foundation for his *History*.

Another grave objection to Volume I is that Professor Saintsbury does not treat fully epoch-making works and important literary movements; for instance, the growth of realism in the Middle Ages is handled in careless, casual fashion, whereas it should be strongly emphasized. In order to understand thoroughly the origin of the novel in France, the reader must know exactly how and why the writers gradually shifted the scenes and the characters of their stories from a conventional atmosphere of kings and knights into surroundings more or less like those of ordinary life. Professor Saintsbury invariably fails to give information about the precursors of important movements and works; for example, the precursors of *Amadis de Gaula*, of the pastoral novel, and of the heroic novel are wholly, or almost wholly, neglected. In a like manner, he takes no account of the influence of a work or a movement or of the causes of its rise and decline in popularity. As a consequence of such omissions, we have in Volume I, not a consecutive history of the French novel before 1800, but a series of studies of detached units which seem to be entirely unrelated the one to the other. On page 462 Professor Saintsbury says that "it is in the observation and correlation of facts that history consists." That is just as true

of literary history as of political history; it is impossible to write a full history of the novel unless the full history of each important work and movement is given. On page 121, in dealing with Rabelais, Professor Saintsbury proclaims himself a foe of the "modern severe historical school" (this expression occurs on page 82), which wastes its time on such futilities as "questions of dates and names and places, of origins and borrowings and imitations." It may be safely said that Volume I of Professor Saintsbury's *History of the French Novel* is one of the best justifications of the methods of the "modern severe historical school" that has come to light in the past fifty years.

Naturally, from a critic so hostile to exactness it would be folly to expect care for chronology, or to expect any effort to keep the reader informed about the political and social life that accompanied the development of the novel in France. There is, indeed, so small a number of dates in Professor Saintsbury's book that it is to be feared that anyone but a specialist will at times be in doubt as to what century is under consideration. And how much more clearly defined the literary currents would have been if the author had only added a few words concerning the social and political conditions in France during given periods; for instance, the decline of aristocratic literature and the rise of realism in the Middle Ages are made more comprehensible if we are reminded that, as royalty waned, the practical, materialistic *bourgeoisie*, with its vulgar ideals and sentiments, acquired power and gradually became a force that had to be reckoned with in literature as well as in politics. Similarly, the vogue of the *Amadis* romances is more readily understood if one knows that, during the reign of Francis I, prior to the French translation of *Amadis*, there was a revival of interest in chivalry; and *Astrée* becomes far more interesting if one knows that a good deal of its popularity was due to the fact that it followed closely after the religious turmoil of the latter half of the sixteenth century, at a time when the fatigued people of France were eager for repose. It is interesting to know that the heroic novel, too, satisfied the desires of the public—of a public that for good reasons preferred heroism and adventures and deeds of daring to insipid love affairs on the banks of the Lignon. Professor Saintsbury mentions none of these things. It would be difficult to imagine a work of literary criticism in which literature is so completely divorced from the other aspects of life as is the case in the work we are now considering.

Another result of Professor Saintsbury's lack of sympathy for the "modern severe historical school" is the total absence in his book of adequate treatment of the influence of foreign literatures. The influence of the Greek romance in the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century is virtually neglected; the same is true for Italian and Spanish influences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For failing to treat the Spanish influences it should be said that Professor Saintsbury has an excuse—a strange one, it must be confessed, for an historian of the French novel—*viz.*, his "knowledge of Spanish is too sketchy to enable him to read them [the *Amadis* group] in the original with full comfort" (p. 150).

It may be objected that, to include all the points mentioned above, a much larger book than Professor Saintsbury's Volume I would be required. In fact, on page 307 the author tells as follows why he does not discuss one of these very points: "To attempt, on the other [hand], at any great length to consider the influences which produced the kind of tale he [Anthony Hamilton] wrote

would have more relevance, but would, if pursued in similar cases elsewhere, lengthen the book enormously." The question of keeping the book within its present limits, while supplying at the same time the quite essential information that has been suggested, is one easy of solution. Judicious condensation of the entire volume would result in the saving of at least one hundred pages. For example, the consideration of Lancelot and Guinevere (pp. 35-54) would gain rather than lose by being compressed into a half-dozen pages; *Foulques Fitzwarin* (pp. 81-86), which had no influence on the French novel, should be dismissed with a few lines; in the seventeenth century the account of the pastoral and heroic novel and of the fairy story (pp. 152-274) might well be reduced by fifty pages (a thirty-five-page synopsis of the *Grand Cyrus* is surely unnecessary; sixteen pages on the minor writers of the *Cabinet des Fées* are an apportionment more than complimentary); the allotment to Anthony Hamilton might be cut from twenty pages to four or five, that of Crébillon *fils* from nine to five, and that of Restif de la Bretonne and Pigault-Lebrun from fifteen to five at most. Professor Saintsbury's well-known tendency to approach a subject in the most circuitous way and to interlard his sentences with interjected remarks of all kinds is the cause of the wastage of no small amount of space.

Let us now examine more closely the contents of Volume I, especially the part that comes within the province of the ROMANIC REVIEW—i. e., "from the beginning," to the end of the sixteenth century.

In an introductory chapter, Professor Saintsbury devotes to the Greek and Latin romance two pages which give the reader no information whatever about the subject. "The Greek romance," he says, "was to have very great influence on the French novel later: on the earlier composition, generally called by the same name as itself, it would seem to have had next to none" (p. 3). The latter part of this statement is surprising in view of the fact that Professor Saintsbury, in an endeavor to uphold the assertion that the "saints life" started the French in the story-telling way, subsequently devotes two pages to a synopsis and a criticism of the *Life of St. Alexis*, which, as is well known, was derived from a Latin translation of a short Greek romance dealing with Alexis, an ascetic of the fourth century. In fairness it should be said that Professor Saintsbury evidently expected to be criticized adversely for his denial of Greek influence on mediæval romance.

The first part of the judgment cited above—namely, that the French novel was later deeply indebted to the Greek romance, is quite true; and that is the very reason why Professor Saintsbury should have explained in what the indebtedness of the French novel consists. This indebtedness has to do, of course, with the influence of the Greek romance on the pastoral and heroic novel of the seventeenth century. In the chapter in which those two literary forms are discussed, practically no information about the Greek romance is given—merely a note of seventeen lines, "Note on marked influence of Greek romance" (p. 153), which tells nothing about the nature of the Greek romance and all but nothing about its influence on the pastoral and heroic novel.

In the introductory chapter, as we have seen, Professor Saintsbury says that French romance had its source in the "saint's life" (the legend of St. Eulalia, the lives of St. Leger and St. Alexis are mentioned). If we take into account the fact that the mediæval "saint's life" is as a rule composed largely of imaginary fantastic events of Oriental origin, perhaps it affords as good a starting-

point for French romance as any. It should be said, however, that Professor Saintsbury's elegant English translation will surely give too grand an idea of the "noble simplicity" of the humble *Eulalie*.

Chapter II deals with the matters of France, Rome, and Britain, which soon came to swell the current of romance started by the "saint's life." After a superficial treatment of the *chanson de geste*, Professor Saintsbury gives in four pages an excellent account of the Troilus and the Alexander stories. On page 18 he reiterates his opinion that mediæval romance owes little or nothing to the Greek romance, except the prominence accorded to the heroine, a contribution of prime importance in itself, as is admitted on page 2.

In dealing with the matter of Britain, although Professor Saintsbury acknowledges that Chrétien de Troyes, "in his own way and place, is a great and an attractive figure—not the least in the history of the novel," he gives the reader a most hazy idea of Chrétien and no idea whatever of his writings. The remainder of the chapter is taken up with the "first real novel-hero and the first real novel-heroine," Lancelot and Guinevere, and with their love. The chapter closes with the remark that the author, by his discussion of the prose Arthurian romances and by his quotations from them, "shows how early the elements, not merely of romance but of the novel in the fullest sense, existed in French literature."

Chapter II, in spite of lacunæ, is one of the best in the book. The author judges things correctly when he says that of the three "matters," the matter of France gave least to romance, and through romance to the novel; that the matter of "Rome the Great" gave more; and that the matter of Britain gave still more.

In the next chapter, Professor Saintsbury assigns "the most important influence in the development of the novel originally" to the *roman d'aventure*, an opinion which concurs with that of Gaston Paris (*Esquisse hist. de la litt. franç. au moyen âge*, p. 122: "Par le sujet comme par l'exécution, les romans d'aventure sont les vrais précurseurs des romans modernes"). Perhaps the ordinary reader would get a better idea of the origins of the novel had Professor Saintsbury brought out the differences between the Arthurian romance and the romance of adventure: the lack of plot (in the strictest sense) in the one, the presence (generally) of a well-defined plot in the other; the absence (generally) in the *roman d'aventure* of the difficult deeds of prowess that play such an important part in the Arthurian romance; and the lack of knight-errantry in the *roman d'aventure*. Professor Saintsbury should also have mentioned that the foremost critics are unanimous in ascribing an Oriental origin to a number of *romans d'aventure* (for example, to *Floire et Blanchefleur*, *Eracle*, *Florimont*, *Athis et Porphyras*, to mention no others). And, finally, even though Professor Saintsbury does not believe in "the bad theory of the classical origin of romance," he should have said that, in so far as general structure is concerned, the *roman d'aventure* is almost a counterpart of the typical Greek romance.

In order to show the nature of the romance of adventure, Professor Saintsbury judiciously chooses the charming *Parténopous de Blois*, of which he gives a good whimsical abstract.

Having considered the four main ingredients that helped to fashion the modern novel,—the matters of France, Rome, and Britain, and the romance of adventure,—would it not have been meet for Professor Saintsbury to tell what was the subsequent fate of these ingredients: namely, that, in the opinion of some

scholars, it was by a fusion of these four ingredients that the *Amadis de Gaula* was formed? As usual in his *History*, the author here, without any hint as to future developments, shuts off his discourse about as suddenly as one shuts off the flow of water or wine by a turn of the spigot.

Up to this point Professor Saintsbury has been following a beaten path—the path so often trod by the eminent scholars who have devoted their attention to the aristocratic forms of mediæval French literature. In the next two chapters (iv and v), he must follow a path that has not been trod so often, and of the entire book it is in these two chapters that he is guilty of the most egregious errors, especially errors of omission.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the two volumes of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century prose novelettes published in 1856 and 1858 by L. Moland and C. d'Héricault. Professor Saintsbury hastens over *Aucassin et Nicolette*, because he takes it for granted that everybody is thoroughly acquainted with it already, and also because "it is, on the whole, more of a dramatic and lyrical romance than of a pure prose tale" (p. 74). Neither reason is sufficient. The first is one that Professor Saintsbury appeals to perhaps too frequently. Why assume that "any educated person" (p. 90) knows all about the Greek and Latin romance, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, the *Roman de Renart*, the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Diana* of Montemayor, and the *Amadis* story, and yet assume that the same educated person knows so little about *Parténopous de Blois*, *Gargantua, Pantagruel*, the *Grand Cyrus*, and *La Religieuse* of Diderot that long criticisms and detailed abstracts are deemed necessary? Nor for the second reason should a careful consideration of *Aucassin et Nicolette* be omitted in a history of the French novel. Although *Aucassin* follows old traditions too closely to be regarded in its entirety as a precursor of the *nouvelle*, it is, in so far as artistic tale-telling is concerned, far superior to anything that had preceded it, and we must wait a long time after it before we find anything as good. It combines to a certain degree—especially in its prose parts—some of the characteristics that later become more or less the essentials of the tale: for example, conciseness, delightfully amusing touches, good dialogue, and scenes from ordinary life.

Professor Saintsbury's discussion of *L'Empereur Constant* and of *Le Roi Flore et la Belle Jehane* gives no adequate idea of their position in the development of the *nouvelle*. It is not very satisfying to read of *L'Empereur Constant* that "the latter part is better than the earlier," or that "the writer is evidently a novice; but his work is the kind of experiment from which better things will come." Nor is it satisfying to learn that *Le Roi Flore et la Belle Jehane* offends the unities, that it is weakened by the addition of a "sixth act," and that it is "not a badly told tale in parts." What the inquisitive reader wishes to know is *why* these tales are not badly told, *why* they are the kind of experiment from which better things will come: for instance, he wishes to know that *L'Empereur Constant*, although lacking in character-drawing, does contain some realistic details (gestures, surrounding objects) and some very fair dialogue; that *Le Roi Flore et la Belle Jehane*, in spite of the disconnected nature of the composition, does contain some excellent dialogue for the period, some good attempts at character-drawing (the sketch of the *entremetteuse*, and especially the character of Jehane), some fair realism (the scene in the bath), several *tranches* from everyday life (Jehane as baker and innkeeper), and, finally, a marked tendency towards a natural, facile prose style. In order to impress on the reader's mind

how well these things are done by the thirteenth-century authors, a few brief extracts should be cited. Professor Saintsbury does nothing of the kind. Throughout Chapter iv—an important one for his subject—he is content to remark (except in the case of *Foulques Fitzwarin*) that the authors tell their stories well or ill, without showing how each individual author does his share towards the development of the tale-teller's art. The result of Professor Saintsbury's method is bound to be disastrous. Inasmuch as the author does not give the necessary preliminary information, his reader is going to be left to wonder whence sprang those well-developed *nouvelles* which he is so soon to discover in France. To apply to Professor Saintsbury one of his own literary judgments, "he rather skirts than actually invades the most dangerous [and the most important] ground."

To the quite inartistic prose version of *Ami et Amile* Professor Saintsbury rightly devotes only five lines.

Although *La Comtesse de Ponthieu* is discussed more fully than *L'Empereur Constant* and *Le Roi Flore et la Belle Jehane*, it is not treated in such a way as to show whatever merits its author possessed as a tale-teller (the bits of passable dialogue, the details from everyday life, and an attempt at a psychological touch or two might have been stressed).

The second volume of novelettes published by Moland and Héricault contains *Asseneth*, *Foulques Fitzwarin*, and *Troilus*. The present reviewer is obliged to differ here with Professor Saintsbury: these three stories are by no means so important for the history of the French novel (p. 80) as *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *L'Empereur Constant*, *Le Roi Flore et la Belle Jehane*, and *La Comtesse de Ponthieu*. *Asseneth* is a colorless, inartistic bit, couched more or less in Biblical style. Louis (not Pierre) de Beauvau's translation of Boccaccio's *Filistrato* (made between 1442 and 1445, not at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century; see H. Hauvette, *Bulletin italien*, 1907, iv, pp. 21 ff.) is, as Professor Saintsbury says, of no importance for us; and *Foulques Fitzwarin*, which Professor Saintsbury proclaims "the first historical prose novel in modern literature," is of no importance whatever for us, even though it may be, on account of its subject, of the greatest interest to Englishmen.

As a conclusion to his discussion of the eight prose stories published by Moland and Héricault, Professor Saintsbury says that some "give openings for, and one or two proceed into, character- and 'problem'-writing of the most advanced novel kind," that they show "a strong *nisus* towards actual tale-telling," and that in them "conversation begins to find its way." In spite of these assurances, the reader is certain to feel that he must take the critic's word for those matters. They are not demonstrated in Chapter iv.

In Chapter v, the title of which is "Allegory, Fabliau, and Prose Story of Common Life," the following points are worthy of mention:

On page 89 the "disrhyming" of romances is mentioned. Why not give the probable reasons for the "disrhyming"? Why not explain why prose gradually becomes the vehicle of fiction? Why not point to *Aucassin et Nicolette* as a work in which the change from verse to prose is taking place before our eyes?—Page 89: Query as to the accuracy of the following statement: "These rather serious matters [collections of Oriental apologues, such as *The Seven Wise Masters*] do not seem to have specially commended themselves to the French people."—Page 90: Professor Saintsbury says that he has taken pains to

point out the change from conventionalized manners to real life, from the time of the early "saint's life" down to the prose tale of the fourteenth century. It is to be feared that his pains were ineffectual.—In the too brief account of the *fabliau* (pp. 90-91), mention should have been made of such *fabliaux* as *Richet* and Gautier le Long's *Le Valet qui d'aise à mésaise se met* and *La Veuve*, which, contrary to the general run of *fabliaux*, show a decided tendency toward psychological delineation of character. Professor Saintsbury would have done well also to say that many critics rightly tend to diminish the alleged influence of the *fabliaux* on the *nouvelle*, since *fabliaux* were not composed after the middle of the fourteenth century, and the *nouvelle* proper did not appear until the middle of the fifteenth century. It would be necessary to explain how the influence of the *fabliau* made itself felt across this gap of a century. On page 100 occurs the surprising declaration that the fifteenth-century prose tale "was to some extent hampered by the long-continuing popularity of the verse *fabliau*."—On page 92 Professor Saintsbury says: "It was not, however, merely the intense conservatism of the Middle Ages as to literary form which kept back the prose *nouvelle* to such an extent that, as we have seen, only a few examples survive from the two whole centuries between 1200 and 1400, while not one of these is of the kind most characteristic ever since, or at least until quite recent days, of French tale-telling." The paucity of prose stories (*nouvelles* is indeed a misnomer) is not so pronounced as the critic maintains. He has merely omitted from his book some of the most important forerunners of the *nouvelle* proper: for instance, all *exempla* from the time of Jacques de Vitry down (*exempla* are barely mentioned in a brief note on page 73), the story of Agnes and Meleus (published by Paul Meyer in the *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes*, 1879, pp. 86 ff.), the anecdotes and stories from real life in the *Livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry* and in the *Ménagier de Paris*. If these contributors to the origin of the genuine prose *nouvelle* are added to those mentioned by Professor Saintsbury, it will be seen that more than "a few examples survive from the two whole centuries between 1200 and 1400," and that the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* did not spring into existence almost unannounced.—In connection with omissions in general, it may be asked why Professor Saintsbury nowhere mentions such a striking study of feminine psychology as the *Châtelaine de Vergi*.—Perhaps the most amazing thing about Professor Saintsbury's history of the novel before *Astrée* is the author's failure to recognize the importance of *Les Quinze Joies de mariage* and of *Petit Jehan de Saintré*. The former is dismissed with one line, apparently because it is "not couched in narrative form." It is true that it is neither a tale nor a novel, but its influence on both the tale and the novel is indubitable. For a proper idea of the place of the *Quinze Joies de mariage* in the history of the French novel, the reader is referred to W. Söderhjelm, *La Nouvelle française au XV^e siècle*, 1910, pp. 29-72, and to Gustave Reynier, *Les Origines du roman réaliste*, 1912, pp. 42-70. To *Petit Jehan de Saintré* Professor Saintsbury allots one page which does not give the slightest idea of the work and its importance. As a result of his failure to see the merits of *Saintré*, Professor Saintsbury later feels justified in saying that "Panurge is certainly one thing—the first distinct and striking *character* in prose fiction. . . . As a human example of *mimesis* in the true Greek sense, not of 'imitation' but of 'fictitious creation,' he is, once more, the first real character in prose fiction" (p. 124). Is it possible that Professor Saintsbury is not acquainted with the

long *nouvelle* (one hundred pages in the Hellény edition) that Antoine de La Salle tacked on the end of *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, the account of the love of the Dame des Belles Cousines and Damp Abbé? In Damp Abbé we find the first distinct and striking character in French prose fiction, not merely a sketch, but a well-rounded, lifelike picture of a monk who, as several critics have said already, is the personification of vulgar *bourgeois* exuberance. Professor Saintsbury should also have referred to the wonderful pictures of the timid, innocent Saintré of the earlier chapters of La Salle's curious and interesting work, and to the realism that pervades the Damp Abbé episode from beginning to end. For a suitable treatment of *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, see Söderhjelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-110, and Reynier, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-119.—P. 101, note 1: "Nobody seems to be entirely certain what this odd title [Dame des Belles Cousines] means." More than once in *Saintré*, the author makes it clear that the lady in question is a Dame [qui est une] des Belles Cousines [de la reine de France].—How explain the failure even to mention the excellent specimen of feminine psychology in Antoine de La Salle's touching *Réconfort de Madame de Fresne*, the first noteworthy example of maternal love in French literature?—Professor Saintsbury's handling of *Jehan de Paris* is wholly unsatisfactory. To say that "the tale is smartly and succinctly told," and that "there is a zest and verve about it," scarcely tells how the story contributed to the art of tale-telling in France. For a critical treatment of *Jehan de Paris*, see Söderhjelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-216.—The omissions and the lack of genuine criticism in Chapters iv and v make them of little value. At the close of Chapter v, the author inserts a note which cautions the reader against "inferring ignorance [of French prose stories] from absence of mention." It is not the intention of the present reviewer to imply ignorance on Professor Saintsbury's part, but to emphasize the fact that the historian of the French novel cannot omit or slur such important, at times even epoch-making, works as the *exempla*, the story of Agnes and Meleus, the *Livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry*, *Le Ménagier de Paris*, *Les Quinze Joies de mariage*, *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, *Le Réconfort de Madame de Fresne*, and *Jehan de Paris*, and still justly maintain that he has written a full history. Prose fiction in France was much richer, much more fully developed before Rabelais than Professor Saintsbury indicates.

In Chapter vi, which deals with Rabelais, we return once more to the beaten path, and that chapter, though it contains nothing new, is by far the best of those concerned with the novel before *Astrée*. More than one half of the chapter is occupied by a synopsis of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, and Rabelais, even at second hand, is always entertaining and instructive.

The next chapter is devoted to the successors of Rabelais and the influence of the *Amadis* romances. If one wishes an idea of Professor Saintsbury's proclivity to dally with a subject without telling anything worth while about it, one has only to consult the four pages on the *Heptameron*, which, with *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, is generally regarded as the most characteristic work of the French Renaissance. In his discussion of the *Heptameron*, Professor Saintsbury has nothing to say about the following points: influence of the *Decameron*, framework, prologues, epilogues, Protestant tendencies, nature of the stories, style, value of the stories as specimens of the tale-teller's art, historic value of the collection as a whole, the themes discussed in the conversations. Another sample of superficial criticism is to be found in the page devoted to Des Périers's

Nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis (not *Contes et Joyeux Devis*). After arousing our hopes by declaring that this collection has "always seemed to the present writer to form the most remarkable book, as literature, of all the department at the time except *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* and the *Heptameron*" (p. 141), the critic dashes our hopes to the ground by saying that Des Périers's stories are brief, jocular, and ironic. Surely not an enlightening criticism of a work that has been ranked next to the masterpieces of Rabelais.

After treating the Queen of Navarre and Des Périers, Professor Saintsbury lumps together in true manual-fashion the rest of the sixteenth-century tale-tellers, Henri Estienne, Noël du Fail, Étienne Tabourot, Cholières, and Guillaume Bouchet, and honors them by giving the titles of their works. Noël du Fail, at least, deserved a better fate. The *Amadis* and its continuations and imitations are also handled in a wholly inadequate manner: the four pages devoted to them tell virtually nothing about their origin, their contents, or their influence. Chapter VII closes with a long note that is not likely to inspire confidence in Professor Saintsbury's grasp of the literature of the French Renaissance. The note conveys the information that its author has just learned from M. Gustave Reynier's *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, 1908, of the existence of *Les Angoisses douloureuses* of Hélienne de Crenne.

It is needless to add that Professor Saintsbury omits all reference to the strong foreign influences that made themselves felt in the sixteenth century. His *History of the French Novel* does not even contain the names of such translators as Jean Martin, Antoine Le Maçon, Pierre Boaistuau, Claude Gruget, François de Belleforest, and Gabriel Chappuys, or of such foreign writers as Giovanni Fiorentino, Poggio, Massuccio, Caviceo, Bandello, Firenzuola, Parabosco, Giral di Cinzio, Fernando de Rojas, Juan de Flores, and Juan de Segura. In fact, the only Italian and Spanish authors mentioned are Boccaccio and Diego de San Pedro, and they are merely mentioned; nothing is told of them or their influence.

From the foregoing observations it can surely be judged how defective is Professor Saintsbury's account of the French novel before the seventeenth century. Even a rapid reading of the book will show that the author did not make the most of the excellent works on early French fiction by Messrs. F. M. Warren, W. Söderhjelm, and G. Reynier.

The remaining chapters of Volume I bear the following titles: The Seventeenth-Century Novel (The Pastoral and Heroic Romance, and the Fairy Story; From "Francion" to "La Princesse de Clèves"; Anthony Hamilton); Lesage, Marivaux, Prévost, Crébillon; The *Philosophe* Novel; "Sensibility." Minor and Later Novelists. The French Novel, c. 1800. Although these chapters are much better than the earlier ones, they are by no means satisfactory. Since French literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries does not properly fall within the domain of the ROMANIC REVIEW, I shall, in the remainder of this criticism, confine myself to a few brief queries and remarks.

It should be said once for all that the latter part of Volume I suffers from the same general defects as does the earlier part: namely, lack of chronology, lack of complete information about the origins and the influence of works and movements and about foreign influences, and failure to connect literary movements with social and political conditions in France.

Pp. 98, 153, 180-181: Dumas père is called "great novelist," "master of the

novel," "Alexander, the truly Great." *De gustibus*, etc.—Pp. 154 ff.: It is hardly necessary to use "Urfé" instead of the more common form "d'Urfé."—The development of the heroic novel would be more readily understood if the authors or works were treated in chronological order. For instance, if Gomberville were discussed before Mlle de Scudéry, it would perhaps be clearer why his *Polexandre* is "rather like a modernized 'number' of the *Amadis* series."—How is it possible to write a history of the French novel without even mentioning the dialogue of Boileau, *Les Héros de roman*, and *Les Précieuses ridicules*?—On p. 221 it is said that the *Grand Cyrus* is almost the first work in French fiction that contains a well-defined plot. Is not a well-defined plot characteristic of most of the *romans d'aventure*?—On p. 221 it is said that in the *Grand Cyrus* is the first systematic attempt to treat conversation "in accordance with some principles of art, and perhaps even not without some eye to the actual habits, manners, demands of the time." Naturally, one thinks immediately of the epilogues of the *Heptameron*.—The vague remarks on Charles Sorel tell nothing about the man and his works (pp. 276-278).—How many well-informed critics will agree that Swift is greater than Molière? (p. 296).—On p. 298, note 1, Professor Saintsbury seems to emit the unusual opinion that Swift was not indebted to Cyrano de Bergerac for anything.—The discussion of the *Princesse de Clèves* is sound and to the point (pp. 298 ff.). Segrain should be mentioned in connection with Mme de La Fayette.—What justification can be found for devoting a score of pages to Anthony Hamilton, whereas Fénelon and *Télémaque* are relegated to a note at the end of a chapter, a note that tells nothing worth while about Fénelon and *Télémaque*?—P. 332: "Spain has one of the greatest literatures in quality if not in bulk." The bulk is undoubted, but the quality runs uneven.—The treatment of Diderot is excellent (pp. 400 ff.).—Perhaps, on account of his influence, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre deserves not to be called a "second-rate figure" (p. 377).—P. 425: "All healthy-minded persons have long ago agreed that the concomitant facts, if not causes, of Virginie's fate [in *Paul et Virginie*] are more nasty than the nastiest thing in Diderot or Rabelais." Such an opinion would never have occurred to the present writer. Professor Saintsbury was evidently determined not to do justice to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. The latter's chief contribution to French literature is discussed in just twenty words: "The descriptions of the scenery of Mauritius [in *Paul et Virginie*], as sets-off to a novel, are something new and something immensely important" (p. 425). A longer criticism and a quotation or two would have given a better idea of the newness and the importance of the descriptions. To Bernardin de Saint-Pierre two scant pages are accorded, whereas Pigault-Lebrun, the last writer treated in the book, is honored with eleven pages.

It is to be feared that the first volume of Professor Saintsbury's *History of the French Novel* can serve only as pabulum for *dilettanti*. It is certain that it cannot meet with the approval of the disciples of the "modern severe historical school," who demand, first of all, completeness, accuracy, and sound criticism.

RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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THE MOUNTAIN OF NIDA: AN EPISODE OF THE ALEXANDER LEGEND

MANY years ago while reading Mite Kremnitz's *Rumänische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1882), I came across a *motif* which I had never seen before in popular tales, and for which I could find no analogue. I wrote to Dr. Köhler, the learned librarian of the Ducal Library at Weimar, and he replied that he thought he would be able to send me a parallel, but before he did so death silenced that oracle which for many years had been consulted by scholars of every country, and never consulted in vain. Later I wrote to Dr. Johannes Bolte, of Berlin, on whose shoulders had fallen the mantle of Köhler, but before his answer came I discovered the probable source of my mysterious *märchen* while searching for the source of one of Boccaccio's *novelle*. When Bolte's reply arrived it contained another parallel, which with the one I found myself are the only ones I have yet been able to discover. I shall give the Rumanian story presently, and will content myself at this moment with saying that it is connected with an episode in the Oriental legends concerning Alexander the Great. It would be very interesting, did time permit, to examine the legends of Alexander found in mediaeval *exempla*, of which I have collected a large number, but I must now confine myself to those episodes in the Alexander-legend with which the Rumanian story is connected.¹

¹ Bibliographical Note: There is an exhaustive general bibliography of the subject in M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, section 540, pp. 894-898, "Geschichte Alexander's M." See also I. Lévi, *Revue des Études Juives*, I., pp. 293-300.

The work which has been the most useful to me in the preparation of this paper is Wilhelm Hertz's admirable essay on "Aristoteles im Mittelalter," origi-

Among the many legendary exploits of Alexander the Great the most interesting perhaps is his "Journey into the Land of Darkness in Quest of the Water of Life." The story first appears in the "Letter of Alexander to his mother Olympias and his preceptor Aristotle," which is found in certain versions of the fabulous history of Alexander ascribed to an author known as Pseudo-Callisthenes, and written about A. D. 200.² In this Letter Alexander recounts the wonders which he has seen in his travels in India.

nally published in the *Abhandlungen der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. Klasse*, XIX, 1 (1899), and reprinted with considerable additions by the author in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen von Wilhelm Hertz, herausgegeben von Friedrich von der Leyen*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 1-155. I have seen myself all the important texts cited in my paper and referred to by Hertz. I have also consulted the following general works: G. Favre, *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire*, Geneva, 1856, vol. II, pp. 5-184, "Recherches sur les histoires fabuleuses d'Alexandre le Grand," and Dario Carraroli, *La leggenda di Alessandro Magno*, Turin-Palermo, 1892.

Through the courtesy of the Cleveland Public Library (John G. White Folklore Collection) I have been able to see: F. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*, Leipzig, 1851, and L. Donath, *Die Alexandersage in Talmud und Midrasch*, Fulda, 1873, of which Steinschneider speaks unfavorably, but they do not add much to the later works cited above, or to the articles in the *Revue des Études Juives* and *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* cited in note 6.

For "The Water of Life" I have consulted Auguste Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser*, Leipzig, 1905, and Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1913 and 1915, No. 57, "The Golden Bird," and No. 97, "The Water of Life." See also the article of Ethé cited in note 5. Of great interest and importance is I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig-Berlin, Teubner, 1913. He does not mention the episode of the "Mountain of Nida."

The texts which I have used are enumerated in notes 5 and 6.

² The Greek text of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* was first edited by Karl Müller in 1877 from three MSS. in the National Library at Paris: *Arriani Anabasis et Indica ex optimo codice Parisino emendavit . . . Fr. Dübner . . . Pseudo-Callisthenis historiam fabulosam ex tribus codicibus nunc primum editit Carolus Müller, Parisiis, Didot*. The Letter alone had been published by Berger de Xivry (from two of the MSS. used by Müller: 1685, Ancien Fonds, and 113 du Supplément) in his *Traditions tératologiques*, Paris, 1836. A fourth version of the Letter from a Leyden MS. is in *Pseudo-Callisthenes, nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben von H. Meusel, in Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, V, iv, 1871. In my abstract from the Letter I follow Weismann's German version of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, chaps. 39, 40, 41 (*Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht. Urtext und Uebersetzung . . . von Dr. Heinrich Weismann. Frankfurt am Main, 1850, vol. II, pp. 132-138*). This is the C version.

In the course of his journey he reaches a plain, divided by a gorge which he bridges, and sets up an inscription stating that Alexander and his entire army crossed there to reach the end of the world, as Providence had determined. Three days later they arrived at a place where the sun did not shine; there is the Land of the Blessed. Alexander determined to delay the completion of his camp, and, leaving behind him his infantry together with the old men and women, to explore and examine that region with a band of chosen youths. Kallisthenes, one of his friends, advised him, however, to march into the land with forty friends, one hundred youths and twelve hundred soldiers. Alexander did so and commanded that no old man should follow him.⁸ One curious old man, however, who had two valiant sons, staunch soldiers, said to them, "My children, listen to your father and take me with you, and I shall be found not unworthy on the journey; for I know that in the time of danger an old man will be sought, and if you then have me with you you will be highly honored by the king. In order, however, not to be discovered, as breakers of his command and put to death, shave my head and beard, and when my whole appearance is thus changed I will go with you and at the right time be of great service to you." They did as their father ordered and took the old man with them.

So they marched with Alexander and found an obscure place which they could not penetrate on account of the impassable roads. So they pitched their tents there and the next day Alexander took a thousand soldiers and penetrated the land with them in order to discover whether the end of the world was there. When he had entered the land he saw a brighter space to the left and marched through desert and rocky regions until midday. This time of day he did not perceive by the sun, but measured the way by a line according to geometry and so knew the time. Afterwards, however, Alexander became fearful and turned back, because the way was impassable. When he emerged from that region he wished to march to the right, for it was a plain, but dark and gloomy. Alexander himself was now perplexed, for none of the youths advised him to penetrate into the dark land, for fear that when the stallions were exhausted by the darkness of the long way, they

⁸ The story of the old man taken by his son on the expedition into the Land of Darkness is of course connected with the widely spread theme of an old man concealed in spite of some law, who aids his son and the state by his ripe experience. For extensive references see Köhler's *Kleinere Schriften*, II, p. 324, "Eine römische Sage (von der Tötung der Greise)," and Bolte's edition of Jacob Frey's *Gartengesellschaft, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 209, Tübingen, 1896, p. 262, notes to No. 129. Some Slavic parallels are given by G. Polivka in the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, VIII, pp. 25-29.

would be unable to return. So Alexander spoke to them: "O brave soldiers, you have all learned in our wars that nothing good can be accomplished without advice and discretion. For if an old man should come along, he would advise us how now to penetrate into the Land of Darkness. Let therefore some brave man of you return to the camp and bring me an old man, and he shall receive much gold from me." But there was no one of them found to do this, on account of the distance and darkness. Then the sons of the old man drew near and said to him: "If you will hear us patiently, O king, we will tell you something," King Alexander replied: "Say what you will, for I swear by the Providence of heaven that I will do you no harm." Then they told him about their father and ran and brought the old man before him. When Alexander saw him he welcomed him and asked him for his advice. The old man said: "You can see, O king Alexander, that if the horses have gone away, you will not behold the light again. Therefore choose the mares which have foals, and leave the foals here, we will penetrate the land with the mares and they will bring us back here again."

Alexander sought among all the horses which he had with him and found only a hundred mares with foals. So he took these and a hundred other chosen ones and likewise very many to carry the provisions, and so penetrated into the land according to the advice of the old man, leaving the foals behind. The old man commanded his sons to gather and put in their sacks what they found on the ground after they had penetrated into the country. With Alexander marched three hundred and sixty soldiers and they advanced fifteen *schoinoi*⁴ on a dark road. There they saw a spot and near it a clear spring, the water of which gleamed like lightning, but the air was fragrant and delicious.

As King Alexander was hungry and wanted something to eat he summoned his cook, Andreas by name, and ordered him to prepare food. The cook took a dried fish and went to the transparent water of the spring to wash the fish. When, however, it was shaken in the water, it became at once alive and slipped from the hands of the cook. The cook told no one what had happened, but took some of the water in a silver vessel and preserved it. The whole region had plenty of water and all drank of it and took food. After they had eaten, Alexander marched thirty *schoinoi* further and beheld a brightness without sun, moon or stars, and discovered three birds which had the faces of men, and called to him in Greek from on high: "The land on which you are treading, O Alexander, belongs

⁴ A measure said by Herodotus to equal sixty stadia, by others, forty or thirty; forty-five stadia make a geographical mile.

to God alone; turn back, unhappy man, for thou canst not enter the Land of the Blessed. So turn back and spare thy pains." Alexander trembled and obeyed at once the voice of the birds. The other bird, however, addressed him again: "The East calls you, O Alexander, and the kingdom of Porus will be subject to you through victory." After it had spoken thus the bird flew away. Alexander, however, after he had reconciled himself to the divine Providence, ordered Antiochus to announce to the soldiers: "Let each one take home with him whatever he will, be it stone or dirt or wood." To some it seemed good to do so, to others the words of Alexander seemed idle talk. On the march Alexander said to Philo: "Dismount and take with you what falls into your hands." Philo dismounted and found, as it seemed, an ordinary useless stone. He picked it up and rode on with Alexander. Many of the soldiers took from the neighboring forest, which was there, whatever they found. But especially the sons of the old man, in accordance with their father's command, filled their sacks so that they could scarcely march. Alexander, however, with the guides, sending the mares ahead, marched in the direction of the constellation of the Great Bear, and following the voices of the mares, he emerged from the land in a few days. So they came out of the land covered with everlasting night.

When they came to the light where the other soldiers were and looked at each other, they saw that they had pearls and precious stones. Then those who had brought back nothing with them regretted it, and those who had, all thanked Alexander and the old man for their good advice. Philo, however, took the stone to Alexander and it was all glittering gold.

Now the cook also related how the fish had become alive. Then was Alexander angry and commanded the cook to be severely beaten. The cook, however, said to him: "What good will it do you to be sorry for what has already happened?" He did not say that he had drunk of the water or that he had preserved some. This the cook could not make up his mind to confess, only that the fish had come to life again. The wicked cook, however, went to Alexander's daughter who was born of the concubine Une and named Kale, and seduced her by promising to give her to drink of the water from the Well of Life, and so he did.

When Alexander learned this he envied them their immortality, and calling his daughter to him said to her: "Take thy clothing and begone, for lo thou hast become a divine being, since thou art immortal; thou shalt be called Nereis, since through water hast thou won immortality, and in water shalt thou dwell." Weeping and lamenting she went forth from his presence and departed to the

demons in the wilderness. Alexander then ordered the cook to be thrown into the sea with a stone hanged about his neck. The cook became a demon and dwelt in a part of the sea named from him the Andreantic sea. Thus it happened to the cook and the maiden. Alexander believed from this token that the end of the world was there. When they reached the bridge which Alexander had built, he had another inscription carved upon it: "Those who wish to enter the Land of the Blessed must take the road to the right."⁵

⁵ For Andreas and Alexander's daughter, see Friedlaender, *Die Chadhir-legende und der Alexanderroman*, pp. 107, 301-302. The episode of the Land of Darkness and the Water of Life is not found in *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, version A (Paris MS., 1711), nor in Julius Valerius (*Pseudo-Callisthenes*). It is not in Leo's *Historia de Preliis*, nor in the Latin Letter of Alexander (ed. Kuebler, *Juli Valeri . . . res gestae Alexandri . . .* Leipzig, 1888; ed. Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman in Sammlung Vulgärlatein. Texte*). It is not in the Syriac version of *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (*The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, etc., by E. A. W. Budge, Cambridge, 1889). It is not in the Ethiopic version of the *History of the Jews* by Joseph Ben Gorion, in E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, London, 1896, pp. 403-428. It is not in the Spanish poem attributed to Juan Lorenzo Segura, which is based upon Julius Valerius, *Epitome, Epistola Alexandri*, and *Liber de Preliis*, see *Romania*, IV, pp. 7-90, A. Morel-Fatio, "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Libro de Alexandre." The Spanish work is now best found in A. Morel-Fatio, *El Libro de Alexandre*, MS. Esp. 488, de la Bib. Nat. de Paris, Dresden, 1906, *Gesellschaft für Rom. Lit.*, Bd. 10. It is not in *I nobili Fatti di Alessandro Magno* (*Collezione di opere inedite o rare*, ed. G. Grion, 1872). Finally, it is not in Lamprecht's *Alexander*.

The episode of the Land of Darkness and the Water of Life is, on the other hand, found in the following versions: 1. *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, version L (Leyden MS. God. Vulcanii 93), version B (Paris MS. 1685, Berger de Xivrey, p. 367), version C (Paris MS. Suppl. 113, Berger de Xivrey, p. 343); 2. *Metrical Discourse of Jacob of Serugh*, in Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, pp. lxxxii, 170-175; 3. The Ethiopic version, in Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, pp. 261, 268, 271; 4. *The History of Alexander the Great* by Abu Shâker, in Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, pp. 396 et seq.; 5. *The History of Alexander . . . A Christian Romance*, Ethiopic, in Budge, *The Life and Exploits*, etc., pp. 481-483; 6. Theban-Coptic version of the *Romance of Alexander*, see Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, p. cx; 7. G. Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1915, pp. 290-303, "Fragments of the Theban-Coptic version of the Romance of Alexander," p. 303, contain the episode of the Land of Darkness, the MS. is incomplete and the Water of Life is lacking; 8. *The Hebrew Romance of Alexander*, translated by M. Gaster, is in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1897 (N. S. xxix), Article XIX, "An old Hebrew Romance of Alexander. Translated from Hebrew MSS. of the twelfth century," pp. 485-549; 9. Arabic version in Dr. G. Weil, *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud*,

We have seen in the above form of the Alexander-legend that the soldiers gathered gold and precious stones in the Land of Darkness, but the episode of the "Wonderstone" does not occur in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* and its various translations, and is also lacking

or, *Biblical Legends of the Musselmans*. Translated from the German, New York, 1846, p. 93; 10. The Persian version in Carmoly, *Contes, Récits Chaldéens*, Bruxelles, 1837, extracts translated by Weismann in his edition of Lamprecht's *Alexander*, vol. II, pp. 507-508; 11. A modern Indian version, in *Oral Tradition from the Indus*. By Major J. F. A. McNair and T. L. Barlow, 1908, Brighton; 12. Persian version in *Le livre des rois par Abou' Ikassim Firdousi traduit et commenté par Jules Mohl*, Paris, 1877, vol. V, pp. 79-212. See also J. Görres, *Das Heldenbuch von Iran. Aus dem Schah Nameh des Firdussi*, Berlin, 1820, vol. II, pp. 529-556; 13. Persian version in Nizâmi, *The Sikandar Nâma e Barâ* . . . translated by H. W. Clarke, London, 1881, pp. 785-809. The episode of the Land of Darkness and Water of Life is translated and commented upon by Dr. Hermann Ethé, "Alexanders Zug zum Lebensquell im Land des Finsterniss," in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philolog. und hist. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wiss. zu München*, Bd. I. Jahrg., 1871, pp. 343-405; 14. Persian version in *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans*, Oct., 1777, vol. I, pp. 7-52; 15. Old-French version in *Li Romans d'Alexandre par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay*, edited by Michelant in *Stuttgart Lit. Vereins*, vol. xiii, 1846. The episode of the Water of Life, not Land of Darkness, is found in pp. 329-335. See analysis in P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886, vol. II, *Histoire de la légende*. This should be supplemented by the same author's *Étude sur les manuscrits du Roman d'Alexandre in Romania*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 213-332; 16. Old-French version in *L'Histoire d'Alexandre de Jean de Wauquelin*. Inedited, see Meyer, last work cited, p. 313 et seq. The Fountain of Life is in this version, see Meyer, p. 325, also p. 219, "II. Le récit interpolé du voyage d'Alexandre au Paradis"; 17. Spanish version in *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid por F. Guillén Robles*. Zaragoza, 1888 (*Biblioteca de Escritores Aragoneses, Seccion Literaria, Tomo V*), *Leyenda de Iskender Dulcarnain o Alejandro Magno*, pp. 135-282. The episode of the Land of Darkness, etc., is in Capitulo V, pp. 163-173.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE VARIOUS INCIDENTS IN THE ABOVE VERSIONS OF THE ALEXANDER-LEGEND

1. Pseudo-Callisthenes:
 - Land of Darkness: L. B. C.
 - Old men, mares: L. C.
 - Fountain of Life: L. B. C.
 - Fish: L. B. C.
2. Jacob of Serugh:
 - Land of Darkness.
 - Old men, she-asses.
 - Fountain of Life.
 - Fish.

in a considerable number of mediaeval and modern versions. It is generally connected with the "Journey to Paradise," as is the case in the *Iter ad Paradisum*, twelfth century, or with the "Water

3. Ethiopic Version:

Land of Darkness (illuminating stone).
Fountain of Life, Fish.
(Wonderstone.)

4. Abu Shâker:

Land of Darkness.
Mares.

5. Christian Romance:

Water of Life.
Fish.

6. Theban-Coptic Romance:

Land of Darkness.
Mares.

7. Hebrew Romance (ed. Gaster):

Birds come to life in water of river.
Servant drinks of water; Alexander not.
(Wonderstone.)

8. Arabic (Weil):

Fountain of Life.
Al-Kidhr anticipates Alexander.

9. Persian:

(a) Firdausi.

Land of Darkness.
Water of Life.

(b) Nizami.

Land of Darkness.
Old men, mares.
Illuminating jewel.
Water of Life.
Fish.

(c) Cardonne's Romance.

Water of Life.

(d) Carmoly's Romance.

Water of Life.
(Alexander cannot drink until he has found something to outweigh the Wonderstone.)

10. Indian (in *Oral Tradition from the Indus*):

Water of Life.
Mares that had recently foaled.
Alexander prevented from drinking by prophetic bird.

11. French:

(a) Lambert li Tors.

Water of Life.
(Wonderstone.)

of Life," as in the Babylonian Talmud, fifth century.⁶ Sometimes, however, it is found alone, as in an interesting group of five Old-

- (b) Jean de Vauquelin.
Fountain of Life.
(Wonderstone.)

- 12. Spanish *Leyenda de Alejandro*:
Land of Darkness.
Virgin mares.
Illuminating stone.
Water of Life.
(Wonderstone.)

⁶ Episode of the Wonderstone and the Journey to Paradise.

The Wonderstone is generally united with the Journey to Paradise, as is the case in the *Iter ad Paradisum*, twelfth century, or with the Water of Life, as in the Babylonian Talmud, *Tractate Tamid*, fifth century. Sometimes it is found alone, as in a group of five Old-French MSS. of the thirteenth century. The Wonderstone is an apple in one of the Old-French versions, see *Romania*, XI, 228-244, and Hertz, p. 75.

The Wonderstone is not in (a) *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, (b) Latin translation Julius Valerius, (c) Armenian translation, (d) Syriac translation, (e) Theban-Coptic Romance, (f) or Joseph ben Gorion. It is also lacking in a considerable number of mediæval and modern versions, for which see Hertz, pp. 99-100.

The Wonderstone as a separate episode, not connected with the Water of Life or Journey to Paradise, is found, as has been said above, in a group of five Old-French MSS. of the thirteenth century of the *Romans d'Alexandre* (*Romania*, XI, 213), First Interpolation. As it is brief I will give the substance of it here.

"As Alexander was returning to Babylon from his visit to Candace, he saw on the road a human eye sparkling on a stone. He showed it to his Master Aristotle, who was riding by his side, and the latter said: 'Never have I seen so weighty a thing. All that you have conquered with your sword cannot outweigh it.' Alexander would not believe him and wanted to see the proof. Aristotle dismounted and had a large balance brought. In one scale he laid the eye, in the other hauberks and helmets, but the cords broke before the scale with the eye was raised. All were amazed. Then Aristotle covered the eye with a bit of Persian silk (symbol of covering the dead body), put it in a small jeweler's balance and it was outweighed by a couple of besants. 'Learn,' said Aristotle to the king, 'what this little object teaches you. When you have conquered one kingdom, you do not rest until you have subdued a second, and after that a third and fourth. So the eye covets all that it sees, until it is covered with the shroud.' This admonition they all took to heart. Then Aristotle mounted his Spanish courser, and they continued their journey."

The Wonderstone is usually found in connection with the Journey to Paradise and the Water of Life. The following are the most interesting versions: 1. *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, Second Interpolation (*Romania*, XI, 228-244, not in Michelant). This is, on the whole, the most interesting of all the versions of the story. 2. *Les Faits des Romains* (Hertz, p. 78; P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, vol. II,

French MSS. of the thirteenth century. I shall consider the earliest versions first, beginning with the Talmud, *Tractate Tamid* (Hertz, p. 82).

358, cf. *I Fatti di Cesare*, Bologna, 1873, pp. 116 et seq.). 3. Hebrew version in Babylonian Talmud, *Tractate Tamid* (Hertz, p. 82). This version I have given at length in the body of my paper above. Versions of the Talmud story are found in: S. Hurwitz, *Hebrew Tales*, Boston, 1845, p. 79, "Alexander and the Human Skull." The object is said to be "the socket of a human eye, which though small in compass, is yet unbounded in its desires." Tendlau, *Das Buch der Sagen und Legenden Jüdischer Vorzeit*, Stuttgart, 1842, p. 47, X, "Alexander, der Macedonier, vor der Pforte des Gan Eden." The object is a skull, but p. 48, "Des Menschen Aug," antworteten sie, "die Menschen Aug von Fleisch und Blut hat nie genug." G. Levi, *Parabole, Leggende e Pensieri raccolti dai libri talmudici dei primi cinque secoli dell' E. V.*, Florence, 1861, p. 218, "Alessandro il Grande ossia l'ambizione." The object is "un pezzo d'un teschio di morto," p. 220, "questo frammento d'osso è quel che rinchiude l'occhio umano, il quale, quantunque limitato nel volume, è illimitato ne' desiderii." This description of the object rests on a misunderstanding according to I. Levi, in *Revue des Études Juives*, II, 298, No. 3, "Eisenmenger avait traduit ce mot 'Totenkopf,' confondant le mot Gulgoeth (skull) with Gôlgoeth." Levi translates, "Ils lui donnèrent un globe." The following articles in periodicals have been consulted by me: *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. II, pp. 293-300, "La légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud," by Israel Lévi. This article discusses two extracts from the Talmud, *Tamid*, 32, one contains the ten questions addressed by Alexander to the "Wise men of the South," the other is the extract given in my paper. The same author has two other articles in the same periodical: Vol. III, pp. 238-275, "Les traductions hébraïques de l'histoire légendaire d'Alexandre," of no interest for my present purpose; vol. VII, pp. 78-93, "La légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch," p. 82, the journey of Alexander to the Land of Darkness, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Breslau, Bd. V (1866), pp. 121-134, 161-178, "Beiträge zur Alexandersage," by Dr. H. Vogelstein. A general survey of the various legends and discussion of origins. Finally, in this connection, I may mention J. A. Eisenmenger's curious work, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Königsberg, 1711, vol. II, p. 321, chap. v, "Was die Juden von dem Paradeis schreiben und lehren." The passage is a translation of the *Tractate Tamid*, which has been given above. The object is a "Tottenkopft." I shall now return to the versions containing the Wonderstone: 4. *Iter ad Paradisum. Alexandri Magni Iter ad Paradisum, ex codd. MSS. Latinis primus edidit Julius Zacher*. Regiomonti Pr. 1859. This little (pp. 32) work is now very scarce, but a reprint may be found in Karl Kinzel's edition of Lamprecht's *Alexander*, Halle a. S. 1884. A résumé of the *Iter* is given in the body of my paper above. 5. Lamprecht's *Alexander*. The best edition now is *Lamprecht's Alexander, nach den drei Texten mit dem Fragment des Alberic von Besançon und den Lateinischen Quellen herausgegeben von Karl Kinzel*, Halle a. S. 1884. The Wonderstone episode is ll. 6589-7302, the text of the Latin *Iter ad Paradisum* is at the bottom of the page. Instead of putting the earth on the stone, the poet has it put in the other scale on a feather.

Alexander came to a spring; he sat down and ate bread. He had in his hands a salt fish. While he was washing it it became alive again. Then he exclaimed: "This water comes from Paradise." According to some he took of the water and washed his face; according to others he went up the stream until he reached the gate of Paradise. He lifted up his voice: "Open the gate to me!" Those within answered: "This is God's gate; only the righteous enter here." He said to them: "I, too, am a king. I am highly esteemed. Give me some present!" They gave him a

This is also the case in two other Oriental versions: Arabic version in Bezold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VIII, 278, passage in question is reprinted in Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 271; and in Ethiopic version of *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, in Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 271. 5. Jacob van Maerlant (Hertz, p. 109) in his *Alexanders Geesten* gives the following remarkable form of the legend: "From Taprobane and the land of the Makrobier, Alexander sailed with his followers in search of other lands. They voyaged through deep darkness until they beheld in the distance a structure like a castle, gleaming like gold. It was the Earthly Paradise. What appeared like gold were fiery walls. Alexander paused before the rock which pierced the clouds. A voice called to him from on high: 'Alexander!' He answered: 'Do they know about me up there? Who is it? To whom does the land belong?' The voice called back: 'This land belongs to the same lord who has given you the whole world with so great honor; in his power is your life also.' Alexander cried: 'What will you throw down to me as a token that I have been here?' Then the speaker dropped a stone, the like of which was not to be found on earth. 'This is your tribute from the Earthly Paradise. Now be wise and seek no further, but fare home to your country. There you will soon learn how your life shall end.' Thereupon the speaker withdrew his head from (the opening in the) wall. Alexander returned home with the wonderful stone in his hand, which shone as brightly as the sun. When it was laid in the balance it was heavier than all riches which could be heaped up in the other scale; but a little earth outweighed it. It was shaped like a human eye. That meant that as long as Alexander lived he was more than all the wealth of the world; when, however, a man dies a little bit of earth is as good and much better than he." Hertz says, p. 109, "Nach dieser merkwürdigen Umbildung der Sage, bezeichnet also der Wunderstein das eine Mal den lebenden, das andere Mal den toten Alexander. . . . In der Rezension der Sage, welcher der arabische und äthiopische Text, sowie Maerlant folgt, hat die Deutung eine andere Wendung bekommen: der Stein ist das Sinnbild menschlicher Macht und Grosse, die durch den Tod allen ihren Wert verliert."

It is not necessary to go into any further versions. Ulrich von Eschenbach, Hertz, p. 111, has two versions of the legend; in one the eye means man who is never satiated, the stone is not weighed; in the other version, it is weighed and a little sand put with it in the scale is outweighed by a feather. "The stone signifies your power, which nothing equals until you come to the grave, then a feather is as valuable as you." From this on, all the remaining versions know only the later signification of the simile of the frailty of human worth.

ball. He went and weighed all his gold and silver against it, but it could not outweigh it. Then he spoke to the rabbis: "What is that?" They said: "That is an eye-ball, made of flesh and blood, that is never satiated." He said: "Who proves this?" Then they took a little dust and covered it with it. At once it was outweighed. For it is said: "Hell and destruction are never full; so the eyes of man are never satisfied" (Proverbs, 27, 20).

Turning now to the *Iter ad Paradisum*, I shall give the résumé by Hertz, pp. 84-89.

After the conquest of India, Alexander laden with booty marched forward slowly to give his army rest. He came to a broad stream, which, he was told, was the Ganges (also called Physon), and had its source in Paradise. The roofs of the houses were covered with gigantic leaves, which the inhabitants fished out of the stream with long poles. When they were dried in the sun and rubbed to powder they emitted a wonderful odor. When Alexander heard of Paradise, he said with a sigh: "I have attained nothing in this world if I do not partake of this bliss." He immediately chose from the youth of his army five hundred of the bravest and most enduring and embarked with them in a broad, well equipped ship.

They journeyed upstream a month, until the strength of the youths began to flag before the force of the rapid stream, and they were deafened by the frightful roar of the water. Finally, on the thirty-fourth day they saw something like a city of wonderful size and extent. They rowed with an effort three days to the walls, which had no towers or bulwarks and were so overgrown with moss that one could not see the joints of the stones. At last, they beheld a little, narrow window, and Alexander had some of his people row there in a boat. At their knocking a man drew the bolt and asked in a gentle voice who and whence they were and what they sought. They replied: "We are the messengers, not of an ordinary prince, but of the king of kings, the invincible Alexander, whom all the world obeys. He wishes to know what people live here and which king rules them; and commands you, if your life is dear to you, to pay him tribute like all the rest of the nations." The man, however, replied with a cheerful countenance and mild words: "Do not exert yourselves with threats, but wait patiently until I return." He closed the window and almost two hours elapsed before he opened it again. He handed them a jewel of wonderful brightness and unusual color, in form and size like a human eye. "The inhabitants of this place offer to you," so

he bid them announce to their king, "a souvenir of a wonderful experience, whether you accept it as a gift or as a tribute that is due. From love of mankind we send you this stone which can set a limit to your covetousness. For when you learn its nature and power, you will henceforth renounce all ambition. Know also that it is not for your good to linger longer here. Even in a slight storm you would surely meet death in shipwreck. Rejoin your companions and show yourselves not ungrateful to the God of gods for the favors you have received!" Thereupon he closed the window. They rowed back and Alexander, weighing with wise mind the meaning of the words, hastened back to the camp of his troops who greeted him with joy.

He returned to Susa and summoned secretly the wisest of the Jews and heathen in order to have explained to him the nature of the stone. They could only praise his good fortune and power and put him off with empty words. He hid his dissatisfaction and dismissed them with royal presents. Now there lived in the city an infirm old Jew named Papas, who, when he wanted to leave his house, had to be carried in a litter by two servants. He heard from his friends of the king's perplexity and had himself carried to him. Alexander, who liked to talk confidentially with the old, received him with deference and turned the conversation on the adventure which he had encountered. Papas raised his hands to heaven and congratulated the king upon having penetrated to that city, which thus far all had attempted in vain and to their harm. Then Alexander opened his hand and showed him the stone. The Jew examined it and recognized its nature, and, as the eyes are easier to convince than the ears, he had a balance brought. He laid the stone in one scale, and in the other as many gold pieces as they could get together; but the stone outweighed them all. Then he asked for a larger balance and had many hundred weight of gold put on it, but the stone made the scale kick the beam.

When Alexander could scarce contain his amazement, the old man laid the stone again in the smaller balance, covered it with a little dust, and now it was outweighed by a single gold piece, even by a feather. Then Papas explained to the king in a lengthy discourse that in the place which he had taken for a city the souls of the righteous await the day of the resurrection of the body in order after the Last Judgment to reign forever with their creator; that they had given him the stone in order to silence his ambition, for the stone is the eye of man which is not to be satiated by gold until it is covered with earth. "*Te igitur, o bone rex, te, inquam, moderatorem totius prudentiae, te victorem regum, te possessorem regnorum, lapis iste praefiguratur, te monet, te increpat, te substantia*

exilis compescit ab appetitu vilissimae ambitionis!" Alexander embraced and kissed the old man and overwhelmed him with royal gifts. From that time on he renounced ambition and marched to Babylon, where he rewarded richly his soldiers and dismissed them, living in peace and quiet to the end of his days.

I have now considered very briefly three of the most interesting episodes of the Alexander-legend: the Land of Darkness and the mode of exploring it by newly-foaled mares; the Water of Life and its recognition by the revivification of a salted fish; and the Wonderstone, a powerful allegory of the insatiability of man's ambition while life lasts. All these episodes occur in many forms in oriental and occidental literature, and are more or less connected with each other, although they sometimes have an independent existence. I have now to examine a fourth episode, the Mountain of Nida, which occurs in three versions only, two of them Persian and the third Rumanian,—all three apparently without any connection with each other, and quite unknown to students of the Alexander-legend. I said at the beginning of this paper that my attention was directed to it by the Rumanian version, and that I had consulted Dr. Reinhold Köhler in regard to it. His death prevented his answering my inquiry; but Dr. Johannes Bolte cited one parallel, the older Persian one, and I had myself stumbled upon the second Persian version while investigating the source of one of Boccaccio's *novelle* (*Decameron*, X, 3, The Story of Mitridanes and Natan). I cannot understand how so striking a story should have escaped the notice of students, or how it should occur in occidental literature only in the form of the Rumanian *märchen*. I shall proceed as I have done above by considering the oldest form first.

The famous Persian poet, Nizami, was born at Nakrash in the province of Kum in A. H. 535, and died at Ganja, a town of Arran (the modern Elizabetopol, in Azarbijan), A. H. 599 (A. D. 1195), at the age of sixty-three and a half. We are now concerned only with his poem on Alexander the Great, *The Sikandar Nāma, e bará, i. e.*, The Book of Alexander the Great, relating his Adventures as a Conqueror by Land. The second part of this work, *The Sikandar Nāma, e bahrí*, or Book of Alexander the Great, relating

his Adventures, as a Sage and a Prophet, by Sea, does not contain anything for my present purpose. I shall pass over the Persian poet's account of Alexander's birth, education and conquests, in the first part, and come at once to the sixty-eighth canto, "Sikandar's becoming desirous of the Water of Life, on hearing of its qualities." I shall use the translation by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke, London, 1881.⁷

There is nothing for my purpose until Canto LXVIII, "Sikandar's becoming desirous of the Water of Life, on hearing of its qualities," pp. 785-798; Canto LXIX, "Sikandar's going into the Zulmat in Search of the Water of Life," pp. 798-809; Canto LXX, "Sikandar's coming forth from the Darkness (Dark Land)," pp. 809-818.

These cantos contain:

Alexander's journey in quest of the Water of Life, the leaving behind all old and sick persons. One young man takes with him his old father concealed in a chest, who proposes the device of the swift mare whose first colt has been killed at a certain spot, and which will wish to return there speedily. The jewel that reveals the Fountain of Life to Khizr. The dry salted fish that falls into the fountain and becomes alive. Alexander does not drink of the fountain. On his return hopeless an angel gives him a stone "less than a groat," saying, "Keep this stone dear to thyself. Of the tumult of so much desire, verily, thou mayst become sated only with something equal in weight to this." The trial of the stone. After this the king holds an assembly (LXX, p. 812), at which is discussed the king's failure to obtain the Water of Life. An old man thus speaks (35): "If he seek the water of life, for the purpose / That he may obtain safety from Death's grasp, / In this land (outside of the mountains of Zulmat) is a city sufficiently prosperous, / In which no one ever dies, / In that city, a mountain loftily extended;⁸ / By it, . . . the men of the city become city-bound (so that they cannot on that side move out) / At every period of time, issues from the mountain . . . a noise, / At which awe comes to the hearer. / It calls one of the men by name, / Saying:— O certain one! arise; move proudly towards the height! / The

⁷ *The Sikander Nāma e Barā, or Book of Alexander the Great*, written A.D. 1200. By Abu Muhammad Bin Yusuf Bin Mu, Ayyid-I-Nizamu-'d-Din. Translated for the first time out of the Persian into prose . . . by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke. London, 1881.

⁸ The mountain is not named in Nizami's poem.

hearer at that sound (of death) causing order to be accepted, / Becomes not a moment ease-taker; / Hastens from the low ground to the height; / No answer comes from him (the ascender) to the inquirer. / He becomes invisible behind the mountain; / Of that difficulty none knows the key. / If the king desire his body safe from death, / It is doubtless proper to go to that city."

Alexander is astonished at this story and sends some of his councillors to bring the truth of the old man's speech to him (p. 814, 51). "The counsel-accepters of the King's counsel / Sought the road to the deathless city: / hastened with joy into that city; / Made a place of ease in a pleasant place. / The news of that city, known and unknown, / Was such as that venerable old man said. / At every period of time, a voice from the mountain / Used to reach the name of one of that region. / When the hearer used to hear his own name, / He used with pleasure to hasten towards that mountain: / Used to become so impatient in running / that he would not go far from that path for (to avoid) the sword. / The King's guards devised schemes (for discovery): / (But) they recognized not the notes of that sound. / When the sphere, the revolver, for a while revolved, / The sun travelled some stages (the sun passed from mansion to mansion). / Of the King's footmen, Time's revolution / Became the teacher of one for going (to the mountain). / Of those mystery-seeking, secretly-examining (unknown to the people of the city), / The hidden voice called one to the mountain. / The one who heard his own name quickly arose; / Went with ample stride towards the hidden voice of the mountain. / With the hand his friends seized his skirt, / Saying:—"Exercise delay for a while in running. /" It is not proper that the runner should be distraught; / "The secret of this screen may, perhaps, be revealed." / The hastener considered not (their holding him) profitable to himself; / He expressed a cry; and displayed anger: / Something which was of use uttered he. / In moving became like the restless sky: / Freed himself by much artifice and violence; / Became a wanderer from them like a flying ant. / At him his friends were astonished; / From him, every one took warning, / Saying: "In this expedition (to the city) wiser (more determined to disobey the mountain-voice) that we,— / "Behold how he went from us and unfolded not the mystery!" /

When over this event some time passed, / (And) the sun shone on mountain and plain, / Again the turn reached another friend; / He also in a moment became invisible. / The few men who were left / Read not one letter of that tablet (the mountain) of mystery. / They became fearers of that matter; / For the sky assisted none (of those sent, to return from the mountain). / Through their

own roadless state (of ignorance of that mystery) they came to the road / of returning, or of confessing); And came from that city to the king. / They represented the state, saying:—"Many of us / Went towards the mountain; none returned. / Neither was there (even) a little delay at the time of going; Nor also was there hope of returning. / We know not what the sound of that note is; / Who is the player of the instrument of that note, / When we recognized not the mystery of that sound, / From that sound,—behold we hastened!" / Some of us prepared for (agreed with the order of) the mountain; / From that mountain, a sound came not back. / When we saw that they took (to) the mountain (retirement-choosing), / We took (to) the plain; We came,—this troop. / Like this is the vault (of the sky) quickly-revolving, / On account of which, they (in death) take sometimes (to) the mountain, sometimes (to) the plain." / When Sikandar heard the mystery of the guards, / He beheld a road,—its returning invisible. / Then to him, used to come the wish by that road (of death),— / That (back) by it one departed (in death) had returned. / Through anger at that matter he remained disquieted, / Because no one read the lettering of that tale (of mystery). He learned that that sudden departing / Is for that one to whom the world (time) comes to an end. / He uttered a proverb:—"Everyone who was born died; / From death's grasp, none saved his life. / When they (the asses) have no power with (against) the wild ass catchers, / The asses (men) come on their own feet to the grave.

The next appearance of the Mountain of Nida is in the Persian *Romance of Hatim Tai*. We are not now concerned with the historical Hatim Tai who flourished in the latter half of the sixth century and was the chief of the tribe of Tai. He became renowned for his hospitality and a number of legends clustered about his name. His name and nothing else was borrowed by the author of the so-called *Adventures of Hatim Tai* translated from the Persian by Duncan Forbes for the Oriental Translation Fund, London, 1830.⁹

⁹ *The Adventures of Hatim Tai*. A Romance. Translated from the Persian by Duncan Forbes, A.M. London: Printed for the *Oriental Translation Fund*, 1830, 4to, pp. xl, 214. The episode of The Mountain of Nida is the Fifth Question propounded by Husn Banu (Forbes, p. 144), "Brave Hatim! the fifth task which I have to impose on you is, 'To bring me an account of the mountain called Nida.'" The quest of the mountain is contained in Book V, "Hatim's Journey to the Mountain of Nida" (Forbes, pp. 145-171).

The romance opens with an account of Hatim's genealogy and early life and generosity, and then abruptly turns to the fortunes of a maiden named Husn Banu, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. After her father's death she is robbed of her property by a knavish dervish, but is told in a dream where to find a great treasure. The wicked dervish is punished and Husn Banu builds a palace and entertains travellers in a lavish way. As she was young, beautiful and rich, she had many suitors and to escape their importunities her nurse suggests seven questions or tasks to be propounded to them, and her hand to be promised to the one who solved or accomplished the questions or tasks. The fifth of the seven questions is: "Let him bring an account of the Mountain of Nida."¹⁰ Among the numerous suitors of Husn Banu was Prince Munir, who started out to solve the first question. While wandering about he meets Hatim Taī, who undertakes to perform the task for him. Hatim first has an interview with Husn Banu, who promises to place her hand at his disposal in case he solves the questions. This he does and bestows the hand of Husn Banu on the prince whose labors he has performed. Hatim returns home and his father abdicates in his favor.

The fifth question or task is the only one which concerns us now and is as follows:

After six months of travel Hatim comes to a city with strange customs of burying the dead. Hatim relates his story and asks information of the mountain. "The governor was a man of years, and possessed of much information; he remembered, then, of having heard from the learned that a mountain of this name, of immense altitude, was situated towards the south in the regions of Zulmat (the regions of darkness, which are said to contain also the water of immortality). He informed Hatim of the same, and further, that there was a city close to the mountain of the same name, where the people were immortal; 'in these regions,' concluded he, 'diseases and death are unknown, nor is there a tomb to be seen in all the place.' On hearing this statement, Hatim was highly delighted, and said, 'Thither must I go as soon as possible.' 'But how,' rejoined his aged friend, 'can you go there alone and unattended?' 'God will be my guide,' replied Hatim.

"The governor then offered Hatim vast sums of gold and costly jewels, of which he accepted a small portion for defraying his expenses by the way; and having caused the rest to be distributed

¹⁰ Professor A. V. W. Jackson says in a private letter: "The word *Nida* is of Arab-Persian origin and means in those languages 'calling, proclaiming, sound, voice, . . . a call or voice from heaven.'"

among the poor, he resumed his journey." (After various adventures, Hatim came to a large and populous city and was conducted to the governor, p. 159.) "His highness received Hatim with due courtesy; and having requested him to be seated, said, 'Tell me, sir, of what country you are, and how came you hither? It is certain that no stranger has visited this city since the time of Alexander the Great, who traversed the whole of the inhabitable globe. May I ask, then, what has been the cause of your visit?'

"Hatim gave a full account of Husn Banu and the prince Munir, also what he had himself done up to that moment. When the ruler of the city heard this, he said to Hatim, 'Noble stranger, rest yourself here for some days, and you will learn enough of the mountain of Nida; for were I now to describe to you its mysteries, you could not comprehend them.' . . .

"One day while they were in conversation, Hatim asked one of them which was the mountain of Nida. The man pointed it out to him and said, 'That peak, whose summit penetrates the clouds, is the mountain of Nida.' Meanwhile a loud voice issued from the mountain and at that moment one of the men in the company all of a sudden became silent and thoughtful. Soon after he rose up; and, regardless of the numerous entreaties of his friends, he bent his (p. 160) course towards the mountain. His companions ran after him, but in vain; he spoke not a word, and with a pale countenance he quickened his pace to the mountain. Hatim followed among the rest, and said to them, 'My good friends, what has befallen the young man that he thus runs like a maniac he knows not whither?' 'His hour is arrived,' they replied, 'for the voice from the mountain exclaimed, "come quickly."' 'And whose voice is it,' said Hatim, 'that he should thus blindly obey it?' 'That,' they replied, 'is more than we know, you must ask himself.'

"Hatim ran with all his might till he overtook the devoted young man, whom he seized by the hand, and thus addressed, 'My dear friend, it is unkind, nay inhuman, to refuse the information I ask. Tell me, I beseech you, who is he that has called you to yonder mountain, and I will myself accompany you thither.' Hatim's entreaties were of no avail; the young man gave no answer, but drew away his hand from him, and ran swift as the wind towards the mountain. Hatim followed close after; but, when he was about half way, the mountain before him vanished from his sight. He stood in the utmost amazement, and cast his eyes in every direction, but no trace of Nida nor of the young man could he discover, he only saw in its place a large stone, possessing all the hues of the rainbow.

"Hatim in the utmost despair, returned towards the city, till he

met the people that had come out with him. These were assembled on the road; and when he reached them, they were performing some ceremony known to themselves. They thrice repeated a form of prayer with their faces turned towards the spot where the mountain had been; and this done, they returned to the city, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. On their return, the young man's friends and relatives, far from giving way to sorrow, prepared a feast, and entertained all the poor of the city; and after some time spent in mirth and joy, they returned to their usual occupations.

"Hatim, however, could not conceal his grief for the unfortunate young man who had disappeared so mysteriously. The people laughed at his sorrow, and said to him, 'Stranger, it is not our custom to give way to weeping and lamentation; we forgive you, however, this time; but if you are to reside among us, you must conform with our manners, otherwise we shall expel you hence.' Hatim accordingly restrained his grief, and resided among them for the space of six months, in which period ten or twelve people disappeared in a similar manner. In vain did he ask for an explanation of the mystery; either they could not, or would not, satisfy his curiosity.

"Among the inhabitants of the city there was an intelligent man, by name Jām, with whom Hatim formed the most sincere friendship and affection, so (p. 161) that they became inseparable companions. One day as they were conversing together, the awful voice sounded loud from the summit of the mountain. When Hatim's friend heard the sound, he all at once became silent, and it was easy to see that his hour had come. He quickly rose up, and began to make for the mountain, of which, when his relatives received intelligence, they all prepared to follow him. Hatim with a heavy heart accompanied his beloved friend, for he knew that he was called thence no more to return. He resolved, however, not to part with him till death, and made up his mind to enter with him into the mysterious mountain, whatever might be the consequence. Hatim then girded up his loins; and placing his trust in God, he laid hold of his friend Jām by the hand, and marched along with him towards the foot of Nida. 'My dearest friend,' said Hatim, 'why this silence? Speak to me, who am, as your brother, resolved to share your fate.' But Jām uttered not a word in reply: cold and senseless he hurried onwards, endeavouring from time to time to free himself from Hatim's friendly grasp. At last he exerted his utmost strength, and so sudden was the movement, that ere Hatim was aware of his intention, he found himself stretched on the ground, while his companion ran off at full speed. Hatim lost no time in pursuing, and having again overtaken Jām, he seized him by the skirt, and clung to him with all his might.

"Thus they proceeded up the side of the mountain, Jām endeavouring in vain to cast off his companion. At length they arrived at a spot where the rock, rent asunder, and both of them entered the chasm, which immediately closed behind them. . . .

"After they had entered the fissure of the mountain, an extensive plain appeared before them, the verdure and beauty of which exceeded description. As far as the eye could reach, the same endless green presented itself. As Hatim and his friend advanced, they reached a black spot on the plain, the shape of a grave, on which no plant whatever grew, and there Jām fell lengthways while his soul left his body. Hatim felt the earth shake beneath and straightway the body of his companion sunk into the ground; and the spot that had been previously bare and barren, became verdant as the rest of the plain (p. 162). Hatim having witnessed this wonderful scene, raised his voice in prayer to the all-wise Creator, whose decrees are beyond our comprehension. He now knew the mysteries of Nida, that the people of the city thus closed their earthly career."

I now come finally to the Rumanian *märchen* from which I originally set out on this long peregrination. And here I must be allowed to refer to one of those mishaps to which scholars in this country are peculiarly exposed. In Cornell University Library, besides the *Rumänische Märchen* of Mite Kremnitz, was P. Ispirescu's collection of Rumanian stories: *Legende sau Basme ale Românilorû adunate din gura poporului*, Bucuresci, 1882, from which I supposed Mite Kremnitz made her translation. Alas! the story in question was not in the 1882 edition of Ispirescu, nor was it in the edition of 1892. Just before the capture of the city of Bucharest I obtained a copy of the latest edition of Ispirescu, 1915, but my story was not in that. It must therefore be in the first edition of 1872, 1874-1876, but thus far I have been unable to procure it, nor can I understand why Ispirescu omitted from the subsequent editions so powerful a story and one which is unique in European *märchen*. As Mite Kremnitz is exact in her other statements of *provenance*, and her translations are correct so far as I have been able to compare them, I must use her version in lieu of the Rumanian original, which I shall now probably never behold.¹¹

¹¹ *Rumänische Märchen übersetzt von Mite Kremnitz*. Leipzig, Friedrich, 1882. The following story, No. 11, is taken, the translator says, from P. Ispi-

The story as she gives it is as follows:

THE VOICE OF DEATH (*Die Stimme des Todes*)

There was once as it once was; had it not been it would not have been told.

Once upon a time there was a man who prayed every day to God to give him riches. His many and frequent prayers found one day the good Lord in good humor and he heard him. Now that he was rich he no longer wanted to die and so he resolved to wander from land to land and to settle where he learned that the people did not die. He made ready for the journey, imparted his intention to his wife and set out.

In every country to which he came he asked if the people perchance died there and continued his journey as soon as he was told that some died there. Finally he reached a land where they said they did not know what dying meant. The traveller asked overjoyed: "But isn't there no end of people with you if they don't die?" "There isn't an enormous number," they replied, "for you see now and then some one comes and calls one after another, and whoever follows him never returns." "And do the people see the one who calls them?" he further asked. "How could they help seeing him?" they replied.

He could not wonder enough at the folly of the people who followed the one who called them when they knew that they would remain where he took them. He returned home, took all his property, wife and children, and went to reside where people do not die, but where a certain someone calls them and whoever follows this certain someone never returns. At the same time he firmly resolved that he and his would never follow any one who called them, whoever it might be. Consequently, after he had taken up his residence and arranged all his affairs, he advised his wife and all his family on no account ever to follow any one who might call them, if, as he said, they did not wish to die.

So they gave themselves up to a merry life and thus spent several years. One day as they were all sitting comfortably at home, the wife suddenly began to cry out, "I'm surely coming, I'm surely coming!" And she looked around the room for her fur-jacket. Her husband sprang up immediately, took her by the hand, held her fast and began to reproach her. "Is that the way you listen

rescu's collection of Rumanian stories, *Legende sau Basme ale Românilor adunate din gura poporului* . . . Partea I. Bucuresci, 1872, Partea II. (două fascicule), 1874-1876. It is not in the editions of 1882, 1892 or 1915.

to my advice? Remain here if you don't want to die!" "Don't you hear then how he is calling me? I'll just take a look and see what he wants, and come right back."

And she struggled to free herself from her husband's hands and follow the voice. He held her fast and succeeded in bolting all the doors of the room. When she saw this she said, "Leave me alone, husband, I won't go now any more." Her husband believed she had come to herself and ceased her madness; but it was not long before she rushed to the nearest door, opened it hastily and ran quickly out, her husband after her. He seized her by the jacket and did not cease to urge her not to go, for if she did, she would not return. She let her hands fall backwards, bent over a little, threw herself back, and the fur-jacket slipped from her shoulders and remained in her husband's hands. He stood motionless as he saw how she hastened away, crying with all her might, "I'm surely coming, I'm surely coming!"

When she was out of sight, her husband came to himself, returned home and said, "If you are mad and want to die, go in God's name. I can help you no more. I've told you often enough to follow no one, whoever it might be, who called you!"

Days passed, many days, weeks, months, years, and the peace of his home was not again disturbed. But once, as he found himself, according to his custom, at the barber's, whose shop was full of people, and had himself shaved, just as the lather covered his chin, he began to cry out, "I'm not coming, do you hear, I'm not coming." The barber and the other folks were quite stupefied. He said again, looking towards the door, "Mind once for all that I'm not coming and go away from there." Later he said again, "Go away, do you hear, if you want to come off with a whole skin; for I tell you a thousand times that I am not coming." And as if someone was standing at the door and constantly calling to him, he was vexed and angry that he would not leave him in peace. Finally he snatched the razor from the barber's hands and rushed out, "Give it to me," he said, "so that I can show him what it means to keep annoying people."

He ran in great haste after the one who, as he said, was calling him, but whom no one saw except himself. The poor barber ran after him in order not to lose his razor. The man ran, the barber after him, until they came outside of the town, and there, a little beyond it, the man plunged into a pit and was never seen again. So he, too, against his will, like all, followed the one who called him.

The barber, who returned home whistling, like one who has got the worst of it, told all what had happened to him, and so the notion

spread in the land that the men who went away and did not return had fallen into that hole, for until then no one had known what became of the people who followed the one who called them.

A crowd of people set out for the fatal spot in order to see the insatiable abyss which swallowed up all the people and yet was never satisfied, but they found nothing. It seemed as if ever since the world stood there had been nothing there but a broad plain, and from then on the people in that region began to die also as in the whole world.

I have now examined four episodes of the Alexander-legend: the Land of Darkness and Water of Life, the Wonderstone and the Mountain of Nida. The first two Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 91, considers of Oriental, but not of Jewish, origin. There may be a basis of historical truth for the legend in Alexander's march to the oasis of Ammon and the Well of the Sun. When this legend became known to the Jews, they substituted as Alexander's goal their own familiar Paradise, Gan Eden, for the Water of Life, which was foreign to their range of thought. As to the Wonderstone, Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 89, regards it as of Jewish origin.

This leaves the Mountain of Nida, which seems to be purely Persian. How the story was preserved from the time of Nizami to the *Romance of Hatim Taï* otherwise than in the *Sikander Nāma* we do not know, nor do we know by what channel the *motif* of the Voice of Death reached Rumania. As Professor Jackson says in a private letter, "Possibly the tale reached Rumania *via* Constantinople or even across Russia by the trade-routes." What is not so easy to explain is why so striking a story should have been stranded in Rumania and failed to enter the great stream of European *märchen*.¹²

¹² A part of the above article was read April 12, 1917, before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia. Professor M. Jastrow called my attention to the Alexander-Gilgamesh legend and suggested that the Berossus legend of the Deluge might be the ultimate source of the "Voice from the Mountain." In the latter legend (J. P. Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, 2d ed., London, 1832, p. 28), "Xisuthrus after the Deluge leaves the ark with wife, daughter and pilot and pays his adoration to the earth, afterwards he constructs an altar and offers sacrifices to the gods. He then disappears with those who had come out of the vessel with him. They who remained within, finding that their companions did not return, quitted the vessel with many lamentations, and called continually on the name of Xisuthrus. Him they saw no more; but they could distinguish his voice in the

air, and could hear him admonish them to pay due regard to religion; and likewise informed them that it was on account of his piety that he was translated to live with the gods; that his wife and daughter and the pilot had obtained the same honor." I confess this does not seem to me very convincing. For the relation of the legendary Alexander to the Gilgames epic, see M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, "The Gilgamesh Epic," p. 467; Bruno Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgames*, Leipzig, 1894, and M. Lidzbarski, "Zu den arabischen Alexandergeschichten," in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, VIII, 263, 278.

After the completion of the above article, my friend Halldor Hermannsson of the Cornell University Library, called my attention to an interesting story in Arnason's *Icelandic Legends translated by G. E. J. Powell and Eiríkr Magnússon*, 2d series, London, 1866, p. 659, "Death's Call." In this fine story Death sends a call to a man who is to be drowned in a certain river. The bishop learns this from the language of a raven and bids his folk seize the man when he tries to get into the river, and who cannot die until his lips and tongue are wetted with water from the stream. The man when he tries to enter the river cries: "Do not delay me; I am in haste."

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THE MYSTICAL LYRICS OF THE *MANUEL DES PECHIEZ*

THE two lyrics—one addressed to Christ and one to the Virgin—which conclude the *Manuel des Pechiez* are absent in the Middle-English version of Robert Mannyng of Brunne, which has been the usual starting point for studies connected with the Anglo-Norman original. It is perhaps because of this fact, and the consequent omission of the lyrics from the most accessible edition of the work¹ that they have received absolutely no special treatment. No more than a vague hint has been given as to their distinct literary merit,² and no effort has been made to trace their sources. The present note will point out the sources of a considerable portion of both lyrics, and comment on their significance for literary history.

I

The clue to the source of the first lines of the lyric addressed to Christ is found in the heading in Harl. MS. 273: this manuscript entitles the poem *Dulcis Ihesu Memoria*,³ and it turns out that the first thirty lines are a fairly close paraphrase of the first five quatrains of the famous hymn, "De Nomine Jesu,"⁴ an ecstatic lyric which has been usually ascribed to the authorship of St. Bernard

¹ The *Manuel* has been twice edited, both editions being by Dr. Furnivall, and both containing also the "*Handlyng Synne*" of Brunne. Only those portions used by the latter are printed in the text of the *EETS*. (Nos. 119, 123), but the complete *Manuel* is given in the edition of the Roxburghe Club of 1862, which is, of course, the only edition possible for the uses of this paper.

² Dr. Furnivall seems to single out the prayer to the Virgin when he refers, in discussing Manning's omissions, to "two prayers, to Christ and the Virgin (one very beautiful, but perhaps the Saturday half holiday tale, pp. 29-35, was enough Mariolatry)" (Rox. ed., p. xv).

³ The reading is quoted from the very valuable account by Mr. Herbert of the manuscripts of the *Manuel* in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, London, III, 1910, 278). It is quoted by Dr. Furnivall in a footnote, in the form, "Du-las Iesu memoria" (p. 404).

⁴ Printed, Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus*, CLXXXIV: see B. Hauréau, *Des poèmes latins attribués à Saint Bernard*, Paris, 1890.

of Clairvaux, and is in any case strongly reminiscent of his influence. The relation can be illustrated by the quotation, along with its original, of the French version of the first two quatrains of the Latin:

Duz sire, ray de gloire,	Jesu dulcis memoria,
Cum est de tai duz la memoire	Dans vera cordi gaudia :
Ke met al quer cele duzur,	Sed super mel et omnia
Ke doune ioie saunz dolor ;	Ejus dulcis praesentia.
Mes outre la douzur de mel,	
Sur tute ren ke est sus ciel	
Est ta presence delitable,	
Duz, et suef, et desirable ;	
Kar chaunt plus delitous ne est	Nil canitur suavius,
chaunte, ⁵	Nil auditur jucundius,
Ne plus ioieuse escote,	Nil cogitatur dulcius,
Ne quer purpense si grant duzur,	Quam Jesus Dei Filius.
Cum de iesu notre seignur !	(c. 1318.)
(ll. 11,995 f.)	

The next twenty lines (12,025-45) of the French give a penitential address to the soul not found in the Latin, but the succeeding twenty (12,045-62) give a somewhat free version of the following three Latin quatrains (6-9). The next four Latin stanzas (9-14) are entirely omitted, but the stanza following (13) is used in the French (ll. 12,062-71), and the subject of the Passion, which it introduces, is continued in the next French lines in more detail and with more emotion. Nothing in the French is derived from the Latin after this point (l. 12,068).

A new source is drawn on in the next verses. This is an Anglo-Norman penitential lyric ascribed in three of the five existing copies to St. Edmund of Canterbury. M. Paul Meyer, who first draws attention to this poem, leaves open the question of St. Edmund's authorship,⁶ but Dr. F. A. Patterson, in his study of the

⁵ For the same rhythm compare *The Solitary Reaper*,—"A voice so thrilling ne'er was heard" . . . ,—a comparison which serves to bring out the English quality of the verse, as well as its merit.

⁶ *Romania*, XXXV, p. 575. A complete list of the manuscripts is given by H. Petersen (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 1911, p. 15). He notes that the poem was printed by W. Wallace (*Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury*, London, 1893, p. 473), and by S. Bentley (*Excerpta Historica*, London, 1831, p. 407).

Middle-English penitential lyric,⁷ pronounces unhesitatingly in its favor, and plausibly grounds his opinion on the resemblance of the poem to St. Edmund's famous *Speculum*. The following parallel quotations (using the lines of the lyric printed by M. Meyer) will show that there is a direct dependence of the *Manuel* on the lyric:

Iesu, aiez merci de mai,	Duz sire Jhesu Crist, aiez merci
Mun duz pere en ky ioe crai,	de mei,
Ky de ciel descendistes	Ke del cel en tere venistes pur
E en la croiz mort suffristes ;	mei,
(ll. 12,079 ff.)	E de la virgine Marie nasquistes
	pur mei,
	E en la croiz mort suffristes pur
	mei.

(ll. 1 ff.)

The next eight lines of the *Manuel* complete what is practically a paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, ending,

En ceste fay me affermez. (l. 12,091.)

Ten lines then follow asking for protection against the fiend, whereupon the source is again taken up, as follows:

Merci vus cri, mun sauueur,	Merci vus cri, mun Jesu, mun
Mun solaz, ma ioie, ma duzur !	sauueur,
Abatez mon orgoil et mun rancur,	Mun solaz, mun confort, ma joie,
Ke amer vus pus cum seignur.	ma duçur,
Ducement me amastes auant. . . .	Osteiz de mun quer orguil, ire e
	rancur,
	Ke jo vus puisse a gré servir e
	amer cum Seignur.
	Mut vus dei ben amer, kar vus
	me amastes avant. ⁸

⁷ New York, 1911, p. 173.

⁸ *Romania*, XXXV, p. 575. A curiously drastic transformation is involved in the use of St. Edmund's prayer in the *Manuel*, and it may be useful to point out another Anglo-Norman lyric which seems to show St. Edmund's influence. The first two lines of a work on the Passion in fifty-one quatrains, existing in two manuscripts, are quoted by M. Meyer as follows:

Ave sire Jhesu Crist, moun tres douce seignur,
Ma joye, mon confort, moun solace et socour.

(*Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français*, 1879, p. 74.)

I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown for a copy of the first lines of this poem in Ar. MS., 268.

A complete text of the lyric (ll. 12,101 ff.) was printed by Bentley from a small thirteenth century roll of devotional pieces found in the Tower of London (evidently intended to be worn on the person, and left there at the execution of its owner). A comparison with this edition shows that the indebtedness of the *Manuel* to St. Edmund's prayer ends at l. 12,122; ll. 12,119-22 have used their original freely. No source has been found for the remainder of the lyric to Christ.

For the lyric to the Virgin, only one source has been discovered, and the extent of the contribution cannot be reckoned, since the source is unedited. The following parallel quotations, however, will show that there is undoubtedly a close relation between the two lyrics in question. The Anglo-Norman verses with which the lyric of the *Manuel* are here compared are found by M. Paul Meyer in a manuscript mostly given up to Bozon, and on this account the conjecture is made that they are also to be ascribed to this author. Their use, however, in the *Manuel des Pechiez*—of which several manuscripts go back to the thirteenth century⁹—would make Bozon's authorship very improbable, since his *Contes Moralisés* belong a little after 1320.¹⁰

	Douce dame, pie mere de ky nasqui vostre pere, Tut le monde (dist) ça en arere cumme vus estes a Deu chere,
Mes nel dirrait nul prechere	Mès nel dirreit nul pecchere
Cum vus estes bele et cler;	Cum vus estes bel & clere;
Douce dame, vostre nun	Douce dame, vostre nun
Ke pechurs vnt en bandun. . . .	ke pecheürs unt en lur
(ll. 12,350 ff.)	baundun. . . . ¹¹

The above presentation has shown the two lyrics of the *Manuel* to be, at least in part, a patchwork. However, some of the best portions remain unaccounted for, and in conclusion it will be shown that it is very probable that these are mostly original with the common author who moulded the whole. This opinion follows from

⁹ See Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

¹⁰ See *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, Frère Mineur*, ed. L. T. Smith and P. Meyer for the *Société des anciens textes français*, Paris, 1889, p. 11.

¹¹ *Romania*, XIII, p. 513.

the fact that the two poems are at times strikingly similar in sentiment and phraseology—so much so that it would be difficult to imagine that verses so similar could be fitted to the variant occasions of the two poems, if both were merely concatenations of quotations. There are general resemblances, such as the impassioned addresses in both lyrics to the “chaitif” soul (ll. 12,025 f., 12,135 f., 12,436 f.); and the feudal metaphors (ll. 12,311 f., 12,410 f., 12,606 f.). In addition to these correspondences may be noted the following parallel:

Alme, par peche es-mortie,	Ostez votre fol semblant,
En plorant querez votre vie,	Le bastun pernez al penant,
De plorer ne cessez mie;	Nuit et iure alez querant,
Merci requerez, et aie,	Tost et tart alez criant,
De iesu crist le fiz marie	Ne cessez iammes enplorant,
Ky tut le munde sauue et guie.	Querez marie e sun enfant.
Amur duz, uenez auant,	(ll. 12,565 ff.)
Si changez mun semblant,	
Le bastun me donez del penant;	
Iesum desir aler querant.	
(ll. 12,033 ff.)	

Such a composite origin¹² as has just been proved for the mystical lyrics of the *Manuel* may be said to be the natural outcome of the direct personal use which such verse would receive. Lyrical poetry of the mystical type would be used for the most familiar devotional purposes, and altered, perhaps, in the process, to suit the individual taste, by coördinating favorite stanzas of other origin. As a parallel, may be noted the similar combinations found among the Middle-English mystical lyrics written in the next gen-

¹² For a slight sign of relation between the lyrics and the rest of the *Manuel*, it may be noted that ll. 397–400 (in the discussion of the Articles of the Faith—a part also omitted by Mannyng) are identical with ll. 12, 526–9 of the lyrics. There is also to be noted some slight similarity of phraseology between ll. 12, 707–8 of the epilogue, and ll. 12, 156–9 and 12, 309 of the lyrics. Reference should here be made to my earlier article on the *Manuel* (ROMANIC REVIEW, VIII, 434–62), where evidence is presented which points to a separate authorship for the lyrics and epilogue. The present article, by bringing out the strong mysticism of the lyrics, will serve to emphasise their difference from the rest of the work, and from everything which Mannyng uses.

eration in England.¹³ It is this later expression of English mysticism with which the lyrics of the *Manuel* will now be compared, and to which they will be found to show further points of similarity.

II

The significance for literary history of the mystical lyrics of the *Manuel* lies in their relationship to Middle-English religious lyrics. This relationship will be described and discussed at some length.

The use of St. Edmund's lyric in the *Manuel*¹⁴ forms one element of connection with Middle-English lyrical poetry, for the religious verse of the later Middle Ages in England shows the influence of St. Edmund's *Speculum*, and the lyric and the treatise show a close relationship with each other. Another specific influence which the Anglo-Norman lyrics share with their Middle-English successors is that of the *Dulcis Jesu memoria*. In a study, now in preparation, of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in England, it will be shown that this hymn—which with St. Bernard's Fifteenth Sermon on the Canticles may almost be called the nucleus of the cult—became immensely popular and influential in England, and was probably very active in setting the type of mysticism which was developed during the mystical movement of the fourteenth century. Other signs than its use in the *Manuel* will be given of its popularity in Anglo-Norman literature, and the fact that its popularity in Middle-English literature probably antedates the time of Richard Rolle—who is generally considered the “father of English mysticism”—would appear from the occurrence of two

¹³ Some of the borrowings among Middle-English mystical lyrics are pointed out by Patterson (*op. cit.*, *passim*). It should also be noted that a lyric attached to the *Ego Dormio* of Richard Rolle (Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, London, 1894, I, 60) contains portions of a translation of a “Meditation of St. Augustine” (printed *EETS.*, No. 15, p. 243), of which Professor Brown lists several copies dating from before Rolle's time (see *A Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, Bibliographical Society, Oxford, 1916, pp. 148, 228, etc.)

¹⁴ The *Speculum* probably had its influence on Anglo-Norman literature, for it circulated largely in an Anglo-Norman form, as it did later in a Middle-English (see *Romania*, XXIX, p. 53; XXXII, p. 74; *Bulletin*, 1880, p. 72; 1894, p. 66; Horstman, I, 219 ff.). Patterson says of the work: “It was one of those books that precede public thought. England was at that time approaching the full development of mysticism. St. Edmund's *Mirror* was just in advance of the age” (p. 27).

lyrics imitating it in the most famous of all collections of Middle-English lyrics, Harl. MS. 2253, which is dated about 1310.¹⁵ The clue is plainly given by the heading, as it had been given in the *Manuel*, but its use in the present case especially presupposes in scribe and reader some knowledge of the hymn, since the English lyric that follows is an imitation, and not in any case a translation, as the first part of the Anglo-Norman lyric had been.

Though these lyrics must probably be called the forerunners of the mystical movement which gave the dominating influence to the religious verse of the century,¹⁶ nevertheless they belong to the very type associated with the school of Rolle, and their popularity—and probably influence—was continuous after his time. This is made clear by the fact that they were extensively copied, and twice revised and enlarged. It is a testimony to their identity of tone that they were first combined, with additions, which are “presumably by R. Rolle, whose poetry re-echoes the same theme,” says Horstmann, in printing all three versions side by side.¹⁷ A text in the Vernon MS.—that repository of all that was most significant in contemporary literature—contains still more additions.

The relation of the lyrics of the *Manuel* to the devotional poetry written in Middle-English may be well illustrated by a comparison with the lyrics just discussed, which, though they may not have been composed much later than the *Manuel*, yet may safely be taken as typical of the later devotional poetry. In the following parallel quotations the text of Harl MS. 2253, which is the nearest

¹⁵ *Altenglische Dictungen*, ed. K. Bøddeker, Berlin, 1878, pp. 191 ff. It is interesting to find them appended to the *Processional of the Nuns of Chester* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899, pp. 30 f.). Though the date of Rolle's birth is not known, it is not likely to have been early enough for him to have written these poems. He died in 1349, and though his works often refer to his youth, they never mention old age.

¹⁶ See Patterson, pp. 3 ff.; *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 258; Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, London, 1906, p. 437.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 9 ff. He refers to the two poems as an “imitation of the famous hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*.” Chambers refers to them in connection with Rolle: “It is precisely the tradition of such poetry that he continues” (*Early English Lyrics*, ed. Chambers and Sidgwick, London, 1907, p. 289). A second lyric showing the influence of the Latin hymn is the immensely popular “*Jhesu, thi swetnes wha moghte it se,*” printed also by Horstman (I, 368), and in many other collections.

in point of time to the *Manuel*, will be used, unless one of the others is specified.

The Latin poem expresses for the most part pure ecstasy, evenly sustained, and in the ecstatic stanzas the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics have naturally drawn a common element from their common model. The following stanzas, though they do not give any exact correspondences, reflect the same mood and manner:

Sire de tut cristianete,
Iesu, ray de grant pite,
La lai de amur me enseingnez
Ke tant sauer ay desirez.
(ll. 12,161 ff.)

Swete Ihesu, now wil I synge
To þe a songe of luf-longynge.
(ll. 5-6.)
Teche me, lord, þi luf-songe,
With swete teres euer amonge.
(ll. 9 f.)

The metaphor of the planting of love in the soul, which is fitted to an elaborate allegory in the French, is implied in the English:

Sire, ky plantas parais
Le tredelicius pais,
En mun quer amur plantez,
Et de ta grace la arosez.
(ll. 12,171 ff.)

Suete Iesu, min huerte bote,
in myn huerte þou sete a rote
of þi loue þat is so swote,
ant lene it þat hit sprynge mote.
(ll. 9 f.)

But the ecstatic element, though it dominates, does not monopolise the lyrics written in England. Penitential passages inserted in the *Manuel* from the lyric of St. Edmund have already been quoted, and parallel quotations can be given from both the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics, in which the penitence, which in the Latin was hinted at from afar off, bursts out into impetuous expression:

Allas! iesu! quei dirrai?
Quele pleint furmerai,
Kant pur vus pecher ne lessai,
Si pite, sire, ne aiez de mai.
(ll. 12,071 ff.)

Iesu, sef þou for-letest me,
what may m(e) lik(yn) of þat
y se?
Iesu, sef þou be from me go,
(Second lyric, l. 101-2 f.)
mi soule is fol of serewe ant wo;
whet may i sugge bote wolawo,
when mi lif is me atgo?
(ll. 165 f.)

Duz sire, ky pur nus voliez morir,	Iesu, þat deore bohrest me,
E ke designastes, duce iesu, mort	make me worþi come to þe;
suffrir,	alle mi sunnes forsef þou me,
Vostre grace, nus voillez granter,	þat ich wiþ blisse þe mowe se.
En ceste vie ici amender	(l. 177 ff.)
Coe ke auoms trespasse,	
Ky fontaine es de pite.	

(l. 12,147 ff.)

Iesu, pur la grant duzur	Iesu, my saule drah þe to,
De tun tredelicious amur,	min heorte opene, & wide vndo,
Quer me donez, en ma vie	þis hure of loue to drynke so,
Hair de peche la vilainie.	þat fleysshliche lust be al for-do.
(ll. 12,123 ff.)	(ll. 77 ff.)

The Bernardian lyric has been accused of "eddying around its subject,"¹⁸ and Horstmann notes (p. 9) that "the English poets, by introducing the story of the passion, give action to the mere reiterations of the Latin hymn." The lyric of St. Edmund adds the same subject to the *Manuel*. The following parallel quotations will show that both vernacular poets treat this in the realistic, pathetic manner described as coming into fashion in the thirteenth century,¹⁹ and that the hint supplied from the Latin is slight.

¹⁸ For this remark and other comments on the style and history of the hymn see the account by Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*. He notes its connection with the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus.

¹⁹ In connection with the appearance, following the simple matter-of-fact piety of the *Manuel* as a whole, of the present lyrics, highly charged with emotion, it is very suggestive to read the brilliant characterisation of French art of the thirteenth century and later, given by M. E. Mâle in his *Art religieux du treizième siècle en France* (Paris, 1910, pp. 239, 273 f.). A fundamental change is described as coming over the portrayal of religious subjects in art toward the end of the thirteenth century, and whereas in the earlier period interest had been expressed in dogma principally, and the art had been impersonal, an emotional element later transforms the whole treatment—because "se rapprocher de Dieu, voilà bien le désir qui, dès la fin du xiii^e siècle, commence à travailler la chrétienté" (Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908, p. 146). The special influences operating to produce this effect on French art were the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, popularly ascribed to St. Bonaventura, and Franciscanism. They appeared in the pathetic, realistic treatment of the Scriptural narratives, and in the pre-dominance of the subject of the Passion.—Some of the same tendencies, however, were already present in the work of St. Bernard (see the Twentieth Sermon on the Canticles), and, even before him, in the devotional pieces of St.

Both lyrics written in England continue with the subject of the Passion at considerable length.

Tumbam perfundam fletibus,
Locum replens gemitibus;
Jesu provolvar pedibus,
Strictis haerens amplexibus.

(Stanza 8)

Hoc probat ejus Passio,
Hoc sanguinis effusio,
Per quam nobis redemptio
Datur, et Dei visio.

(Stanza 13)

Sa tumbes de plur moilleraï,
Enuirun tut le empleraï
De plur et de gemisement
Tant ke li troef en present;
A ses peiz dunke me estendraï;
Estraitement le embraceraï,
Recorderaï sa passiuin
Ke est nostre redempciun,—
Coment il se lessa pener
Pur nus de peine deliuerer,
Coment il fu en croiz pendu,
E tint ses bras tut estendu
Pur ceus receiure e embracer
Ky a ly uoleient repaier.

(ll. 12,061 ff.)

Ihesu, wele owe I to luf þe
For þat me schewed þo rode tre,
þi corone of þornes, þi nayles þre,
þo scha[r]pe spere þat þorowstonge þe.
Jhesu, of luf is soþe tokenynge
þi hed doun bowed to luf-kyssynge,
þin armes sprad to luf-clyppynge,
þi syde al open to luf-schewynge.

(Reg. text, ll. 181 ff.)

In the expanded form of the Middle-English lyrics appears a further addition. As Horstmann expresses it (p. 9), "the whole has been subdivided by inlaid stanzas to St. Mary," and by this means a relation is created to the lyric of the *Manuel* addressed to the Virgin. The connection is, however, of the slightest, since only one stanza expresses the mystical attitude of direct ecstatic approach, the rest being simple requests for mediation. The lyric addressed to the Virgin in the *Manuel* heaps up its devotion from

Anselm (*v. infra*, p. 183 f.).—With Mâle compare H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 2d edition, London, 1914, I, 359: "From the eleventh century onward, the gathering religious feeling pours itself out in passionate utterances; and in this new emotionalizing of Latin Christianity lay the chief religious office of the Middle Ages."

every element of her cult found in mediaeval works. It addresses her in the elaborate metaphors, half expressive of dogma, so typical of the thirteenth century; in the later more ardent terms of supplication as the supreme Mediator and Mistress, which belonged to the ecstasy of her cult; and in the familiar and realistic appeal to her maternity, which was the latest development of all.²⁰ In the lyric inserted from Bozon's manuscript there is even present an appeal to the "Name of Mary," a devotion urged as strongly by St. Bernard as that of the "Name of Jesus,"²¹ which did not, however, become equally influential in England, if we may judge from extant remains.

Though the comparisons just made do not give evidence of any direct relation existing between the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics, they would at least suggest that the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English authors were subject to much the same influences, as would be natural, since they were both Englishmen. The poems are similar, it has been seen, not only in their model, but also in the spirit in which the model has been followed; to use the phraseology of mystical schematicism applied to the Middle-English lyric by Dr. Patterson, the source was a lyric belonging to the "Illuminative Life," and both the adaptations, with their emphasis on mediation, and their absorption in penitence and the Passion, belong partly to the preliminary stage, the "Purgative Life."

²⁰ For the gradual development in the cult of Mary see Mâle, *loc. cit.* For an example in the *Manuel* of the typical thirteenth century manner, with its latent touch of dogma, the following:

Rein, mere, fille et pucele,
Auditur, minister et chapel. (ll. 12, 650-1.)

For the later manner, the feudal metaphors, or the following:

Douce dame en ky me a-fy,
Requerez votre douce amy
Ke de votre chaitif ait merci.
Vos mameles, dame, mustrez ly,
Ke il leta, par sa merci.
Dites ly, dame, dites ly,

"Cum mere et norice vus prie" . . . (ll. 12, 671 ff.).

The latter lines give the exact sketch for the later representations of the Virgin in French art described by Mâle; the former, for the earlier. He notes that mediaeval art seems to lag behind literature, but he hardly seems to appreciate by how much, since he neglects such early mysticism as Anselm's.

²¹ *Super Missus est Homiliae*, II, ¶ 17.

Several conclusions significant for the literary history of England follow from the close agreement of the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English lyrics in question. In the first place we have here an interesting promise of close continuity existing between the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English literatures in general, and another hint that they should be considered as one whole, probably written in many cases for and by the same persons. Another significant conclusion follows as a corollary to the first: namely, that the Anglo-Norman literature possessed a distinctly local character, and was, in fact, often thoroughly English in everything except the medium. When in the thirteenth century, which was not especially mystical in France,²² we find French lyrics written in England already showing strong currents of the mysticism that was to produce the creative English mystics of the fourteenth century, it cannot be said that this branch of Anglo-Norman literature was mainly imitative of French models.²³ The fourteenth century in France has been described as especially unmystical,²⁴ and it is a singular trick of fortune that has brought into the histories of French mediaeval literature a considerable body of mystical verse, written

²² As Mâle makes clear, this was in general a scientific century all over Europe. Italy and Germany, however, were centers of mysticism at this time (see *L'Italie mystique*, by E. Gebhart, 2d ed., Paris, 1893, *Dante and the Mystics*, by E. G. Gardner, London, 1913). Mysticism seems rare in France during the Middle Ages, and M. Paris writes: "La religion, elle-même, qui, jadis comme aujourd'hui, a occupé tant d'intelligences et rempli tant de cœurs, a produit chez nous peu de ces ouvrages mystiques où l'âme exhale en effusions passionnées son amour de Dieu et son aspiration vers lui" (P. de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Paris, 1896, I, p. 1). For the same idea see H. Adams (*Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, Boston, 1913, pp. 333-4). St. Bernard, however, was one of the most influential mystics that ever lived.

²³ See Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People from the Origins to the Renaissance*, London, 1895, p. 119. "This French literature, the work of Englishmen, consisted of course mainly in imitations of French models." The same idea is repeated in most of the histories treating this period. Yet it can hardly be denied that, considered from the point of view of their substance alone, some Anglo-Norman works were as original as any of their contemporaries, as, for example, the *Petite Philosophie* (which, if written, as M. Meyer conjectures, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, would be, rather than the *Image du Monde*, the earliest work of the kind for laymen), or the *Plainte d'Amour*, called by M. Meyer, "poème extrêmement remarquable," "la pure expression des idées franciscaines sur l'amour de Jesus" (see *Romania*, VIII, p. 255 f.; XV, p. 292; XXIX, pp. 5, 72 ff.).

²⁴ See *Histoire littéraire*, XXIV, 350.

in French by Englishmen, because England has not yet thrown off the habit, acquired at the Conquest, of using French. These writers, in spite of their medium, were expressing the native influences that led their countrymen in the next century to follow the examples of their Teutonic relatives in an outburst of creative mysticism. M. Gaston Paris has expressed his surprise that the list of religious lyrics in old French should be so scanty,²⁵ but it is interesting to observe that, even so, many of the items listed in the standard histories, especially the mystical pieces—including the beautiful *Plainte d'Amour*—are of Anglo-Norman origin, and therefore not French from anything but a philologist's point of view.²⁶ The fact that there exists a considerable quantity of Anglo-Norman verse similar to the lyrics of the *Manuel*, notably the collection printed from a Lambeth manuscript,²⁷ and that such pieces are rare in Continental French books, would make it desirable that the neglected stores of Anglo-Norman manuscripts should

²⁵ *La littérature française du moyen âge*, cinquième édition, Paris, 1914, p. 257 f.—The type of lyric here discussed seems specially Anglo-Norman. See Groeber, *Grundriss*, Strassburg, 1888, II, pt. 1, p. 975: "Gebete auf Christus oder Lobgedichte auf seine Welterlösung sind zunächst besonders aus agfrz. HSS. bisher zugänglich geworden."

²⁶ M. G. Paris writes: "Le grand signe et le principal facteur de la nationalité, c'est la langue. Les Normands sont Français, car ils parlent français." (*La Poésie du moyen âge*, Paris, 1895, II, 60.) Much confusion in the mind of young students doubtless results from the philologists' method of classifying literature now in force. Probably very few of the members of classes in the general history of literature in American colleges have any notion when they learn that "*Handlyng Synne* was translated from the French" that the original belonged to English literature as much as the derivative, so far as the literary and social forces there expressed are concerned. They get also a false conception of the *Adam*, for example, when they find it introduced in the *Leçons de littérature française* of Petit de Julleville (Paris, 1899, I, 44-5), with no indication of the fact that it was apparently written in England, and may possibly be connected with the habit of theatrical representation already testified to for the England of Thomas à Becket by FitzStephen in the twelfth century. (See *Materials for the History of Thos. à Becket*, Rolls Series, 1877, III, 9.)

²⁷ Herrig's *Archiv*, LXIII, pp. 51 f. A poem on the Name of Jesus, also using the Bernardian hymn, is printed here (pp. 70 f.) Other mystical pieces are scattered through the descriptions of Anglo-Norman manuscripts by M. Meyer in *Romania* and the *Bulletin*, *passim*. Many translations and imitations of hymns occur, and he notes them as more frequent in English manuscripts than in French (*Romania*, IV, p. 371). Petersen (*op. cit.*, p. 16) gives a bibliography—not perfectly complete nor accurate—of the "si rare poésie lyrique Anglo-Normande."

be examined for what other works they contain of early English mysticism. Traces of connection with Middle-English mystics would probably appear at once. It should be noted that in Middle-English the religious lyrics far exceed in number the love-lyrics,²⁸ and it is very probable that the conspicuous number of religious poems in Anglo-Norman poetry foreshadow this phenomenon.

Thus it can be seen that the fact that the lyrics of the *Manuel* to some degree prophesy the immediate future of English religious devotion, gives us a hint that the beginnings of the English mystical movement of the fourteenth century must be sought in part, at least, amidst the Anglo-Norman literature of the thirteenth. Though the lyric addressed to the Virgin was to be succeeded by many Middle-English examples of the same type, especially among court poets, who were subject to French influences as well as English, yet it was not, as has been hinted, so significant for later literature as its companion. There seems to have been no special center for the cult of the Virgin in Middle-English times—such as was furnished by the *pays*²⁹ of the same period in France; collections of her Miracles were much fewer than in Anglo-Norman literature,³⁰ and at no time could it be said in England, as it was said of

²⁸ Chambers, p. 282. The contrast between French and Middle-English lyrics in general is also true of a special class. Miss H. E. Sandison, in her study of the *Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, No. 12, 1913), notes that "the comparative frequency of the religious lyrics among the earliest English *Chansons d'aventure* stands in significant contrast to the scantiness of similar French songs. These variations in content are evident at a period when the French influence on the form was still direct and active" (p. 95). It may be noted that M. Paris remarks that the Normans show, in general, very little liking for lyrical poetry, and both he and Professor Haskins remark on the Normans' lack of mysticism, in spite of their devoutness (Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge*, pt. 1, Paris, 1910, p. 89; Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, Boston, 1915, pp. 12, 185). It is probable that the mystical tendency that we are tracing, with its tendency to express itself in lyrical forms, took root easily in England, because of the Anglo-Saxon strain, which had earlier expressed itself in the seriousness and even melancholy so conspicuous in the Anglo-Saxon literature. Though the extremes to which Taine carried his theory of the integrity of races did much to bring about a reaction against it, yet it seems impossible, when any national literature is viewed *in toto*, to deny that something of the sort is true.

²⁹ For the *pays* see Patterson, pp. 40-1.

³⁰ See Evelyn Underhill, *The Miracles of Our Lady St. Mary*, London, 1906, p. xvii: "I have said that there are no Early English collections of Mira-

thirteenth-century France,⁸¹ that the Virgin was the sole theme of religious poetry. The principal theme of Middle-English poetry from the earliest times might be said to be the Passion, which bore a close relation to the mystical cult of Jesus. Unlike St. Anselm or St. Bernard (the founders of their tradition, as it appears), none of the leaders of the English mystical movement gave the Virgin even an expression of devotion comparable with what they gave the Son. Richard Rolle devotes only an early poem to her honor, and in an early work there is a passage in which he says that he

cles of the Virgin. Except for one or two tales of this sort in the South English Legendary and the Northumbrian Verse Homilies, England until the time of the invention of printing, read her Mary-Legends in Latin or French." There was, however, a great outburst of all types of devotion to Mary during the thirteenth century, in England as in other countries. French collections of Miracles of the Virgin were written in England by Everard of Gateley (see *Romania*, XXIX, pp. 27 f.) and Adgar (ed. *Altfräns. Biblioth.*, IX); the *Cursor Mundi* was dedicated to her in terms of ardent mysticism (ll. 69-114, *EETS.*, No. 57), and the confessor of the mother of Edward the First, John Houeden (whose influence on Rolle has been conjectured by Horstmann, I, xiii), wrote many ecstatic Latin poems in her honor (see Chaucer Society, *Essays on Chaucer*, Second Series, 2, p. 62). The influence to be observed in these and many other works of all the three current languages (the French poems of the Lambeth MS. and the English poems cited in the *Cambridge History*, I, 258 f., are specially interesting) had its effect in a material medium, for the histories of English architecture note the rapid building of Lady Chapels during this period (see F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, London, 3d ed., 1912, for a list of dates of building, and p. 172, n. e.; G. H. West, *Gothic Architecture in England and France*, London, 1911, pp. 11, 48, 52). The parts of the hermit Godric and of Edmund Rich in this development were probably considerable (see Schofield, p. 437; Wallace, *op. cit.*; *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 20, 053 f., and *EETS.*, No. 99, p. 46). It may be noted that the Normans were famous for their devotion to the Virgin (see Paris, *La Poésie du moyen âge*, II, 55; Adams, p. 50). A preaching tour in England in the twelfth century by some Premonstratensians eager to spread the cult of the Virgin in the interests of their order is described in *Migne*, CLVI, c. 974 ff. Two elaborate compilations have been made of the evidence of all sorts showing the mediaeval English veneration of the Virgin. These are: Father Bridgett's *Our Lady's Dower*, London, 1874, and E. Waterton's *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, London, 1879. The comparative value of the evidence they present is naturally obscured, because both works are written for sectarian purposes. It is true that they furnish widespread testimony of the cult, but the same and even more comes from other countries at the same period.

⁸¹ See E. Järnström, *Recueil de Chansons pieuses du XIII^e siècle*, Helsingfors, 1910, p. 16.

made his initiation⁸² into love of Jesus through devotion to His Mother. In the lyric to the Son in the *Manuel*, we see expressed just such a concentration on the thought of Christ and emotional absorption in His Sacred Humanity as was the special characteristic of Rolle, and after him, of the general mystical movement in England.⁸⁸ In this type of devotion the lyrics of the Harl. MS. had

⁸² "Amicam autem adamaui in quam angeli omnipotentis anhelant aspicere et mirificam mariam misericordie matrem mulcebam mihi in mollicie melliflua; nec despexit dilectacionem quam detuli, at potius procurauit a piissimo ut animus ornaretur ad amicales amplexus intimi amoris. Illam vtique habui adiutricem quae orauit amatorem eterni ne abicerer ab eleccione amantissima; alioquin non amassem altissimum ardentem, nec suscepissem suauitatem sonantis cithare, neque caperer ad concentum canorum; quoniam illa ardentissima erat in amore, et omnes amicos citus accendit ad amandum. Pulcherima profecto puella clericulos cupit sibi conformari quos secum communicandos capiat ut quaeamodum illa castissima continuabatur, ita et ipsi sine concupiscentia carnali consistent. Hanc amaui a iuventute mea, et iam in iubilum geror sine gemitu, nec abstulit aliena quod ipsi optuli ab inicio, virginitatem videlicet, vt viam virtuose et uestiar virtutibus, et ex quo iussus fuero finire presentem peregrinacionem in aulam, assumar eternitatis ad inhabitandum cum angelis quorum consortium continue concupisco." Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford MS. 193, f. 234 f. This extract occurs separately in several manuscripts, and it presents a contrast to the extreme lyrics of the cult, of which Ten Brink writes: "We feel as if the Deity himself were addressed." (*History Eng. Lit.*, transl. Kennedy, New York, 1889, I, 205.) The *Melum*, from which the quotation comes, is an early work, in which the author refers to himself as a youth, as he does also in the poem addressed to the Virgin. This begins as follows: "Zelo tui langueo, virgo speciosa" (see Horstmann, II, xxxvi). The *Melum* is mostly made up of ardent mystical expression of the love of Jesus, as are all Rolle's works.

⁸⁸ The writings of the English mystics are for the most part still in manuscript. Some have, however, received a modernised edition for devotional purposes, and in the prefaces of these editions are to be found the only generalisations which the movement has received. Though the editors sometimes suffer from their lack of complete information as to the manuscript material, their comparative knowledge of devotional literature often gives their remarks great value. Rev. J. B. Dalgairns, who had written some of the "Lives of the English Mediaeval Saints" at Littlemore, prefixed to his edition of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (new edition, London, 1908) an essay on the "Spiritual Life of Mediaeval England," in which he points out the "type of devotion which was peculiarly English" (p. iv). He speaks of Julian of Norwich as belonging to "the genuine school of English mystics which we have pointed out. Her love for Jesus is of the same kind as that found in the 'Ancren Riwe'" (p. xxxvi). In summing up the *Scale of Perfection* he concludes: "Above all it is remarkable for containing the old English tradition of a most tender, personal love for our blessed Lord" (p. xlv). The late Monsignor Benson opened his *Book of the Love of Jesus* (London, 1914, p. xv), a book largely compiled from Rolle,

appeared as pioneers, and, since they seemed to antedate them, they were pioneers of mysterious origin. Other evidence now appeared showing that Rolle was born into an environment in which there were influences already making strongly for mysticism, and that even the type to which he was to give vigorous and abundant expression, was already in process of formation.

This conclusion ought not to be unexpected. It is, of course, inevitable on general grounds that a man even so original as Rolle, should be subject to influence of his age; but, more than that, there were conspicuous signs of a mystical type of devotion was being developed in England in the twelfth century on. As has already been remarked, there is no valid reason for separating the authors and publics of the vernacular literatures written in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but, since they are usually so separated, so I have discussed the relations of the three languages used in the present study, necessary before proceeding with our investigation of the landmarks of mysticism in England.

III

It is possible to state positively that no racial divisions are to be found in England so late as the time of composition of the *Meditations* as follows: "There are certain characteristics of mediaeval English mysticism which are easy to trace in this collection. They spring, for the most part, from an intense and passionate love for the Sacred Humanity of Jesus Christ. Evelyn Underhill writes as follows in an introduction to the *Fire of Love* (London, 1904): 'Here we find, fused together, the mysticism of the medieval period, the special quality which marked all that was best in the mysticism of the twelfth century, and his works are full of passages in which the mystics of the twelfth century are to be seen. We are struck, indeed, to state their peculiar characteristics. They are, in the combination of loftiest transcendence with the most intimate knowledge of the Holy Name. Thus it is that the mystics of the twelfth century are, in the words of the *Revelations of St. John*, 'The Revelations of St. John'." The subject will be pursued in my article

Pechiez.²⁴ The Normans at the Conquest were racially nearer to the English than to their Continental neighbors, and we have the explicit statement of Henry II's Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1177 that in his time it was practically impossible, amongst freemen, to distinguish the Norman and English strains in the nation.²⁵ An interesting collection of mediaeval Continental opinions of the English, brought together by M. Ch. V. Langlois, show that abroad, at any rate, from the middle of the twelfth century on, not only were all racial lines in England lost sight of, but that the English national characteristics, as we know them to-day, had already become visible.²⁶ Moreover, the existence in English of highly cultivated works like the *Ancren Riwle*, the *Owl and the Nightingale*, or the "Cuckoo Song"—which, to quote Chambers, is "not folksong, but a learned composer's adaptation of a *reuerdie*" (p. 273)—show that no sharp demarcation could have existed of social distinction between the two languages, and the examples, given by Bishop Stubbs and others, of the bilingual capacity of even high-

²⁴ The *loci communes* testifying to the use of French and English in England are given in Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 2d edition, London, 1875, I, 544 f.; H. Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen philologie*, Strassburg, 1901, I, 950 ff. (article by D. Beilrent); Traill's *Social England*, London, 1909, I, sect. II, 398 f., 532 f.; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire*, II, 520 ff.; the *Comes of Bonon*, pp. LII f.; O. Scheinert, *Ueber die Herrschaft der französischen Sprache in England*, Annaberg, 1880; *England under the Normans and Angevins*, by H. W. C. Davis, London, 1905, p. 162. An example not infrequently noted of the use of English among persons apparently well-born before the middle of the twelfth century, occurs in the account of Roger the Norman and Christina the red-recluse (*Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series 1897, I, 49). "Gildericus Vitalis describes the use of English in 1116 as a *vitium* by a man who "was neither rich nor poor," a "free peasant" in Huntingdonshire (*Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, ed. A. Le Prevost, Paris: Reg. Societ. de l'histoire de France, III, 127). It is worth pointing out that St. Edmund Rich, who wrote as late as we know, only in Latin and French, even as English persons wrote *cyng* (see Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 532), and that an English quarian wrote a *Speculum* in the Latin, French and English versions. (See Brown, *Knights, p. 100*.)

²⁵ "Vix discerni possit inter se libera ingenu, quae Anglica, quae Normannus sit genere." Dialogue in the Exchequer, *British Select Charters*, 4th edition, by H. W. C. Davis, Oxford 1913, I, 219. It is interesting to observe how many of the persons born in the island before the middle of the twelfth century who have left memorials of themselves, of the kind of memorial we positively know to be of mixed or English blood, as Osbertus Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, Gilbert of Sempringham.

²⁶ "Les Anglais du Moyen Age," *Revue historique*, LII, 39, 268 ff.

appeared as pioneers, and, since they seemed to antedate Rolle, they were pioneers of mysterious origin. Other evidence has now appeared showing that Rolle was born into an environment in which there were influences already making strongly towards mysticism, and that even the type to which he was to give such vigorous and abundant expression, was already in process of formation.

This conclusion ought not to be unexpected. It is, of course, inevitable on general grounds that a man even so original and full of idiosyncrasy as Rolle, should be subject to influence from his age; but, more than that, there were conspicuous signs that the mystical type of devotion was being developed in England from the twelfth century on. As has already been remarked, there is no valid reason for separating the authors and publics of the two vernacular literatures written in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but, since they are usually so separated, some discussion of the relations of the three languages used in the period is necessary before proceeding with our investigation of the early landmarks of mysticism in England.

III

It is possible to state positively that no racial divisions existed in England so late as the time of composition of the *Manuel des* as follows: "There are certain characteristics of mediaeval English devotion which are easy to trace in this collection. They spring, for the most part, from an intense and passionate love for the Sacred Humanity of Jesus Christ." Miss Evelyn Underhill writes as follows in an introduction to the *Fire of Love and Mending of Life* of Rolle, edited in a modernised text by Miss F. M. M. Comper (London, 1914, p. xxii): "Here we find, fused together, the highest flights of mystical passion for the Ineffable God, and the intense devotion to the Person of Christ: the special quality which marked all that was best in English religion of the mediaeval period. In such passages—and his works abound in them—Rolle sets the pattern to which all the great English mystics who followed him conformed. Were we asked, indeed, to state their peculiar characteristic, I think that we must find it here: in the combination of loftiest transcendentalism with the loving and intimate worship of the Holy Name. Thus it is that they solve the eternal mystic paradox of an unconditioned yet a personal God. 'The Scale of Perfection,' 'The Cloud of Unknowing,' 'The Revelations of Divine Love,' all turn on this point." This subject will be pursued in my article on the "Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus."

Pechiez.⁸⁴ The Normans at the Conquest were racially nearer to the English than to their Continental neighbors, and we have the explicit statement of Henry II's Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1177 that in his time it was practically impossible, amongst free-men, to distinguish the Norman and English strains in the nation.⁸⁵ An interesting collection of mediaeval Continental opinions of the English, brought together by M. Ch. V. Langlois, show that abroad, at any rate, from the middle of the twelfth century on, not only were all racial lines in England lost sight of, but that the English national characteristics, as we know them to-day, had already become visible.⁸⁶ Moreover, the existence in English of highly cultivated works like the *Ancren Riwele*, the *Owl and the Nightingale*, or the "Cuckoo Song"—which, to quote Chambers, is "not folksong, but a learned composer's adaptation of a *reverdie*" (p. 273)—show that no sharp demarcation could have existed of social distinction between the two languages, and the examples, given by Bishop Stubbs and others, of the bilingual capacity of even high-

⁸⁴ The *loci communes* testifying to the use of French and English in England are given in Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 2d edition, London, 1875, I, 544 f.; H. Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen philologie*, Strassburg, 1901, I, 950 ff. (article by D. Behrens); Traill's *Social England*, London, 1909, I, sect. II, 398 f., 532 f.; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire*, II, 520 ff.; the *Contes* of Bozon, pp. LII f.; O. Scheibner, *Ueber die Herrschaft der französischen Sprache in England*, Annaberg, 1880; *England under the Normans and Angevins*, by H. W. C. Davis, London, 1905, p. 182. An example, not hitherto noted, of the use of English among persons apparently well-born, before the middle of the twelfth century, occurs in the account of Roger the hermit and Christina, the rich recluse (*Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1867, I, 99). Ordericus Vitalis describes the use of English in 1116 at a trial by a man who "was neither rich nor poor," a "free tenant" in Huntingdonshire (*Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, ed. A. Le Prévost, Paris, 1845, *Société de l'histoire de France*, III, 127). It is worth pointing out that St. Edmund Rich, who wrote, so far as we know, only in Latin and French, uses an English proverb when dying (see Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 532), and that an English quatrain occurs in his *Speculum* in the Latin, French and English versions. (See Brown, *Register*, *passim*.)

⁸⁵ "Vix discerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus, quis Normannus sit genere." Dialogue on the Exchequer, Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 9th edition, by H. W. C. Davis, Oxford, 1913, p. 219. It is interesting to observe how many of the persons born in the island before the middle of the twelfth century who have left memorials of themselves, of one kind or another, are positively known to be of mixed or English blood, as Ordericus Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, Gilbert of Sempringham.

⁸⁶ "Les Anglais du Moyen Age," *Revue historique*, LII, pp. 288 ff.

born persons, would make it appear that not even accidents were likely to allow many persons to grow up in England in any free-born class, after the middle of the twelfth century, without knowing both languages, or, perhaps, in any class, without knowing English. The fact that three of the most prominent writers of this period were Welshmen—Geoffrey of Monmouth, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Walter Map—is very likely to have had its effect in retarding the revival of English in the twelfth century as a literary medium, at a time when the native tongue was widely used for familiar speech; and the wide foreign connections of the Angevin kings probably contributed to the same end. But even Giraldus is not without his knowledge of English, even of English literature, of which he speaks respectfully,³⁷ and Walter Map lets us know that the insular French of his time was already often strongly provincial.³⁸ The significance of the fact can hardly be overestimated, which is stated by Ordericus Vitalis,³⁹ that the Conqueror tried—though unsuccessfully—to learn English: “il est certain,” writes M. Brunot, “que les chartes et les actes de Guillaume sont en latin et en anglo-saxon, ce qui semble peu d’accord avec les intentions que lui prête Holkot, de détruire le saxon et d’unifier le langage de l’Angleterre et celui de la Normandie.”⁴⁰ Under these circumstances it would appear extremely probable that the English-born Henry I should have spoken English, whatever was the case with the Angevin kings; a charter notes Henry I.’s ability to read English law terms, but it is thought to be perhaps a forgery.⁴¹ It was in his reign, at all events, that the dying prophecy of Edward the Confessor was fulfilled: “England’s sorrows shall end when the green tree, severed by the space of three

³⁷ *Opera*, Rolls Series, London, 1868, VI, 177, 187.

³⁸ He speaks of “Marlborough French,” *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. V, VI, pp. 246–7, ed. M. R. James, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1914.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 215.

⁴⁰ Petit de Julleville, II, 521, n. 1. Bishop Stubbs states that “charters were written in Latin and English coördinately down to the accession of Henry II” (*Lectures on Early English History*, London, 1906, p. 229). When English was abandoned, Latin, not French, took its place. It would be natural that a decline of English should take place in the reign of Henry II., since his education must have been more foreign than that of any king since the Conqueror.

⁴¹ See J. H. Round, *Academy*, 1884, No. 645, p. 168, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 721 f.

furloughs from its stem, should be grafted in again and should bear flowers and fruit."⁴² Though the young prince went down in the White Ship who, after three Norman kings, was the fruit of the union of the English and Norman royal stocks, yet the union which he represented was perpetuated in some measure in the reign of Stephen, since the king (who had spent much of his youth in England, as his uncle's heir) was the nephew of Henry, and the queen the niece of "good Queen Maud"; and by the reign of Henry II, though connections with France were doubtless stronger than at any time since the days of the Conqueror, yet the sovereign represented the two stocks as truly as his uncle, the son of the first Henry, would have done. Aelred, in interpreting the prophecy for Henry II, concludes: "Habet nunc certe de genere Anglorum Anglia regem, habet de eadem gente episcopos et abbates, habet et principes, milites etiam optimos, qui ex utriusque seminis coniunctione procreatos." "After the middle of the twelfth century at the latest," says a writer in Traill's *Social England*, "the use of the term Norman to denote an inhabitant of England meant no more than a similar use of the term Huguenot at the present day" (p. 535). He draws the analogy of modern Wales to describe the use of the two vernaculars in Angevin England. That the inhabitants of England felt themselves English appears from their use of English law and legends.⁴³

⁴² Migne, CXCIV, c. 773. This life of Edward (prepared at the time of his canonisation, by Aelred) is included in *Nova Legenda Angliae* (ed. C. Horstmann, Oxford, 1901, I, 344). It is interesting to note that the first steps for the canonisation were taken by Stephen, and seem to point to an effort on his part to take advantage of the reconciliation with the English elements of the nation effected by Henry I. Stephen's natural son was at this time abbot of Westminster, but the effort is supposed to have failed because of the scandals attached to this abbot. (See the letters of Prior Osbert de Clare, ed. R. Anstruther, *Caxton Society*, 1846, pp. 120 f., and the *History of Westminster Abbey*, by John Flete, ed. J. A. Robinson, Cambridge, 1909.) The Confessor was canonised 1161, and Aelred died 1166.

⁴³ William of Malmesbury notes that one Goscelin came over from France in the time of the Conqueror, and made the most comprehensive history of the saints of England, both old and new, that had been made since the days of Bede. (*De Gesta Regum*, Rolls Series, 1889, II, 389, Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, New York, 1916, p. 140.) Professor Schofield notes the appropriation of insular legends by even the early Normans, and Professor Maitland describes the continuity of English law (Traill, I, 398 ff.).

Whatever were in the twelfth century the reasons that kept the general knowledge of English from stimulating the development of English literature, it can easily be seen that in the thirteenth special causes influenced the retention of French as the literary language of the country. The general preëminence of French among the vernaculars of Europe was at this time increased until French became almost the universal vernacular of Christendom, as Latin was the universal learned language. Paris was authorised by the Pope as the center and model of the theological studies of the whole church,⁴⁴ and, altogether, the high-minded mediaeval ideal of internationalism had some reality behind it at this time in the literary and theological worlds. In the international center which Paris now was—in which, naturally, aliens were as influential as Frenchmen—the most prominent Englishmen of the time served their turn; and it is not strange, as a consequence, that strong Nationalists like Edmund Rich or Grosseteste, who had spent much time at the theological center of Christendom, should not be specially active in substituting English, as a literary medium, for the more universal French which the nation was already using, and using with some show of hereditary right. Italians at this period were using French with less substantial motives,⁴⁵ and it is interesting to observe that their encomiums of the language, on which they founded their use of it, were repeated exactly by the English in the earliest of all manuals for teaching French, which was written

⁴⁴ This appears from the Bull "Super speculam" of Honorius III, Nov. 16, 1219 (*Chartularium Univers. Paris.*, ed. Denifle et Châtelain, Paris, 1889-1897, I, 90 f.). Paris is not allowed to teach Civil Law, but "Parisios declarat locum, ubi theologia debeat doceri." Oxford is ordered to model its curriculum on that of Paris (pp. 169, 189, etc.).—"Seit der Mitte des 12 Jhs. und im 13. finden wir in Paris und Bologna alle Nationen vertreten. Diese Universitäten waren die beiden grossen Emporien der Wissenschaft in Europa, die beiden Leuchten, denen man damals nachwanderte." Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, I, 747.

⁴⁵ "Le francais faillit, au xiii^e siècle, devenir la langue littéraire de l'Italie: pendant que le Pisan Rusticien, les Vénitiens Marc Pol et Martin de Canale, le Florentin Brunet Latin, l'employaient de préférence à leurs idiomes respectifs, des chanteurs populaires amassaient le peuple autour d'eux, dans les rues et sur les places des villes lombardes, vénitiennes et romagnales, en lui chantant des histoires en la langue de France, comme dit l'un d'eux." G. Paris, *La Poésie du moyen âge*, II, 40.

in England.⁴⁶ Even at the end of the fourteenth century, Gower, when he uses French, addresses the "université de tout le monde." It is evident that the thirteenth century was a period when a nation desiring not to be provincial would be more likely to acquire French than to drop it. It is certain that Nationalism was the issue of the age in politics,⁴⁷ being stimulated by the hordes of new aliens, whose arrival, as followers of Henry III's relatives, was enough to fuse the various elements of the country, even had the cleavage left by the Conquest been still distinct. Nationalism was carried to greater extremes than at any other period, yet apparently there was nothing derogatory to the national dignity, according to the current ideals, in the use of a foreign language. It is, in fact, at this time that French is first used in the statutes of England (Traill, I, 403). It is probable, however, that the Nationalist ideal in the end, by a cumulative effect, contributed to the fourteenth century revival of English. The analogy from our own times⁴⁸ that suits

⁴⁶ *Romania*, XV, 262. This passage is quoted beside a mention of Latini by Professor Schofield (p. 137).

⁴⁷ See the *National Movement in the Reign of Henry III and its Culmination in the Barons' War*, by O. H. Richardson, London, 1897. Foreign marriages even were forbidden. In a chronicle like that of Rishanger the whole narrative centers about "alienigenae." (Camden Society, 1840, ed. J. O. Halliwell.)

⁴⁸ Several European countries at the present day are passing through a bilingual state which it is interesting to compare with thirteenth century England. Norway, under the stimulus of a Nationalist movement, is endeavoring to speak and write Norwegian, a vernacular which, during the years of the predominance of the Danish language (brought about originally by a political union with Denmark), had degenerated into a diversity of peasant dialects. In Greece a group of scholars are attempting to substitute for literary purposes the "demotic" language, in place of the artificial classical language now in use. In both cases the medium which is proposed is itself more or less artificially composed from several dialects, and both the substitutes are cognate to the language already in use. In Greece everyone, in any case, always speaks the demotic tongue, and the literary language is so far from natural that it contains forms "that were obsolete long before the tenth century." The basis of the literary language was the "universal Greek" developed by the Byzantines, and by reason of its continuance the "Greeks . . . came into a *cul de sac* similar to that in which certain rigidly conservative Oriental nations find themselves. . . . The divorce of the written and spoken languages is the most prominent, and also the most sinister heritage that the modern Greeks have received from their Byzantine forefathers." It is of interest that the introduction of the "demotic" language in the schools has followed the fall of King Constantine. The fundamental differences between the two tongues in use (as well as other

the case is the use of French up almost to the present, by the upper classes in countries using a difficult medium, such as Russia, or the Balkan countries, rather than cases like Alsace-Lorraine, where a foreign language is in part imposed tyrannically. The universal use of French fashions at the present day must also be remembered, as an example of internationalism which even the present war seems unlikely to overthrow. The fact that no loss of dignity was involved for the Middle Ages by use of a foreign tongue appears from the fact that the conquering Normans themselves had entirely given up their own language after settling in France.

But in the thirteenth century it was not only that the national dignity was preserved rather than lessened by using the universal rather than the provincial vernacular; the convenience of using a stable and uniform language, such as Higden describes Anglo-Norman to have been,⁴⁹ can be understood when we consider that we have testimony from every side that English was split into a shifting confusion of dialects nearly approaching Babel. In the ecclesiastical decrees the forms were given by which laymen, in case of emergency, could administer the rite of baptism in Latin, French or English, and in the Constitutions of Archbishop Peck-

circumstances) make the case of Wales, already cited, closer than any other to that of mediaeval England. "Wales is essentially a bilingual country, wherein every educated Cymro speaks and writes English with ease, and where also large towns and whole districts . . . remain practically monoglot English-speaking. Nor are the Welsh landowners and gentry devoid of this new spirit of nationalism, and although some generations ago they ceased as a body to speak the native tongue, they have shown a strong disposition to study once more the ancient language and literature of their country." It is said that after the introduction of English in the courts, Welsh was saved by the existence of Welsh Scriptures from the extinction that overtook Cornish; and, in the time of the Methodist revivals, a revival of Welsh schools led to a great revival of the use of Welsh. Since in the case of Wales to-day the orthodox vernacular is connected with the reigning political power and a race living very near and not, as in the case of England in the thirteenth century, with a foreign country overseas, we can imagine that the use of English in Anglo-Norman England would have been much more general than that of Welsh in Wales to-day. (See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, articles, Norway, Greece, Wales.)

⁴⁹ Higden, *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, London, 1869, II, 160. He refers to the great diversity of English, describing the Yorkshire dialect as almost unintelligible. Mr. G. C. Macauley remarks: "It may well be that the French used in England was not really so uniform, 'univoca,' as it seemed to Higden." (*The French Works of Gower*, Oxford, 1899, p. xv.)

ham of 1281⁵⁰ it is significant that the English form is thus qualified: "vel aliter in lingua materna secundum patriae consuetudinem." Even at the time of the Conquest, the division of English dialects left by the early separation of the country into different tribes and kingdoms was still strongly marked,⁵¹ and all the conditions under which English had survived since that time were such as to have developed dialects, even had none existed previously. It is evident that convenience as well as the international ideals of the intellectual world of the time would serve to perpetuate the use of French in England, and to strengthen its exclusive hold on the educational training of the nation.⁵² It is clear, therefore, that we need not expect, even in the thirteenth century, that Anglo-Norman literature is likely to be connected only with an affected and untypical element of the nation, any more than we need connect it, in the twelfth, exclusively with persons of Norman blood or of noble birth.

It should be said in conclusion that the motives that during this whole period actuated the choice of one of the three current lan-

⁵⁰ *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, etc., London, 1737, ed. D. Wilkins, II, 53. All three languages were allowed in such cases by all the constitutions of the Anglo-Norman period. It is interesting to note that in the monasteries of St. Peter's, Westminster, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, neither English nor Latin—only French—could be spoken in the cloister or chapter and that monks make their profession in French and Latin, whereas lay brothers may use English. (*Customary of St. Augustine's and St. Peter's*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 23 and 28, I, 274-6; II, 227-8.)

⁵¹ See *English Dialects from the Eighth Century to the Present Day*, by W. W. Skeat, "Cambridge Manuals," Cambridge, 1912.

⁵² Higden, *op. cit.*, p. 158. Trevisa interpolates at this point in his translation the celebrated reference to John of Cornwall's introduction of English in the schools. It would appear that Higden exaggerated the low state of English when he wrote: "in paucis adhuc agrestibus vix remansit" (p. 160). It will be noted that the authors who put the state of English the lowest, as Holkot, Robert of Gloucester, and Higden, all belong to the later period of the use of Anglo-Norman in England. It is interesting to conjecture whether—perhaps from a patriotic desire to stimulate a change—these writers exaggerated (as M. Brunot decides was true of Higden), or whether it was really a case of the "darkest hour before the dawn." Certainly too much has sometimes been made of conditions that could be duplicated to-day, as, for example, of the statement of Gervase of Tilbury that in the thirteenth century the English nobles sent their children to France to learn pure French.—It is interesting to note Romain Rolland's exposition of the international rôle of the French in culture up to the present time (given by Olivier to Jean-Christophe in *Dans la Maison*).

guages rather than another, are often obscure to us.⁵³ It might appear that English was "genteel" and French was vulgar, if we take, on the one hand, a work like the *Owl and the Nightingale*, evidently written for persons of culture, and, on the other, the *Manuel des Pechiez* or the *Contes* of Bozon, quite as evidently written for persons of low estate—almost, as it has been said, for *villains*.⁵⁴ With such instances of the danger of generalisations on this subject, it is evident that the only true method of understanding the literary output of England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is to take account collectively of the literature written in the three languages current. If practically everyone understood English, anyone might at any time write or read it, and we can safely reckon that the literature of the two vernaculars at least would reach much the same public, and be characteristic of much the same environment. Walter Map, as a matter of fact, seems to say that Gilbert Foliot, the famous Bishop of London of the twelfth century, wrote in the three languages,⁵⁵ and the same

⁵³ E. A. Freeman contributed an interesting article to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ("Normans"), in which a comparison, very fruitful for our purposes, is drawn between the Normans in Sicily and the Normans in England. He says (p. 754) :

"We can see, also, that, though several languages were in use in England during the time of Norman rule, yet England was not a land of many languages in the same sense in which Sicily was. . . . No doubt there was a class that knew only English; there may have been a much smaller class that knew only French; any man who pretended to high cultivation would speak all as a matter of course. . . . Before the Conquest England had two official tongues. . . . And the same usage went on after the Conquest. . . . French documents are unknown till the days of French fashions had come in, that is, till deep in the 13th century. . . . In England, English, French, Latin were the three tongues of a single nation; they were its vulgar, its courtly and its learned speeches, of which three the courtly was fast giving way to the vulgar. In Sicily, Greek, Arabic, Latin, and its children, were the tongues of distinct nations."

⁵⁴ *Contes* of Bozon, p. liv, *Histoire littéraire*, XXVIII, 181 (G. Paris, on the *Manuel des Pechiez*). This is perhaps some of the literature provided for the "uplandish men" who, as we are told by Trevisa, made an effort to learn French. It is of course natural that this rustic Anglo-Norman should be amongst the latest.

⁵⁵ T. Wright makes the statement in quoting Map, as follows. "Gillebertus Foliot, nunc Lundunensis episcopus, uir trium peritissimus linguarum, Latine, Gallice, Anglice, et lucidissime disertus in singulis." *De nugis curialium*, ed. James, p. 18, quoted, *Biographia Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, London, 1846, p. 272. Map quotes an English proverb and words (pp. 75, 211).—At the end of the twelfth century Abbot Samson of St. Edmundsbury is said to be "eloquens Gallice . . . scripturam Anglice legere novit elegantissime, et Anglice

is recorded for Grosseteste, if we accept a statement made in the preface of one of his works.⁵⁶ Some of the productions of these persons may be preserved in the anonymous works of any of the three mediums. The true symbol for the literary history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England is the macaronic poem, in which the English clerk, residing in Paris, the authorised center of learning in Christendom, expresses himself in three languages at once.⁵⁷

Such a long discussion as has just been indulged in on a subject that might appear unrelated to the lyrics of the *Manuel*, has its justification in the fact that misconceptions of the separation between the Normans and Anglo-Saxons in England—founded perhaps on *Ivanhoe*, as one basis—seem to survive in literary history, and to be acted upon with serious results, even with respect to the *Manuel* itself. The most recent book of reference treating the *Manuel des Pechiez*, the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (I, 384) refers to that work as “written, probably, for Norman settlers in Yorkshire,” apparently in ignorance of the fact that racial lines were lost in England a century before the time of the composition of the *Manuel*—and, as a matter of fact, if any racial classification is to be made of the readers of the *Manuel*, they are

sermocinari solebat populo, sed secundum linguam Norfolchie, ubi natus et nutritus erat” (*Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, Camden Society, 1840, p. 30). This sounds as if English had at this period its own standards of elegance. Later Samson is quoted as saying: “quod in multis ecclesiis fit sermo in conventu Gallice vel potius Anglice, ut morum fieret edificacio, non literature ostensio” (p. 95). This must be said to be a very important statement for the position of English in the second half of the twelfth century. Herebert, the new prior, whom he is addressing, is “sobrius et volubilis lingue in Gallico idiomate, utpote Normannus nacione” (the italics are mine). This makes it appear as if a native Englishman would not be expected to specialise in French in the same way as a continental, and the reference of Map to Guichart (v. *infra*, p. 181) may be remembered in this connection. It is possible that when it is stated that Guichart wrote, “suaque modo lingua, scilicet Gallica,” that this is a way of saying that he was of Continental birth.

⁵⁶ The Latin and French works of Grosseteste are well known, and the preface of his *De Cessatione Legalium* states that he also wrote “verse, patrio sermone.” (See Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste*, London, 1793, p. 287.) Nevertheless his introduction to his *Château d'Amour*, as has often been noted, recognises only French and Latin as possible for literature.

⁵⁷ See *Romania*, IV, 380; XV, p. 338; XXXII, p. 22; *Bulletin*, 1893, p. 43, Chambers, Nos. VIII and IX, and pp. 276-7.

probably to be identified with the descendants of the purely English bondmen. The cause of much of the neglect which Anglo-Norman literature has suffered appears from the apology that is given in the *Cambridge History* for treating the subject of Anglo-Norman at all: "It is no part of the scope of this work to encroach upon what more properly belongs to the earlier literature of a modern language other than our own (II, 475)." Such a conception of the relations of the Anglo-Norman literature, unfortunate in all its consequences, has doubtless been strengthened by the terms in which Professor Skeat has phrased his valuable studies⁵⁸ of the effect on English phonology and orthography of being written, according to his hypothesis, by scribes of the twelfth and even thirteenth centuries, accustomed to writing French, and unfamiliar with English. He speaks of these persons as if they were native-born, though of Norman blood—very much, that is, as if they were "Yorkshire Normans"—whereas the historical evidence just reviewed has shown that it is very improbable that any native-born person at this period would have a knowledge of English "so slight that he did not even know the value of some of the English

⁵⁸ *Philological Society, Transactions*, 1895-8, pp. 399 ff.; *Modern Language Quarterly*, No. 3, p. 225, 4, p. 229; *Proverbs of Alfred*, ed. Skeat, Oxford, 1907. He says of the manuscript of the *Havelock*, "The spelling . . . is easily understood in the light of my discovery (in 1897) that many of our earlier MSS., especially those of the thirteenth century, abound with spellings which can only be understood rightly when we observe that the scribe was of Norman birth, and more accustomed to the spelling of Anglo-French than to that of the native language of the country, which he had acquired with some difficulty, and could not always correctly pronounce. This curious phenomenon, due to the resolute attempt on the part of the Norman to acquire English. . . ." (*The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1902, p. ix). He speaks elsewhere of the "more humble English" in contrast to the Normans. The historical evidence adduced above would make it appear that the time when the Normans made their "resolute attempt to acquire English" was probably in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen. This subject will be discussed more fully in an article, now in preparation, on the origin of the *Ancren Riwle*. It should be noted that a manuscript of the *Poema Morale* cited by Miss Paues contains on the first page, as does that used by Professor Skeat as the basis of his first paper, a written list of the peculiar English characters intended apparently for the guidance of the scribe (*Anglia*, XXX, 217 ff.). But this manuscript is dated about 1300, a period apropos of which Professor Maitland writes of the English lawyer: "It is fairly certain . . . his 'cradle speech' was English" (Selden Society, vol. XVII, 1903, p. xxxvii).

written characters." It is possible that the calling of scribe, like some professions at every period, was commonly followed by persons of alien birth; certainly, the lack of English schooling, noted by Henry Bradley (*Cambridge History*, I, 437) would affect the English writing of natives. It is clear that this question should be reconsidered on the historical side, for the references which have been set forth above are definite in disproving the existence of racial lines after the time of Henry II, at least. The purpose of the present paper, in showing the identity of literary influences displayed by literature written in the two vernaculars, is further evidence to the same end, and similar material could be multiplied.⁵⁹ It is to some extent true, as Chambers writes, that "at the Conquest the vernacular goes underground for a couple of centuries," as far as literary purposes are concerned, but when Middle-English literature does appear, its differences from Continental French coincide to a considerable extent with the differences to be observed between Continental and insular French, and therefore disprove Chambers' further statement that during this period "England becomes for literary purposes a province of France" (p. 273). In the Middle Ages, at least, the currents of literary history do not always follow the divisions of language. When Anglo-Norman manuscripts have been duly examined and edited, it will probably be evident that here is a case in point. That happy consummation will doubtless not come to pass until Anglo-Saxon scholars lose their old-time indifference to the alien medium of the literature of some of the most powerful years of their history. As the apology of the

⁵⁹ A. Gabrielson of Upsala, the editor of *Le Sermon* of Guichart de Beaulieu, has made a study (in *Archiv*, CXXVIII, pp. 309 ff.) which might well be followed up by other investigations of the same kind. He works out the debt of *Le Sermon* to "religious learning and literature in England," by reference both to Middle English and Latin works. He finds special relations to the *Poema Morale*, which, he concludes, is to be expected, since both works were written in England about the same time (middle of the twelfth century). Chambers notes that the *Poema* has influenced strongly the later Middle-English lyrics (p. 285). G. Paris accepted the identification of the Guichart de Beaulieu of this poem with the person of that name mentioned by Map (*De nugis*, p. 19) as the "Homer of the laiety," "suaque modo lingua, scilicet Gallica"; but Paul Meyer gives the opinion that "le sermon n'offre pas assez le caractère de l'antiquité pour être attribué à un poète mort en 1137." *Bulletin*, 1889, pp. 94-5.

Cambridge History would suggest, so far, most of the study of Anglo-Norman has come from French scholars, as is natural, considering the predominance of linguistic interest in mediaeval studies. However, the French are too much repelled by the provinciality of the dialect, as were their ancestors before them,⁶⁰ to give adequate attention to the subject matter, and for that, in any case, only the English, who have a knowledge of the sister literatures that were contemporary, possess the key. It is probable that the Continental ridicule cast on Anglo-Norman did in the end a great deal to kill its use, and this we cannot but think a fortunate circumstance; but a sensitiveness to the provinciality of the French of ancestors six centuries ago would be a grotesque obstacle to modern scholarship. Such an impediment, however, has actually doubtless assisted the modern distaste for literature written in an alien tongue, in keeping Anglo-Norman literature in manuscript,⁶¹ and we may be sure that our whole knowledge of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has suffered seriously in consequence.

IV

The prejudices and misapprehensions which have just been discussed have brought it about that the proportion of literature published for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England varies greatly for the three languages. Probably all the English literature that has come to light is in print, though, as we can see from the circumstances just reviewed, this literature is the least likely, being embodied in what might be called the provincial vernacular, to offer the most representative expression of the time. Much of the Latin literature is printed, especially that of the thirteenth century, when England produced some of the most famous Latin writers of Europe.⁶² Almost none of the Anglo-Norman litera-

⁶⁰ Langlois (*loc. cit.*) cites the peculiarities of Anglo-French as affording one of the stock jokes, as it were, of the Middle Ages.

⁶¹ It is a somewhat grotesque example of the international character of modern scholarship that at present Anglo-Norman literature seems to be studied principally by Scandinavians and Finns.

⁶² Jusserand, for example, writes of England in the Anglo-Norman period that it "produced some of the Latin writings which enjoyed the widest reputation through civilised Europe" (*op. cit.*, p. 176). It may be useful to quote

ture of the thirteenth century is accessible, though most of what was produced in the twelfth century has been edited, since that is considered to make part of French literature; and indeed in many important cases⁶³ it has not been possible to determine whether texts circulating in England were first composed there or in France. Altogether, however, when we approach the literature produced in England during the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries with the intention of grouping it all together as expressive of the same influences, there are several landmarks pointing the way to the Middle-English mystical movement, as plainly as do the lyrics of the *Manuel*.

As was pointed out by Professor Schofield (p. 33), the effect on the future history of literature in England of the sixteen years' residence of Anselm as head of the national Church, was probably very great; for Anselm was the foremost ecclesiastical writer of his time. Though in general Anselm's influence has been traced in the history of scholasticism, it is probable that it was also very strong in the history of mysticism. When, as Abbot of Bec, he first appears in Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, we are told that "contemplativae vitae totus intendebat."⁶⁴ It is true that he had little concern with the development of mystical theology, but in the growth of the mystical type of personal devotion his share seems to have been great, and this, rather than metaphysics or visions, was to the last the principal element of English mysticism. Parts of his Prayers and Meditations⁶⁵ may almost be said to set the type for from the very just (unsigned) review of Jusserand's history in *Romania* (XXIII, p. 494):

"Il a compris que l'activité littéraire des Anglais du xii^e et xiii^e siècles, qui s'est exprimée en français, n'en appartient pas moins à l'histoire littéraire du peuple anglais. Son esquisse, juste mais sommaire, fait désirer encore plus vivement cette histoire de la littérature anglo-normande qui est aujourd'hui, on peut le dire, un véritable besoin de la science. Le sujet, peu attrayant au premier abord, est en réalité un des plus beaux et des plus féconds que puisse offrir le moyen âge."

Paul Meyer elsewhere expresses his intention of supplying this lack, but unfortunately he never did so.

⁶³ Important examples are the *Adam* (the first vernacular drama), the *Canterbury* and *Oxford Psalters*, *Four Books of Kings*, etc.

⁶⁴ Rolls Series, London, 1884, p. 23.

⁶⁵ Migne, CLVIII. It should be noted that some of these pieces are not at all mystical, and also that there has been considerable discussion as to the

the characteristics of English mysticism just under discussion,⁶⁶ and they even contain references to the Name of Jesus, the devotional authenticity of many. This has specially arisen because of the discovery by Mabillon of a late eleventh century manuscript in which many are combined with extracts from St. Augustine, and the whole prefaced by a letter from John (an Italian), Abbot of Fécamp, to the Empress Agnes. Abbot John died in 1078, and he has been thought to have been the real author. Migne, however, decides that he was rather a borrower from Anselm, who, while at Bec, was his neighbor, and, as we know from a letter by the Abbot of Casa Dei, had allowed some of these devotional writings to circulate among the neighboring monasteries at this time (*Patrologiae Cursus*, XL, c. 897 ff.; CXLVII, c. 443 ff.; CLVIII, c. 35-6). It should be noted that Fécamp had a close connection with England, as will be shown in my paper on the *Ancren Riwele*. Some of the same passages as are attached to John are also part of the work known as the "Meditations of St. Augustine." Hauréau writes as follows:

"Il est aujourd'hui généralement admis que saint Augustin n'a pas tant médité, et plus ou moins de manuscrits rapportent à saint Anselme la plupart des pièces que les anciens éditeurs de saint Augustin ont assez mal ordonnées sous ce titre commun de *Méditations*. Il nous semble que les derniers éditeurs de saint Anselme ont commis la même faute, associant à leur tour, sous le nom de saint Anselme, un nombre considérable de *Méditations* et d'*Oraisons* qui ne sont pas toutes de la même plume. Nous lui laissons toutefois celle dont il s'agit ici, mais sans prendre l'engagement de ne pas la réclamer un jour pour quelque autre" (*Notices*, VI, 180).

Migne takes up the authenticity of each piece and accepts all that are here referred to. Hauréau several times refers to Anselm in terms that imply his mysticism (I, 78; II, 61; in the appendix published in the series, *Notices et Extraits*, XXXVII, 5). It should be noted that modern writers differ as to the merits of Anselm's devotional pieces. Mr. H. O. Taylor finds them cold: "One thinks that his feelings rarely distorted his countenance, or wet it with tears" (*op. cit.*, I, 277). This statement is in contrast to the general opinion, both ancient and modern. A. Charma writes: "Si le chrétien cherche une riche et ardente expression pour son enthousiasme religieux, pour sa pieuse ferveur, qu'il ouvre les Oraisons d'Anselme" (*Sainte Anselme*, Paris, 1853, p. 115). J. M. Riggs says of the *Meditations*: "His Christolatry is of the noblest Catholic type, blended of the reverence due to God, the loyalty of a vassal to his feudal lord, the love that passeth the love of women, the ecstasy of the mystic" (*St. Anselm of Canterbury*, London, 1896, p. 87). It will be seen that these words agree very well with the description of English mystics already cited. It may be noted that two of the *Meditations* are found in manuscripts with Rolle's name (see my Catalogue of his writings, now in preparation), and three are attached to the *Vita Reclusarum* of St. Aelred, and it is uncertain which is the true author. The present extracts show many points of agreement with Rolle's mysticism, as sketched in my article on the Authorship of the *Prick of Conscience* (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 15, pp. 115 ff.). The generalisations made there from the scanty materials in print remain true after an investigation of Rolle's writings in manuscript.

⁶⁶ *Vide supra*, pp. 167 f.

tion which was later to be so popular in England—of which the lyrics of the *Manuel* furnish an example. The following passages may be quoted:

Scribe digito tuo in pectore meo dulcem memoriam tui melliflui nominis, nulla unquam oblivione delendam. . . . Succende mentem meam igne illo tuo quem misisti in terram (*Oratio* xvi). . . . Jesu bone, quam dulcis es in corde cogitantis de te et diligentis te! Et certe nescio, quia nec plene comprehendere valeo, unde hoc est quod longe dulcior es in corde diligentis te, in eo quod caro es, quam in eo quod Verbum; dulcior in eo quod humilis, quam in eo quod sublimis (*Meditatio* xii). . . . Dulcis Christe, bone Jesu, reple semper, quaeso, cor meum inexstinguibili dilectione tua, continua recordatione tua; adeo ut sicut flamma urens totus ardeam in tui amoris dulcedine, quem et aquae multae in me nunquam possunt exstinguere (*Oratio* xvii). . . . Multae denique sunt contemplationes, quibus anima devota tibi mirabiliter pascitur, sed in nulla earum ita delectatur et requiescit anima mea sicut in te, et quando te solum cogitat et contemplatur. Quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tuae, Domine, quam mirabiliter inspiras cordibus amatorum tuorum! Quam mira suavitas amoris tui, quo perfruuntur illi qui nihil praeter te diligunt, nihil quaerunt, nihil enim cogitare concupiscunt (*Oratio* xix).

On the origin of these pieces we have the excellent authority of Eadmer, as follows:

In orationibus autem quas ipse juxta desiderium et petitionem amicorum suorum scriptas edidit, qua sollicitudine, quo timore, qua spe, quo amore Deum et sanctos ejus interpellaverit, necne interpellandos docuerit, satis est, et me tacente, videre: sit modo qui eis pie intendat, et spero quia cordis ejus affectum suumque profectum in illis et per illas gaudens percipiet.⁶⁷

Since these pieces represented Anselm's own devotional exercises, it is probable that in private intercourse he would have stimulated the type of devotion which they express. All over Europe it is said that they were more copied than any other part of his writings,⁶⁸ but it is probable that the element of his influence which

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁶⁸ Il est juste d'ajouter que dans ces mss. du moyen âge les *Prières* de saint Anselme occupent une place incomparablement plus grande que ses autres écrits. Le nombre extraordinaire de copies qui nous restent de ces prières en atteste la diffusion véritablement immense. Plusieurs de ces copies étaient des manuels de prière, les uns portatifs, et sortes de livres de poche, comme le ms. 2882 de la collection harléienne" (*St. Anselme*, by le Père Ragey, Paris et Lyons, 1889, I, 415, n. 1).

they represent would be stronger than elsewhere, in the regions where there remained the traces of his presence.

Definite evidence is forthcoming from England of the high esteem in which these pieces were held before the general taste of Europe had set towards mystical devotions. William of Malmesbury writes of Anselm as follows:

Orationum et meditationum ejus instantiam indicat liber de his, Spiritu sancto, ut credimus, dictante, conscriptus, cujus ipse affluentiam bibulis hauserat medullis; soliloquiorum etiam ad se et allocutionem ad Deum libri, quibus cogitata omnium antecessorum evicit, vel, ut mitius dicam, in unum acervum coegit.⁶⁹

We are told that Thomas À Becket used them in preparation for offering Mass. His chaplain, Herbert de Boseham, writes as follows:

Frequentius ea hora habebat in manibus quendam orationum libellum, quasi suum enchiridion; quem unus praedecessorum suorum, . . . beatus Anselmus, stylo sicut salubriter pungativo et pungative salubri et eleganti, ex intimis sanctae devotionis suae medullis exceperat. Hunc, inquam, habebat, ibidem ab oratione ad lectionem se excipiens.⁷⁰

Definite signs are not lacking of the connection of Anselm's devotional pieces with later mystical works. Significant landmarks of early English mysticism are the English pieces, written in poetical prose, generally entitled "On Ureisun of oure Louerde," "On Lofsong of ure Louerd," and "þe Wohunge of ure Lauerd."⁷¹ These, as may be guessed from their titles, follow the tradition of mystical writing which we have been discussing, and it is interesting to observe that Vollhardt⁷² has shown that they are full of reminiscences of the Prayers and Meditations of Anselm. It is even more interesting to find that Miss Peebles⁷³ has pointed out that

⁶⁹ *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Rolls Series, 1870, p. 76.

⁷⁰ *Materials for the History of Thomas À Becket*, III, 210.

⁷¹ Printed by Morris, *EETS.*, No. XXIX. An attempt has been made to prove Edmund Rich to be the author of *On God Ureisun of ure lefde* (W. Marufke, *Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte*, No. XIII, 1907), but the evidence does not seem to be very substantial.

⁷² *Einfluss der lateinischen geistlichen Litteratur . . .*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 41 ff.

⁷³ *The Legend of Longinus*, Bryn Mawr College Monographs, No. IX, p. 86, n.

the "Talking of the Love of God,"⁷⁴ which is ascribed to the "school" of Rolle in the late fourteenth century, and has always been taken as an extreme example of its school, is merely a combination of two of the ecstatic prose pieces, just mentioned, of which the date cannot be later than the early part of the thirteenth century and may be earlier. The whole development of English mysticism may turn out to be indicated in the genealogy of the "Talking of the Love of God." And the style of this production, no less than the substance, seems to fall in the direct line of descent from Anselm. The author, more specific than most of his fellows who used poetical prose throughout these centuries, announces at once that "Men schal fynden lihtliche þis tretys in Cadence"⁷⁵ after þe bigynninge gif hit beo riht poynted; & Rymed in sum stude; to beo more louesum to hem þat hit reden"; and in so doing he was following not only the custom of his near predecessor, Rolle⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Printed, Horstmann, II, 345 ff.

⁷⁵ This passage is perhaps important in clearing up the disputed question of the meaning of "cadence" when applied to Chaucer's works in the *House of Fame* (II, 623; see ed. by Skeat, 1894, p. 257, and Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody*, London, 1906, I, 160, n.). In our present case the word seems to mean "rhythmical prose," and it could in this sense be well applied to the *Boethius*, which altogether follows a type of style not unlike Rolle's in the *Meditations on the Passion*, or in his Latin works, or that of other rhythmical treatises of the time,—as, for example, those in Harleian MS. 674 (part of which in a modernised text have been printed in the *Cloud of Unknowing*, already mentioned, and in the *Cell of Self Knowledge*, ed. E. G. Gardner, London, 1913). The type which Chaucer's English follows in the *Boethius* will be better understood, when these and other unedited landmarks of fourteenth century poetical prose are printed in the original texts. I hope to continue this subject in connection with the prose style of Rolle. In this connection a heading may also be quoted from one of John Shirley's MSS. (Ashmole 59): "Here now foloweþe next a scripture in latyn prosed in fayre cadence" (see *Anglia*, XXX, p. 332). It should be noted that the rhythm and rhyme in the *Imitation of Christ* has been taken as a sign of À Kempis' authorship (see J. E. G. De Montmorency, *Thomas À Kempis, His Age and Book*, London, 1907, 2d edit., p. 139). It is evident that the widespread use of similar style in the Middle Ages has not been sufficiently understood. It should be noted also that a partial text of the *Imitation* exists in several manuscripts ascribed to Walter Hilton.

⁷⁶ Rolle's Latin works are full of rhythm, rhyme, assonance, alliteration, and poetical ornaments generally, as may be seen by reference to the quotation from the *Melum* (the most extreme example), already given, or to the *Incendium Amoris*, his only Latin work which has received a modern edition (ed. M. Deanesly, Manchester University Press, 1915). The same style is to be seen to a less degree in his English works (Horstmann, I, pp. 3-103, *Psalter*, ed. Bram-

(from whose influence Horstmann derives the style), but also of 'Anselm, who fills many of his devotional pieces with rhythm, assonance, and rhyme.⁷⁷ One Meditation, indeed, ascribed to him in its unique manuscript, has been printed by its editor in rhythmical lines,⁷⁸ and it even shows traces of the alliteration which was so prominent a characteristic of the poetical prose of the English mystical movement in several generations.⁷⁹

Between the time of Anselm and the flowering of the mystical movement in the fourteenth century, there were two general religious revivals in England, as elsewhere in Christendom. These were the Coming of the Cistercians and the Coming of the Friars. During Stephen's reign, the external anarchy of the country was apparently a stimulus for strengthening the religious life, and the building of churches and monasteries went on at an unequalled pace.⁸⁰ One of the first Cistercian abbots was Aelred,⁸¹ who had

⁷⁷ See for an example of rhyme, Oratio XVII: "Jesu nostra redemptio, amor et desiderium, Deus de Deo, adesto mihi famulo tuo. Te invoco, ad te clamo clamore magno in toto corde meo." Compare Rolle's Latin Psalter (ed. Cologne, 1536), Ps. LXX, 8: "Te enim cogito cum cantico suscepto in mente mea sono coelico," and many other passages.

⁷⁸ See Bourgain, *La Chaire française au XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1879, 373 ff. Since this piece occurs in a single manuscript, the ascription to St. Anselm may appear doubtful. It should be noted, however, that it is addressed to St. Mary Magdalene, a somewhat unusual subject, and that St. Anselm shows a special veneration for her in other pieces. Oratio LXXIV is addressed to her, and Hauréau notes two other prayers addressed to her which are ascribed in the manuscript to St. Anselm (VI, 187). Oratio XVI also offers her an eloquent apostrophe. It should be noted that many meditations and prayers ascribed to St. Anselm are said to be unedited (Ragey, I, 414, n. 4). The following alliterative sentence may be quoted from the Meditation printed by Bourgain: "Certe nil sapiebat Maria, nisi diligere et pro dilecto dolere" (p. 375).

⁷⁹ It may be noted that the alliterative Life of St. Margaret contains, in the addresses of St. Margaret to the Saviour, traces of the same mysticism as the poetical prose pieces, as "Loke lauerd to me mi lif, mi luue. mi leouemon. milce me. þi meiden." (*EETS.*, No. XIII, 8).

⁸⁰ See *Historical Studies* of J. R. Green, London, 1903, p. 171 ("the first of those great religious movements which England was destined afterwards to experience"); *England under the Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate, London, 1887, I, 356 f. ("The only bright pages in the story of those 'nineteen winters' are the pages in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* which tell of the progress and the work of the new religious orders").

⁸¹ See *Lives of the English Saints*, London, 1845, No. 13.

been closely connected with the court of Scotland, and the family of St. Margaret, with its tradition for devotion; and his rules for recluses and works on charity—all written in Latin⁸²—had showed, in the words of Ten Brink, “a subjective intensity related to mysticism” (I, 129). His works, like those of the far greater Cistercian, St. Bernard, were copied widely along with those of later English mystics, and his English contemporary, Gilbert of Hoi-landia, the continuator of St. Bernard’s Sermons on the Canticles, writes of him: “Prudens erat eloquii mystici, quod inter perfectos dispensabat.”⁸³ Some of the mysticism that was being lived in his day may be understood by reference to his description of a house of the newly-founded Gilbertine order,⁸⁴ the only English order founded at any period. In one,

“inter monasteria virginum quae vir venerabilis ac Deo dilectus, pater et presbyter Gillebertus per diversas Angliae provincias miro fervore construxit. . . . Christi ancillae, inter quotidiana manuum opera consuetudinemque psallendi; spiritualibus mancipantur officiis ac coelestibus intersunt theoriis, ut pleraeque quasi valedictentes mundo et omnibus quae mundi sunt, saepe in quosdam indicibiles rapiantur excessus, et angelicis videantur interesse choris” (c. 789).

Elsewhere he again describes the heights of ecstasy attained by Gilbertine sisters, and, especially, one ineffable vision of Christ (c. 370). According to a conjecture about to be made, the *Ancren Riwe*,⁸⁵ which follows the tradition that we are tracing so closely, belongs to the movement represented by St. Aelred and St. Gilbert, contemporaries and close associates, whose work, on internal evidence, approaches the famous rule of anchoresses so nearly; and the ecstatic pieces already mentioned might also by internal evidence seem to belong to the same group.⁸⁶

⁸² His works are printed by Migne (PL., CXC).

⁸³ Migne, CLXXXIV, No. XLI, c. 217. Some of the Sermons on the Canticles are addressed to men and some to women, and the editor conjectures that the house of which Gilbert was Abbot was a double one, like those of the Gilbertine order—he evidently confuses the author with Gilbert of Sempringham, v. c. 10. At the same time he calls Gilbert de Hoiandia a Cistercian.

⁸⁴ The Gilbertine order was highly characteristic of the time, as will be shown in my article on the *Ancren Riwe*.

⁸⁵ Camden Society, 1852.

⁸⁶ Einkenkel attempted to prove that the ecstatic pieces were connected with the *Ancren Riwe*, and were written by one author, who was a woman (*Anglia*,

We have no present means of knowing whether the mystical Middle-English lyrics of the earliest period, and the similar Anglo-Norman examples—especially those of the Lambeth manuscript, already mentioned—are any of them directly connected with the Coming of the Friars, the great religious stimulus of the thirteenth century. Since some occur in fourteenth century manuscripts only, it is possible that they may not go back to the thirteenth. But “it is at least curious,” says Chambers, “that the only two names to which religious lyrics attach themselves in this [thirteenth] century are both those of Minorites” (p. 288). One of these poems mentioned, the “Love Rune”⁸⁷ of Friar Thomas de Hales, is a perfect example of the type of devotion here discussed. With it may be grouped the very similar “Clean Maidenhood”⁸⁸ which, though it exists only in a late copy, would appear to be contemporary with the *Rune*. The *Plainte d'Amour* has been connected with Franciscanism, and even with Bozon.⁸⁹ Other influential poems of the thirteenth century, calculated to stimulate a mystical devotion, were addressed in Latin both to the Virgin and to the Saviour by John Houeden, chaplain of the mother of Edward I.⁹⁰ An Anglo-Norman poem, seemingly of a mystical character, is ascribed to him in one manuscript.⁹¹

Among the expressions of English mysticism in three languages, just listed, the images and phraseology of one language may be matched in another. The ardent terms of address to Christ used in St. Edmund's prayer, are reproduced, almost *verbatim*, in the *V*, 265 ff.). Vollhardt shows how unnecessary it is to assume feminine authorship, but it should be noted that the movement with which these pieces are apparently connected is specially concerned with the religious training of women. Einkenkel's work at least brings out a general relationship between the pieces, though nothing close enough to necessitate common authorship. This subject will be continued in my article on the *Ancren Riwe*.

⁸⁷ *EETS.*, No. XLIX, 93 ff. Ten Brink notes (p. 208) that Thomas de Hales is once “honorably mentioned” in the letters of Adam Marsh (in that addressed to Thomas of York).

⁸⁸ *EETS.*, No. CXVII, 464 ff. The similarity of these two poems is brought out by Wells, *Modern Language Review*, IX, 236-7.

⁸⁹ *V. infra*, p. 191.

⁹⁰ The titles and first stanzas of these poems are given in *Essays on Chaucer*, *loc. cit.* The headings are framed in mystical phraseology.

⁹¹ In a manuscript of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which is referred to *ibid.*

fourteenth century English lyrics,⁹² and the courting of the soul by Christ, the Heavenly Lover, expressed in the *Love Rune*, the *Ancren Riwele*, or the ecstatic prose poems, appears also in the Sermons on the Canticles of Gilbert of Hoilandia (some of them addressed to women), or in Anglo-Norman mystical lyrics.⁹³ The allegorical search for Love, expressed in the *Plainte d'Amour* in a form resembling the satire on the *états*, so popular at the time, is expressed as a Meditation on the Passion (a form equally popular, though so different) in the beautiful English lyric "Crist made to man a fair present."⁹⁴ It is interesting to observe that the two copies of this

⁹² Compare with the first lines of the French (*v. infra*, p. 156), the following from a lyric attached to Rolle's epistle *Ego Dormio* (Horstmann, I, 60):

"Ihesu my sauyoure, Ihesu my confortoure, of al my fayrnes flowre, my helpe & my sokoure,"

or the following from a lyric generally connected with his "school" (*ibid.*, 365):

"Ihesu, pat es my saueoure,
Pou be my Ioy and my solace,
My helpe, my hele, my confortoure,
And my socoure in ilke a place."

⁹³ Compare especially the lyric "Cuard est (cil) ke amer n'ose" . . . printed by Stengel (*Codicem Manu Scriptum Digby 86*, Halle, 1871, p. 128), and several times elsewhere. The theme appears in the lines:

"(Cil) Ke ueot amur sans pesance
Un amy luy sai (ieo) mustrer
Ki est d(e) (une) si grant pussance,
K(e) a lui ne puet riens arester;
Reys est e gentil de neyssanse,
En beaute n'ad (il) point de per
Ne en sauer (c'est) sans dutansce,
Suef est e tres duz de quer,
Ceo est Ihesu le deboneire." . . .

⁹⁴ *Reliquae Antiquae*, ed. Wright and Halliwell, London, 1841, I, 104: *La Plainte d'Amour*, ed. J. Vising, Göteborg, 1905 (a rare publication, kindly lent me by Professor Sheldon). Vising attempts to establish Bozon's authorship. The poems begin as follows:

"Amur, Amur, ou estes vous?
Certes, sire, en poi de lius, . . .
Vus feites deu a nus descendre,
Vus li priastes de char prendre,

E il vus granta.
Par vostre priere il vout soffrir

"Crist made to man a fair present,
His bloody body with love y-brent,
That blisful body his lyf hath sent,
For love of man whom sin hath
blent.
O, love! love! what hastow ment?
Me thynketh that love to wraththe
is went,

poem known⁹⁵ place it in suitable company. In one, an English epistle of Richard Rolle follows, and in the other, a verse translation into English of the *Dulcis Jesu Memoria* precedes. And the very spiritualised treatment which the mystical epistles of Rolle⁹⁶ give to the subject of external religious exercises, finds a match in an Anglo-Norman treatise.⁹⁷ The *Ancren Riwe* had followed

Peine e dolor e puis morir,	Thi loveliche hondes love hath to-
	rent,
E ceo nus sauva." . . .	And thi lithe armes wel streyte
	y-tent." . . .

Near the end comes the following (the French poem is many times the length of the English):

"Si vus me volez enbracer,	"Love, love, wher shaltow wone?
Ne vus estuet trop travailler	Thy wonynge stede is the bynome.
Pur moi quere.	For Cristes that was thyn home,
Vus me trovez ou Jhesu Crist;	He is deed, now hastow none.
La est ma chambre e mon lit	Love, love, why dostow so?
Tut hors de guere."	Love, thow brekest myn herte a-two."

M. Meyer connects the *Plainte* with Franciscanism, but it would appear that this ought not to connect it exclusively with the Franciscan order. The relationship might well be only a spiritual one. It should be noted that the English lyric presents some of the same peculiarities of metre as do the French lyrics of the *Manuel*. These display a great irregularity of rhyme. Sometimes they use a single rhyme for many lines, sometimes they rhyme in couplets. In this connection see P. Meyer, *Bribes de littérature anglo-normande, Jahrbuch für rom. u. engl. lit.*, VII, 44, where he notes that a certain metre is frequent in England, being found in the literature of all three current languages. The continuity of metres throughout the literary production of the country in all mediums would merit study.—With the English lyric quoted above may be quoted the lyric of Wullaumes de Bethune, of the last third of the thirteenth century, as follows:

"Puisque jou sui de lamoureuse loi
Que Jhesucris vaut croistre et essaucier,
Qant par amours fist de son cors envoi
Pour nous sauver, moi voel esleechier."

(Järnström, *op. cit.*, p. 159.)

The rest of the lyric describes Christ as a feudal knight.—It would appear that analogies to Anglo-Norman mysticism found in French poetry usually emanate from the North. For other examples see *Bulletin*, 1907, pp. 44 f., *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIII, 35.

⁹⁵ See Brown, *Register*. This unusually beautiful lyric was first pointed out to me by Professor Brown.

⁹⁶ Published, Horstmann, I, 3-71.

⁹⁷ The first lines of this treatise are printed by M. Meyer (*Romania*, XIII, p. 62), but we have no means of knowing how much mysticism the rest of the

the same tradition in this regard, and it was characteristic of the mystics after Rolle.⁹⁸

The summary that has been given of the mystical tradition in England has been necessarily a rough one, drawn from very incomplete materials. It is probably sufficient, however, to show that a movement towards mysticism was especially evident in England before the great mystical outburst of the later Middle Ages, general throughout Europe. It is therefore clear that before the history of the Middle-English mystical movement is written, the literature of the earlier centuries—and, along with the Latin and English productions, the Anglo-Norman also—must be examined. The mysticism to be observed in the Anglo-Norman lyrics of the *Manuel* is, in any case, very characteristic of English mysticism in general.

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text contains. The manuscript is of the middle of the fourteenth century, and it is of course possible that the treatise is no earlier. In that case it would be contemporary with Rolle, with whose admonitions against the mere "habit of holiness" it may be compared:

"Pur ceo covent ke si homme de religiun se mustre deors, ke teil ou meillur seit dedens." . . .

"I Knewe þat þi lyfe es gyen to þe seruyce of god. þan es it schame til þe, bot if þou be als gode, or better with-in þi sawle, als þou ert semand at þe syght of men" (Horstmann, p. 16).

⁹⁸ See Walter Hilton, *op. cit.*

UNA NUEVA VARIEDAD DE LA EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE DEL "QUIJOTE"

CON el objeto de conmemorar el tercer centenario de la muerte de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, la Biblioteca Pública de Nueva York, organizó en abril de 1916, bajo la dirección de Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, Conservador de manuscritos, una exposición de las obras de Cervantes. Al visitarla con el detenimiento que tal acontecimiento bibliográfico merecía, me detuve ante el ejemplar de la edición príncipe de la primera parte de *Don Quijote* (Madrid, Cuesta, Con privilegio, 1605) que allí se exponía, y al pronto noté discrepancias en la portada que la diferenciaba de la de los ejemplares hasta ahora conocidos, como, entre otros, el de Bonsoms, descrito por Rius,¹ el de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid² y el de la *Hispanic Society* de Nueva York.

Picada mi curiosidad bibliográfica, hice gestiones para poder examinar el ejemplar. Se me informó que no pertenecía a la Biblioteca, sino a un bibliófilo neoyorquino que deseaba ocultar su nombre, quien lo había prestado a aquélla para su exhibición.

Llaméle al punto la atención al Presidente de la *Hispanic Society*, Mr. Archer M. Huntington, quien algunos meses después logró adquirirlo y tuvo la amabilidad de ponerlo en mis manos por tiempo ilimitado, permitiéndome así hacer un estudio detallado y completo del rarísimo ejemplar. Gracias le sean dadas, pues, al benemérito hispanista norteamericano.

Rastreé los antecedentes del precioso libro y logré primero deshacer el incógnito de su último poseedor, cosa que me era indispensable para indagar la procedencia del ejemplar. El afortunado bibliófilo neoyorquino no era otro que Mr. Henry E. Huntington, primo del Presidente de la Sociedad Hispánica de América. Mr. Huntington lo obtuvo en la venta de la biblioteca del no menos dis-

¹ Leopoldo Rius, *Bibliografía Crítica de las Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. Madrid, t. I, 1895, ps. 1-4.

² *Catálogo de la Exposición celebrada en la Biblioteca Nacional en el tercer centenario de la publicación del Quijote*. Madrid, 1905.

tinguido bibliófilo norteamericano Elihu D. Church, fallecido en 1908, quien a su vez lo había adquirido a la muerte del poeta inglés Locker-Lampson, acaecida en Rowfant (Inglaterra) en 1895, y éste había logrado que se le adjudicara en la subasta efectuada en París, en 1892, de la biblioteca de D. Ricardo Heredia, poseedor que era, como se sabe, de la de Salvá. De modo y manera que el ejemplar de que se trata es el mismísimo de Salvá, que pasó de la biblioteca de éste a la de Heredia, después a la de Locker-Lampson, luego a la de Church y, por último, a la de Mr. H. E. Huntington. Mas en esa odisea sufrió modificaciones, como ahora se verá.

En el *Catálogo* de Salvá (1872)³ se halla la descripción del ejemplar y una copia tipográfica de la portada, que concuerda con la que se conoce como de la edición príncipe. Dice *Benalcazar*, *Burguillos* y CON PRIVILEGIO únicamente, tiene una coma después de LA MANCHA, la *M* de *Miguel* es una versal cursiva sin rasgo alguno y el penúltimo renglón es más corto que el último. Mientras que la portada actual, aunque dice *Benalcazar* y CON PRIVILEGIO, presenta la errata *Burguillos* que hasta ahora no se había visto sino en la segunda edición de Cuesta. Además hay, como en ésta, un punto después de LA MANCHA, en vez de una coma; la *M* de *Miguel* tiene rasgos arqueados, y los dos últimos renglones son aparentemente de igual longitud. En cambio, le falta, para ser la segunda, la errata *Barcelona* y el *Con priuilegio de Castilla, Aragon, y Portugal*.

Sigamos el camino ya trazado, recorrido por el ejemplar de Salvá, con el propósito de resolver el enigma. En el segundo tomo del catálogo publicado en París en 1892, con motivo de la venta en pública subasta de la biblioteca de Heredia,⁴ se lee la siguiente nota al pie de la descripción bibliográfica del libro: "Exemplaire de Salvá (num. 1543), grand de marges, et couvert depuis d'une riche reliure au chiffre de M. Ricardo Heredia, *mais avec le titre et quelques ff. très habilement refaits*." Subrayo yo. De manera que, después, es decir, al pasar a ser propiedad de Heredia, se había encuadernado lujosamente con la cifra del conde, y se había rehecho muy hábilmente la portada y algunos folios. Y, en efecto, en lo

³ Tomo II, p. 36, número 1543.

⁴ *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia. Deuxième partie.* Paris, 1892, p. 372.

tocante a la primera, en el facsímile de la misma publicado en el referido catálogo,⁵ aparece con los cambios que ofrece actualmente y que la hacen diferir de la que poseía en tiempos de Salvá.

En el apéndice del catálogo de la biblioteca de Locker-Lampson (1900),⁶ donde se describe el mismo ejemplar, se hace constar la errata *Burgillos* y la de la signatura P3 por S3, y se manifiesta lo que traduzco a continuación: "La portada, el folio ¶¶ 2 y un fragmento de 13 letras del folio 161 se han suplido en facsímile. El pasaje del rosario se halla al f. 132. . . . Este ejemplar procede de las colecciones de Salvá y Heredia, del último de los cuales lo adquirió Federico Locker en 1892. El catálogo de Salvá describe el libro como perfecto; el autor del catálogo de Heredia lo describe, años después, como imperfecto, con la portada y dos o tres hojas, según dice, sustituidas en facsímile [el original dice, como hemos visto: *la portada y algunos folios muy hábilmente rehechos*]; pero no el folio 132 que identifica la edición. El libro, según cuidadoso examen hecho por las autoridades bibliográficas del Museo Británico, se halla actualmente en perfecto estado excepto la portada, el folio ¶¶ 2, y un fragmento de trece letras en el folio 161, que se han suplido en facsímile, según antes se ha dicho."

Y, por último, del catálogo de la biblioteca de Church (1909), por George W. Cole,⁷ tomo los subsiguientes nuevos datos:

En el ejemplar de que se trata, dice, hay ahora una extensa nota suscrita por Michael Kerney y fechada a 28 de mayo de 1892 y dos notas en lápiz del poeta Locker-Lampson.

Traduzco la primera de éste y la de aquél, que son las que se relacionan con este asunto:

"Mr. Kearney,⁸ persona muy perita y bibliófilo sumamente experimentado, que ha trabajado durante muchos años con Mr. Bernard Quaritch, me envió el siguiente testimonio, a instancias de Mr. Q.[uaritch]:"

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

⁶ *An Appendix to the Rowfant Library. A Catalogue of the Printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, etc., collected . . . by the late Frederick Locker-Lampson.* London, MCM, p. 115.

⁷ *A Catalogue of books consisting of English Literature and miscellanea . . . forming a part of the Library of E. D. Church.* New York, 1909, vol. I, núm. 228, ps. 289 y 290.

⁸ El apellido Kerney se escribe también Kearney. Locker-Lampson usa esta forma; en cambio el posesor firma Kerney.

"Cervantes, Don Quixote. Madrid, Iuan de la Cuesta, 1605. Es positivamente la primera edición y está en perfecto estado excepto un fragmento del folio 161, el cual se ha reemplazado en facsímile. Se han utilizado dos ejemplares para formar éste completo. El que sirvió de base estaba sucio y manchado y el encuadernador se vió precisado a lavarlo tanto que varias hojas (las 138, 139, 143, 176, 240, 241 y las cuatro de la tabla) lucen de dudosa autenticidad; pero estoy persuadido de que todas son genuinas. Al libro, por consiguiente, no le falta nada, si se exceptúan las trece letras del folio 161, que ya hemos mencionado."

A continuación hace constar que contiene en el folio 132 el pasaje del rosario para hacer el cual "rasgó vna gran tira de las faldas de la camisa, que andauan colgando, y diole honze ñudos, el vno mas gordo que los demas," pasaje modificado en las ediciones posteriores, "excepto sólo en la de Lisboa que apareció casi inmediatamente después de la príncipe." En esto se equivoca Mr. Kerney, pues tampoco se modificó en la segunda edición de Lisboa, o sea la de Crasbeeck.

Pero Mr. Kerney no dice nada respecto de la portada ni del folio ¶¶ 2.

En la página 291 del propio catálogo se reproduce en facsímile la portada y coincide en todo con la reproducción del catálogo de Heredia.

Hasta aquí los antecedentes. Ahora describiré el ejemplar tal como lo hallé al entregármelo el Sr. Huntington en la biblioteca de la *Hispanic Society*, sin repetir, desde luego, lo que coincide con la descripción de Salvá y lo que se ha publicado en los catálogos de Heredia, Locker-Lampson y Church. Después haré un estudio comparativo completo del texto, cosa que nadie ha hecho antes de ahora, y en el cual se verá que he descubierto nada menos que 143 variantes, la mayor parte de las cuales no se halla en ninguna de las ediciones de Cuesta de la primera parte hasta ahora conocidas, lo cual me suministra una base bastante sólida para creer en el descubrimiento de una nueva variedad de la edición príncipe, si no de una nueva edición.

Antes de todo, el preciado libro se halla embutido en un primoroso estuche de piel de zapa de color rojo.

Sacado de él, lo primero que atrae la mirada es la lujosa encua-

dernación de tafilete encarnado, con encaje y cortes dorados, hecha por Chambolle-Duru. Abierto, se ven dobles guardas jaspeadas, y dos hojas en blanco al principio y otras dos al final añadidas por el encuadernador. Conserva los ex-libris de Heredia, Frederick Locker y E. D. Church; en una de las hojas en blanco se lee una copia manuscrita de la descripción del ejemplar impresa en el *Catálogo* de la Biblioteca de Salvá, y al final una nota en lápiz en inglés, en la que se hace referencia a la descripción hecha por el mismo Salvá en el *Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books* de la librería de éste, 124 Regent Street, London, 1826, del mismo ejemplar quizás. Más adelante se halla pegada una nota impresa en francés que, entre otros datos sabidos, dice lo que a continuación traduzco: "Hermoso ejemplar de Salvá (num. 1543), de grandes márgenes; encuadernado posteriormente con lujosa encuadernación con el monograma del Sr. Ricardo Heredia. Altura: 200 mm." Esa altura, hay que añadir, es de la hoja con los márgenes. La anchura de la misma es de 137 mm. Las medidas de la plana en el texto son de 168 x 98 mm. como promedio, pues algunas planas varían un tanto.

Luego, en inglés, otra nota importantísima que ha permanecido inédita hasta ahora y que traduzco a renglón seguido:

"El Sr. Graves del Museo Británico cree que este ejemplar de la primera edición de Don Quixote fué un ejemplar muy sucio que ha sido muy lavado y en ciertos lugares remendado. Está de acuerdo en que la portada ha sido fabricada según una descripción impresa y según la portada de la segunda edición. Además, rechaza como genuina la hoja ¶¶ 2, pues la filigrana difiere de todas las demás del libro. Se cree que el folio 114 es genuino, pero hábilmente remendado. La palabra *ayadaros* a la vuelta del mismo, línea 5ª empezando por abajo, se lee *ayudaros* en el ejemplar del Museo Británico. 25 de marzo de 1899."

La descripción de la portada se ha visto más arriba. Lo que nadie ha hecho constar es la filigrana de la misma, que representa una estrella dentro de un círculo, filigrana de la que sólo se ve la mitad por estar al borde del papel. Esa filigrana no se halla en el resto del libro.

Los folios 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (por errata 7), y 9 son de diferente papel que el resto del libro y de distinto tipo de letra en el enca-

bezamiento, o sea en la abreviatura *Fol.* de la primera hoja del texto, y en el número respectivo de las demás y en el título corriente: *Primera Parte de don* [a la izquierda] y *Quijote de la Mancha* [a la derecha].

Están manchados los cuarenta y seis folios que siguen: 37, 73, 80, 100, 101v., 113, 114, 115, 119, 126, 127, 129v., 146, 159, 161, 167, 183 (por error 182), 184, 185, 190, 191, 200, 201, 202, 219, 222, 223, 224, 234v., 239, del 242 al 254, 263, 274 y 299.

Los ciento veinticinco folios siguientes fueron marcados con una cruz hecha con lápiz, y después borrada; pero la marca que ha dejado es bastante para que se la distinga claramente: 100v., 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108v., 141v., 148, del 151 al 167, del 170 al 175, del 178 al 197, 199, 201, 203 a 219, 223 a 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233, 235 a 237, 239, 242, 243, 247, 250, 252, 253, 257 a 279, 282, y 286 a 288. Acaso las hojas con cruz sean las pertenecientes a uno de los dos ejemplares, que, según Mr. Kerney, se utilizaron para formar el presente, y las que carecen de ella, al otro.

Al margen del f. 77v. hay escrito en tinta que se ha lavado después, el nombre del *Dr. Martín López Rebega* (?). Al margen del 186v. se lee "este libro es de Francisco Gil quien se lo alle que se lo vuelva." Y algo se escribió al margen del f. 230, que se borró.

Por último, el asendereado f. 161 parece que tenía un agujero hacia el centro y se remendó hábilmente con un pedacito de papel en el que se suplieron las letras que faltaban por ambos lados, pero no en facsímile, como se manifiesta, sino, a mi entender, a mano, hechas con pluma. Y la persona que las hizo, o copió mal o copió de un ejemplar que presentaba discrepancias en el texto, pues encuentro tres variantes en las palabras constituidas por esas trece letras; en el anverso: *amio* por *amo*, y una coma después de *desse* de la que carece la edición príncipe, y a la vuelta: *venira* y coma en vez de *venir a* sin coma.

Hé aquí ahora las 143 variantes que he hallado. He comparado el texto de la nueva variedad en que me ocupo con el del ejemplar de la edición príncipe que posee la biblioteca de la *Hispanic Society* procedente de la del marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros. Ha de tenerse en cuenta que ambos textos coinciden en plana y renglón en todas las páginas del libro:

FOLIO	LÍNEA	NUEVA VARIEDAD	EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE
I	penúlt.	concluían	concluian
IV.	1	con	cõ
"	12	Quixana	Quexana
"	17	oluidò	oluidó
"	19	hazienda	haciēda
"	"	llegò	llegô
"	23	compu fo	cõpu- fo
"	25	parecian	pareciã
"	29	con razon	cõ razõ
"	30	tambien	tãbien
"	32	merecimiento,	merecimiento [sin coma]
2	12	aun	aũ
"	16	eauallero	cauallero
"	23	<i>Falta todo este renglón en la nueva variedad.</i>	
"	24	enfracò	enfracò
"	"	passauan	passauã
"	32	imaginacion	imaginaciõ
2v.	5	gigantes	gigãtes
"	8	ahogò	ahogô
"	9	Morgante	Morgãte
"	13	veia	veia
"	28	cobraffe	cobrafe
3	1	auian	auian
"	8	hazia	haziã
"	21	Gonelo	Gonela
"	últ.	exercicio	exexcicio
"	"	aís	aísi-
4	1	rendido	rédido
"	4	Mancha	Mãcha
"	17	Dulzinea	Dulcinea
4v.	3	Rozi- nante	Roci- nante
"	23	armiño	armino
"	24	que	q̄
5	6	valcones	balcones
"	14	bronze	bronzes
"	19	diziẽ- do	dizie do
"	21	Dulzinea	Dulcinea
"	23	rigurofo	fugurofo
"	30	aprieffa	apriefa

5v.	2	que	q̄
"	29-30	alme- nos	alme- nas
6	1	parecieron	parecierō
"	17	alguna	alguno
"	18	quanto	quãto
"	27	que	q̄
6v.	1	barbada	brida
"	9	Quixote	Quixoto
"	19	fiẽdo	fiendo
"	21	dno ormir	no dormir
"	23	don	dō
7	4	consentir	cōsentir
"	24	pregũtarō	preguntarō
"	últ.	truchelas	truchuelas
7v.	2	que	q̄
"	4	que	q̄
"	18	pacien- cia	pacie cia
"	24	con ſu mufica	con mufica
8(7)	1	Cop. III.	Cap. III.
"	3	penſamiento	pēſamiento
"	9	don	dō
"	10	ventero	vētero
"	11	femejãtes	femejates
"	12	mirandole	mirãdole
"	13	que	q̄
"	"	leuantaffe	leuantafe
"	21	tanto	tãto
"	26	incilnado	inclinado
"	27	barruntos	barrũtos
"	29	que	q̄
8(7)v.	5	mũdo	mundo
9	20	que	q̄
"	31	tan	tã
10v.	23	confiftia	cōfiftia
11	4	con	cō
"	8	alçó	alço
"	11	que	q̄
"	16	eſpeda	eſpada
"	25	quie- ra	quic- ra
"	26	tendria	tēdria
11v.	3	aprieſſa	apriſſa

11v.	7	agradecien- dole	agradeciẽ- dole
12	1	que	q̃
"	3	tan	tã
"	19	adelante	adelãte
12v.	9	quanto	quãto
13	10	co- migo	cõ- migo
"	30	dexo	dexó
13v.	21	hazia	hãzia
14	18	pela- ua	penfa- ua
"	20	apretó	apreto
14v.	12	orden	ordẽ
"	29-30	mer cer	mer ced
15	4	con- tra	cõ- tra
"	25	acudien- do	acudiẽ- do
16v.	9	aprouechan- do	aprouechã- do
"	14	arenga	arẽga
"	24	quien	quiẽ
81	29	eftraña	eftrana
88	28	tã	ta
115	9	recibi	recebi
"	21	tan	tã
"	23	barbero	cabrero
"	24	comiendo	comiẽdo
"	25	atontada	atõtada
"	26	de vn bocado a otro	de vn bocado al otro
"	27	que tragaua	q̃ tragaua
115v.	6-7	interrom- pereis	interrom- pereys
"	7	punto	pũto
"	8	contan- do	contã- do
"	15	cuento	cuẽto
"	17	mientras	miẽtras
116	5	intentos	intetos
"	6	quando	quado
"	9	con	cõ
"	25	trasladaua	trafladaua
"	últ.	pedirla	pedirfela
116v.	2	voluntad	volũtad
"	18	auveys	deueys
117	2	mísmo	meímo
"	3	hizo	hize
118	1	dezia	dezir

118	3	que	q̃
"	8	fe le acaba	fe acaba
118v.	21	miſmo	meſmo
"	26	Lucinda	Lufcinda
161	9	amio	amo
"	11	desse,	desse
161v.	12	venira,	venir a
223	penúlt.	azal	azul
241v.	1	co	cõ
252v.	1	arraſtra- fe	arraſtrar- fe
273	penúlt.	en l fuelo	en el fuelo
285(289)	últ.	dará	dara
286	3	todas	tedas
295v.	penúlt.	de	do
310v.(311)	10	menos	meros
"	penúlt.	catadura	ca adura
"	"	de	do
311	últ.	ricances	alcances
311v.	8	llegarõ	llegaro
"	16	ace- metedores	aco metedores
"	penúlt.	honoros	honor, y
"	últ.	mundos	mundo,
<i>" le falta el reclamo del pie de la página, que es el en la edición príncipe.</i>			
Sign. *3	10	engaños	enganos

Como se podrá observar, algunas de las variantes que preceden son correcciones de erratas de la edición príncipe; pero en cambio otras constituyen nuevas erratas. Considero como erratas corregidas las de los folios y líneas siguientes: f. 3 l. 8 y últ., f. 5 l. 19 y 23, f. 6v. l. 9, f. 8(7) l. 11, f. 11 l. 25, f. 81 l. 29, f. 88 l. 28, f. 116 l. 5 y l. 6, f. 286 l. 3, f. 295v. l. penúlt., f. 310v. (311v.) l. 10 y dos en la penúlt., f. 311v. l. 8 y f. sign. *3 l. 10. En total: 18.

Por el contrario, tengo por erratas nuevas las variantes de la lista que sigue: f. 2 l. 16, f. 3 l. últ. (afs), f. 5 l. 14, f. 5v. ls. 29-30, f. 6 l. 17, f. 6v. l. 21, f. 8(7) l. 1 y l. 26, f. 11 l. 16, f. 13 l. 10, f. 14 l. 18, f. 14v. ls. 29-30, f. 115 l. 23, f. 117 l. 3, f. 118 l. 1, f. 223 l. penúlt., f. 241v. l. 1, f. 252v. l. 1, f. 273 l. penúlt., f. 311 l. últ. y f. 311v. l. 16, penúlt. y últ. Que suman: 23. Hay, pues, mayor

número de nuevas erratas que de corregidas. Además, falta todo un renglón, el 23 del folio 2.

Se notará asimismo el uso frecuente de la *n* o *m* después de vocal en vez de la tilde encima de aquélla, aunque se da el caso contrario, si bien muy rara vez. La sustitución de la *c* por la *s* en *Dulzinea*, *Rozinante*, *hazienda*. El cambio de los acentos: grave por agudo o circunflejo y viceversa; el abandono de la abreviatura *q̃*, imprimiéndose *que* con todas sus letras; el empleo de dos *ff* en lugar de una, y de la *s* corta por la larga, aunque esto último una sola vez.

Finalmente, *mismo* por *mefmo* (f. 117 l. 2 y f. 118v. l. 21), *aprieffa* por *apriffa* (f. 11v. l. 3), *recibi* por *recebi* (f. 115 l. 9), *barbada* por *brida* (f. 6v. l. 1), *con su musica* por *con mufica* (f. 7v. l. 24), *de vn bocado a otro* por *de vn bocado al otro* (f. 115 l. 26), *pedirla* por *pedirfela* (f. 116 l. últ), *aueys* por *deueys* (f. 116v. l. 18) y *se le acaba* por *se acaba* (f. 118 l. 8).

Existen, pues, variantes de cuatro clases: correcciones de erratas, nuevas erratas, diferencias ortográficas y, por último, y esto es lo más importante, lecciones distintas.

Todo ello nos induce a creer que no se trata simplemente de cambios realizados durante la tirada de la edición príncipe, con el objeto de corregir las erratas a medida que se iban notando; sino de una nueva impresión, de una nueva variedad de la primera edición de Cuesta, o acaso de una nueva edición del mismo impresor. A Cortejón le bastó descubrir menor número de variantes (135)⁹ en la edición de Valencia de Mey de 1605 conocida por *AL*, para tenerla por una edición distinta y no por una variedad de la del mismo impresor, lugar y fecha, conocida por *LA*, impresas ambas a plana y renglón igualmente. De ese mismo parecer fué el Sr. Givanel¹⁰ y la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid,¹¹ a cuyo frente se hallaba entonces el insigne Menéndez y Pelayo.

Y no se crea que, porque algunas de las variantes (35) de esta nueva impresión se hallan también en la segunda edición de Cuesta, se trata de hojas procedentes de un ejemplar de esta última que se

⁹ *Primera edición crítica del Quijote*. Madrid, 1905, t. I, ps. LXXII-LXXXII.

¹⁰ Prólogo a la *Iconografía de las ediciones del Quijote* de M. Henrich. Barcelona, 1905, p. XII.

¹¹ *Catálogo de la Exposición*. . . . Madrid, 1905.

han intercalado en el antiguo de Salvá, pues las hojas de aquélla en que se encuentran esas pocas variantes no coinciden en plana y renglón con las de la príncipe, aunque en tres de ellas coincide una de sus páginas, pero no ambas, que son lo que constituye la hoja, y la única que coincide en ambas es la ocho, foliada 7, por error, en la príncipe y 8 en la segunda, lo cual impide que se confundan. En la nueva variedad lleva el número 7. Esto es concluyente. Además, hay otras muchas variantes (108) que no figuran en la segunda edición.

Ahora bien, ¿fué el ejemplar de Salvá el que presentaba esas 143 variantes o el otro de que se echó mano para reemplazar las hojas manchadas o estropeadas? Si fué el segundo, es más que probable que las restantes hojas que no se utilizaron, contendrían asimismo más variantes. ¿A dónde habrán ido a parar esas hojas?

La presente variedad de la edición príncipe de la primera parte de *Don Quijote* (ejemplar de Salvá modificado) se halla actualmente en la *Hispanic Society* de Nueva York, donde ha ido a enriquecer la valiosísima colección cervántica que posee, y en la cual he tenido la fortuna de realizar varios descubrimientos bibliográficos de que daré cuenta en un catálogo crítico-razonado que verá la luz en breve y que será el primero que se publique acerca de las ediciones de las obras de Cervantes de la biblioteca de la referida sociedad.

HOMERO SERÍS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

LA MERICA SANEMAGOGNA

I—THE *Italy* OF GIOVANNI PASCOLI

A Caprona una sera di febbraio
gente veniva, ed era già per l'erta—
veniva su da Cincinnati, Ohio. . . .

WE need quote no farther. American friends of Pascoli will recall this poem, inspired, it will be remembered, by his contact with Italian emigrants returning to the Tuscan hills, and dedicated by the poet, amongst the pages of the *Primi poemetti*,¹ to "wandering Italy." Our comments on these verses are bound by the character of our investigation to be a bit pedantic. It is only fair therefore to pay homage to the ravishing sweetness of this vision of "Molly," the tiny emigrant child, "no heavier than an acorn," who returns from 'Merica with many an American prejudice, with only a half suspicious confidence in the land of her grandparents, and on her lips a gentle dialect that fell upon the poet's ears like the twittering of birds at sunrise:

palpiti a volo limpidi e sonori,
gorgheggi a fermo teneri e soavi,
battere d'ali e battere di cuori.

It is an homage not altogether disinterested, moreover; inasmuch as we may need to invoke something of the girlish charm of "Molly," as well as something of her singer's literary authority, in order to win audience for this Italo-American speech, which American philologists have curiously disdained,² and which our compatriots of Italian origin are prone unjustly to regard as an illiterate perversion of their national linguistic tradition.

¹ Vol. II of the *Poesie*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1904, pp. 195-219.

² Though not the French: Rémy de Gourmont has some very just remarks on the English element in American Italian in his *Esthétique de la langue française*, of which my colleague, Irving Brown, of Culver Academy, has given me an abstract. It is to be hoped that Brown will some day soon write down what he knows of American immigrant life, especially as led by the Gypsies.

From such preconceptions Pascoli may not have been wholly free himself. He has left a note on *Italy* hardly less interesting for our purposes than the poem. He too considered Molly's dialect, perhaps, as a kind of "poor English," which, as we shall see, he felt at liberty to restore to dictionary forms, and which he understood at times in a manner far too "correct." Besides, in *Italy*, there are two distinct motives, epic by nature both: there is the epic of human sorrow, the source of sincere poetry; and there is the epic of Italian nationalism, the source of some rhetoric.⁸ In the logical outline of the poem the latter motive is predominant. In deference to it, Molly, who speaks "la lingua di *oh yes*," is made finally to depart with her palinodic *sl*. Pascoli, therefore, may have been intellectually in the position of the nationalists toward the language, of which, emotionally and as a poet, he was so quick to feel the artistic potentialities.

In any event, strophes v, xiii, and xx of Pascoli's *Italy*, not to mention those other passages where we have English words intentionally left undisguised, remain if not the first then among the first (and by all means the first important) literary documents of the Italo-American dialect. Ghita and Beppe di Taddeo have finished their muddy ascent to the cottage of Molly's grandparents; and—

Venne, sapendo della lor venuta
gente, e qualcosa rispondeva a tutti
Joe, grave: "*Oh, yes*, è fiero, vi saluta. . . .
Molti bisini *oh yes*. . . . No, tiene un frutt—
stendo. . . . *Oh yes*, vende checche, candi, scrima. . . .
Conta moneta! può campar coi frutti. . . .
Il baschetto non rende come prima. . . .
Yes, un salone, che ci ha tanti bordi. . . .
Yes, l'ho rivisto nel pigliar la stima. . . ."

Or return to the sentimental observation of Beppe:

"*Poor Molly*, qui non trovi il pai con fleva";

⁸ If this assertion should happen to shock some idolator of Pascoli or some Italian "propagandist," I suggest a consideration of strophes xvii and xviii, which I hope no one will be depraved enough to regard as more than rhetoric of a very platitudinous sort. While the figure of Molly remains integral in its touching pathos, the patriotic allegory is an artificial and irrelevant appendage to the emotions that make the poem "go".

or to the vigorous review of the emigrant's life in America :

"O va per via, battuto dalla pioggia—
Trova un *farm*: *You want buy?* Mostra il baschetto.
Un uomo compra tutto. Anche l'alloggia";

or to the departure once more for beyond the seas :

"Joe, bona cianza!" "Ghita, state bene!"
"Good-bye!" "L'avete presa la ticchetta?"
"Oh yes!" "Che barco?" "Il *prinzessin Irene*."

In utilizing these memories of his Tuscan emigrants and possibly long after meeting them, Pascoli had to rely to some extent on his own knowledge of English. Take, for instance, the title of the poem. We are reminded in an explanatory note: "To justify my rhymes with *Italy* (*i. e., Itali*), I appeal if necessary to the authority of Shelley, who puts *she* in rhyme with *poesy* and *die* with *purity*." The defence, in truth, is not required. Pascoli had forgotten, if indeed he had ever observed, that *Itali* is the regular Italo-American form. Here is a quatrain from an Italo-American song:

Per me io dico che il taliano
Che nasce in questa terra avesse a di
Quanno se trova con il mericano
Che la più bella terra è ll'Italy.*

Rather, indeed, an excuse was due for rhyming *Molly* with *colli* and *fellow* with *gelo*, for which he certainly heard *Moli* and *fald*, his completely anglicized *poor fellow* replacing a legitimate locution *pufald*. Unadulterated English borrowings are thus regularly treated by our immigrants: *ghinì, monì, digò, contrì*. This latter word is also unfortunately restored as *country*, along with *good-bye* for *gubaie*, the latter all the more above reproach since it is about what Americans say themselves. The bad effect, even from an æsthetic point of view, of Pascoli's English dictionary appears most strikingly in "*un farm*"; whereas *una farma* can be found in almost any advertisement of the Italo-American newspapers.

* From *Orré for Italy*, for which see below. The rhymes for which Pascoli apologizes are *lui: Italy*; and *tossì: Italy*.

Of the forms regarded by Pascoli as authentic dialect, one or two seem to be open to suspicion. *Pai con fleva* is entirely unknown to me, though in New York many kinds of pie (*paie*) are dialectically consumed. I cannot, in addition, think of an English locution to form a base for *pai con fleva*. *Candi* is more regularly *chendi* (open *e*) with an analogical singular *chendo* (piece of candy). The (prevalent) flat *a* is thus regularly adapted: "can't" = *chent*. *Candi* was taken in an English rather than American sense by Pascoli: "canditi" for a better "dolci." A *salone* with *tanti bordi* is, I suppose, defensible as a special case; though the word itself stands actually for the American *saloon* and not the Italian *trattoria*. *Dago* is derived by Pascoli from *dagger*, following the belief of most Italo-Americans; whereas the orthodox tradition recognizes a Portuguese etymon *Diego*. The exact proof of this latter etymology I have never seen. The scorn accorded my derivation of *greaser* from *gracias* has cooled my interest in such questions. Especially curious is Pascoli's note referring, I believe, to strophe VII. Part of this strophe reads as follows:

Sweet . . . sweet. . . . Ho inteso quel lor dolce grido
dalle tue labbra. . . . *Sweet*, uscendo fuori,
e sweet, sweet, sweet, nel ritornare al nido. . . .

The note reads: "*Sweet* vale dolce, ed è, per dir così, consacrato a *home*. Casa mia! casa mia!" To the mountains of Tuscany the emigrants had brought back the expression "home, sweet home," though Pascoli evidently never caught the reference to our old American song!

II—THE ITALO-AMERICAN DIALECT OF NEW YORK

We must not, however, let Pascoli's sentimentality set the keynote of our study. If we are to invoke a muse harmonious with the characteristic spirit of Italo-American "literature," it will be not the tearful lady who sniffles perpetually at Pascoli's elbow, but the joyous companion of Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli, who yields to Tuscany the palm of Italo-American poetry, only to claim for Rome priority in the field of Anglo-Italian etymology, cultivated by him, as is his wont, with more respect for vivacity than for science:

L'AGGRATIS E ER PICCHINICCHE

Nepà, mmunzù : la vera nun è cquesta—
 Ve lo diremo noi come se spiega :
 Sto *picchinicche* è una parola grega,
 Che vò ddi *ppagà ir pranzo a un tant' a ttesta*.

Io voi nun me guardate cqui a bbottega
 Si sto ssempre a ssegà, mmeno la festa ;
 Pe' via ch'io tratto tutta ggente onesta,
 Che ss'intenne de tutto e sse ne frega.

Pò ssapello ch'edè sto *picchinicche*
 Un coco amico mio, che ssempr' è stato
 A intrujjà ccazzarole in case ricche?

Bbe' . . . ddunque . . . *aggratis* siggnifica a *uffaggna*,
 E *picchinicche* ve l'hò ggìa spiegato :
Picchinicche vò ddi : *ppaga chi mmaggna*.⁵

More than one sonnet of Belli's, however, would be necessary to enlighten his countrymen as to the peculiarities in the speech of their American brothers. Some of their commoner borrowings from English are known to almost everyone: *bosso*, "boss"; *picco*, "pick"; *sciabola*, "shovel"; *giobba*, "job"; *tracca*, "track (*binari*)"; *grussaria*, *grosseria*, "grocery"; *marchetto*, "market"; *costume*, "customer"; *bòcchese*, "box" (at theater); *bordo*, "boarder"; *gliarda*, "yard." What status are we to accord this dialect?

Perhaps I may venture to hope that after my citation from Pascoli no captious critic will dare call in question the artistic interest of Italo-American forms, nor fail to see their suggestiveness in a number of sociological and philological connections. Should the inclination to do so still linger in anyone, we must further observe, with Rémy de Gourmont, that this language, far from being a "deturpation" either of English or Italian, is an æsthetic as well as a practical necessity, following the laws of word-borrowing and adaptation that we note in the history of all the major literary languages; save that here these laws are in the active state, revealing impulses in numberless directions, only a few of which will have permanent reactions on the Italian language itself, with a few more,

⁵ *I sonetti romaneschi*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1906, vol. V, p. 332. Belli regards *picnic*, perhaps rightly, as of French origin.

perhaps, surviving in America as long as social conditions permit the existence of a distinctly foreign Italian element in the famous American "melting-pot." We here catch the linguistic forces in a state of ebullition, before quiescence and crystallization have overtaken them. Nor are they the forces of ignorance, linguistic laziness or caprice, but of the creative imagination dealing creatively with acute situations arising in practical life.

Italian, to be sure, furnishes the immigrant with more or less approximately equivalent words with which to describe the manifold aspects of characteristically American life. Listening to the intellectuals of the New York Italian colony, one has the choice of numerous maladroit attempts to deal orally with "The Third Avenue L," the "Subway," the "Fort George Ferry," "147th Street." Let the most accomplished Cruscan try his hand at any one of these: his achievement will be not only difficult but inexact. I agree with the Italian laborer that if the purist has to wait for the "sotterraneo" to take him "nella bassa città," he ought to be forced like Bunyan's pilgrim to walk with a copy of Rigutini-Fanfani fastened on his back; while the nationalistic propagandist of the *Carroccio* who says "il Subway" ought to have the tricolor torn from his buttonhole. The real Italian patriots in New York take the *tonno* ("tunnel," hence "tube") to *Gerseri* (Jersey City); and passing through *Obochino* (Hoboken), return by way of the *Ferri Fogiorge* to *Coppetane* (uptown), thence by the *Sobbore* or the *Sobbuele* to *Morbeda Stritto* (Mulberry Street) in the *Tantane* (down-town). The named streets of the down-town district regularly appear as *stritto* or *stritta*; while the numbered streets farther uptown take the legitimate though ungrammatical form, *e. g.*, of *Quarantadue Strade* (quarantaduesima strada un corno!), except perhaps 14th Street (*Strada Fotin*). Here the concepts and the facts are purely American; Italo-American, therefore, are the designations, and no "translation" can accurately replace them.

This state of affairs has long been practically recognized by the Italo-American press. On the advertising page of the *Bollettino della sera* (New York, February 7, 1917) the following *fortunate opportunità* (occasioni) and *posizioni stabili* (posti) are offered to the Italian immigrant: positions as *giobbista* (jobber), *pressatori* (pressers), workers on *cotti da uomo* (men's coats), *operatori*

(operators) of *macchine* (machines); tailors for *cotti da costume* (custom-coats); *scèperi* (shapers of garments); *carpentieri* (carpenters); *sottopressatori* (presser's helpers). Finally there is a request for a *mezzo-giovane macellaio*. New York knows also the *mezzo-barbiere*, the *mezzo-sciainatore*, the *mezzo-barrista*, and so on; *mezzo* being the term for the half-day man, usually for a Saturday afternoon or a holiday. Among the bargains appear several *farme*, one *con casa e barna* and only so many minutes from the *carro elettrico*. A *storo* is for sale with furnishings, including a *stufa con range* ("stove," but not the Italian *stufa*). A lady asks for *bordanti* (cf. *bordare*, *abbordare*, whence *bordo*, *abbordato*, board, boarders). The *buscellatore* and *buscellatrici* are tailor's "trimmers," a term, I have been told, of Yiddish origin. This collection is taken from two columns of a single issue of a typical Italo-American journal. Originally the policy of this paper was to "translate," in correct form, the Italian "copy." The practice had to be abandoned, because poorer results were obtained from advertisements restored to the literary tongue.

Thus we find gradually taking form a safe and certain method for distinguishing, in a confusion of floating, fluctuating phenomena, the authentic from the spurious elements in our dialect. There is no reason why an Italian should say *mi no spicco inglese*—a phrase indicative of a sleepy mind or a pathetic courtesy. But though a word like *ciappa*, "chop" (pl. *ciappe*), has a legitimate and exact Italian equivalent, *costoletta*, the utility of such a form as *ciappa* in a hybrid environment is obvious: it is authentic. The tests will be (1) frequency and extensiveness of use; (2) regularity of transformation in accordance with Italian phonetic laws; (3) æsthetic "reality" and necessity owing to the inexactness of possible translations, or to total lack of corresponding Italian words or expressions.

Take, e. g., *pondo*, "pound"; *penta*, "pint"; *quarto*, "quart." What better words could an immigrant with serious business in life and endowed with anything short of the agility of a counting-machine invent, in order to adapt himself to the unusual system of weights and measures he finds in vogue in this country? Whereas these words are accurate in meaning, Italian in form, useful in practice. The fruit vender learns after one brush with the *coppo*

("cop") in his neighborhood that a *licenza* is necessary for his *fruttistenne*, just as the *carta cittadina* is requisite for citizenship. *La livetta* ("elevated") is his delicious solution of the linguistic problem of locomotion on *Second' Avvenuta* or *Terz' Avvenuta*; and the word serves as well, along with other forms (*l'elevete*, *l'alveto*), for "elevator" (*ascensore*) in general. He rushes the *grollo* ("growler") or the *canno* ("can") to the nearby *salone* ("saloon"), so different from his Italian *trattoria* or *bettola*, since it has its *barra*, with its *barrista* or *barritenne*, and dispenses principally *visco* (whiskey). I possess a transcription of a delightfully spontaneous expression of Italo-American psychology in the extemporaneous octaves of a Sardinian laborer working on the "Valhalla Dam"—a long poem declaimed to Miss Ruth Underhill, of the Settlement, in repayment for a night's lodging. It is entitled: *Le mie notizie*. Its author is Primio Bulleri. It tells of unhappy American experiences—long beatings of the *relle* on the *tracca-ferrovia*, work on the *stim-sciabola* in a mud-filled *indiccio* (ditch), under an ugly *bosso*, who finally *lo mandò a godaella!* There is no parallel in the Italian social system to the American *riccemanne*, whom the peasant of the South longs to serve as resident gardener or completely to supplant as the wheel of fortune turns in this enchanted new world of wealth. Only imagine *toppo* ("top") occasionally replacing Italian *panna*, or the Italian Gallicism *crema*—a curious reflection of a city life nursed on bottled milk by Borden and the Sheffield Farms!

Athwart the dialect there thus arises to the mind's eye all the new social life and custom which the immigrant meets with in New York. There is the fresh arrival from Italy, the *grignollo* ("greenhorn"); there is the Americanized Italian, who has freed himself from the practices, the language, especially the patriarchal obligations of *lo cuntrì* (the "old country")—the *sechenenze* (second-hand), *i. e.*, anybody (or indeed anything) cheap, worthless, good-for-nothing: *Che maniera sechenenze di trattar la gente!* Every boy has his *ghella* ("girl") and every girl her *fald*, in the freer comradeships between the sexes unknown to Italian manners; *amante* would never do. On arriving in New York the homeless immigrant seeks *bordo* with some *bossa* or *auschieppe* ("housekeeper") who keeps a boarding house. If he is unfortunate, he

is roped in by some *ghenga* ("gang") of *loffari* ("loafers"); or if progressive and respectable he has his political *globbo* ("club") of patriotic citizens. Our colleagues of the West and South have probably forgotten that beer can still be had in New York in glasses of two sizes: one small for five, one large for ten: this latter, on election nights, can sometimes be found for nothing. By the Italians in any event it is called a *temeniollo*! ("Tammany Hall"). An Italian cemetery of *Broccolino* is at Flatbush: *andare a flabussce* is the Italian *andare a patrasso*, "to die," with many derived senses, such as "to fail in business," "to be done for." *Flabussce!* "Good night!" "It's all over!" While Italians resent the epithets *dago* (*digò*) and *wop* (from *guapo*), they have become reconciled to *ghini* and have taken it over (*una ghinina fresca e purposa*), especially in good-humored abuse: *grannissimo ghini* ("fool").

Neapolitan influence is strong, naturally, in the adaptations of the New York colony. *Coppetane* ('*ncuop* + *towm*) has a curious parallel in *coppeteso* ('*ncuop* + *stairs*), "upstairs." The most disconcerting change in such Neapolitan forms is that from *d* and *t* into *r*. Here is a specimen from the carpenter trade: base-boards, the strip of wood between sheathing (or wall) and floor, are called by American carpenters in New York "bottomings"; Italian workmen treat the word thus: *barami* (showing regular treatment of English *t* and *o*), then *barmi*. City becomes *siri* (cf. *Gerseri*), *suri* and *zuri*. *Siriollo* is "City-hall": *Iammoccene alla suri a 'nsurà*, "Let's go to the City-hall and get married,"⁶ A similar treatment of the dental *l* and *d* appears in the phrases *orraite* ("all right") and *aironò* ("I don't know"), used even by Italians who know no English. Neapolitan developments of *nd* into *m* we have already seen: *fruttistenne*, *barritenne*, etc. *Bimbo*, "beam" (carpenter's trade), a word which I owe to the *Carroccio's* desire to suppress it, is a curious "forme à rebours," as Nyrop would say (*mb* > *m*, therefore erroneously *m* > *mb*).

In *opportunità* and *posizione* we have already noted instances of English thought-color. Others are *multi pipoli* for *molta gente*,

⁶ The "City-government," considered as an employer, is the *Corpulasion*: *lavorare per la corpulazion*.

frequent but illiterate; and *guardare*, "to appear," "to look": *Non guardate troppo bene oggi*, "You don't look very well to-day."

Interpretative combinations are evident in two cases that I know: *canabuldogga*, "bull-dog," and *pizza-paia*. I long supposed we were here dealing with "piece-of-pie" pure and simple, I believe it was Professor Ettari, of the City College of New York, who pointed out to me that *pizzapaia* is really *pizza* + *pie*. It is that infamous *tedescheria* called "cheese-cake," a degradation of the American custard-pie.

For Americanisms that have crossed to Italy I may cite *schidù* (*far schidù*), "skiddoo!" and *bomma* ("bum," "meretrice"), which have become Neapolitan ejaculations. *Briccoliere* ("brick-layer") circulates in Sicily. *Baccan* (cesso) has been heard in Tuscany.

Unexplained forms are *grasso*, "gas" (*pipe del grasso*), and *barranda*. This latter is the community amusement house, usually of uniform octagonal shape, of the Pennsylvania mining camps: *barra* + *anda* ("veranda?").

An English borrowing from the Italians is apparently *policy* in the *policy-game* or *lotto*: from Italian *pòlizza*, the ticket used in the speculation. The first example given by the Oxford dictionary dates from the 1890's.

III—THE *Macchietta Coloniale*: FERRAZZANO AND FARFARIELLO

We must now, with special insistence, invite the spirit of Belli to attend us as we descend into the hotter regions of the American "melting-pot," in order to traverse the battle-grounds of industrial democracy as they appeared four years ago in the Paterson strike. But we shall linger in those turmoils only long enough to recall that they produced in the Madison Square pageant of 1913 one of the most impressive spectacles of spontaneous popular art that America has witnessed; and above all that from them, as from Lawrence, came the constitution of one of the most promising of young American artistic personalities, revealed to us then in *Arrows in the Gale*, and now more recently in *War*.

It is not however of Arturo Giovanitti that we are here going to speak; but rather of one of his younger and less gifted comrades,

whose songs twenty thousand workers walked daily across the fields to sing at Haledon, under burning suns and drizzling rains, and in the face of danger and death. Unimportant things, to be sure, these Italian songs of Carlo Ferrazzano—aspirations to a freedom undefined, incitements to endurance, appeals for solidarity. Of them the best perhaps that can be said is that they excel anything up to that time produced by the American Association of Manufacturers. The Paterson strike failed, failed miserably and tragically; and by the irony of circumstance, precisely at the Madison Square pageant the first breaches in the solidarity of the workers occurred.

Two years later I found Ferrazzano at the Caffè Roma. He had entered on more peaceful paths of existence: lessons on the mandolin; more lessons in Italian; a *muffo-piccio* ("moving picture") in *Nevarke*, another in *Gersemi*; poems for Antonio Grauso at ten *pezze* the page—with an occasional practical joke on the good-natured "'Mpà 'Ntuò" (compare Antonio); and finally he was writing *macchiette coloniali* for the 'Talia theatre.

The *macchietta coloniale* is not, however, the creation of Ferrazzano. It belongs rather to Edoardo Migliacci (Farfariello), who was originally one of the most gifted *macchiettisti* of Naples, and, emigrating to America, became unquestionably the most popular resident actor in contemporary Italo-American vaudeville. The *macchietta* is, we may say, if not exclusively at least characteristically, a Neapolitan type: Neapolitan in language, in allusion, in social background. It is a character-sketch—etymologically a character—"daub"—most often constructed on rigorous canons of "ingenuity": there must be a literal meaning, accompanied by a double sense, which, in the nature of the tradition, inclines to be pornographic. However, the audiences Farfariello was compelled to deal with in New York were not Neapolitan entirely. His allusions to Naples fell on deaf ears when addressed to Sicilians, Romans, Sardinians, North Italians, who all enter into the composition of the hybrid New York colony. The *macchietta coloniale* was the recognition of this cosmopolitan environment. Farfariello transformed his Neapolitan materials to reflect the emotions, the predicaments, the hopes and the characteristics of Italian colony

life in the United States. And he came to use as well the language of the Italo-American.

Farfariello is the author of some five hundred *macchiette coloniali*: he is compelled as a matter of business to produce at least one new one every week. Of these only a few—and largely because they were failures on the stage—have appeared on the “flying sheets” of Antonio Grauso. Ferrazzano has become the collaborator of Farfariello, and he is not so timid of publicity in the colony. I have found some fifty or sixty of his “things,” drawn from life, all of them, with an occasional flash of feeling, never, however, long sustained, as is natural with authors of Ferrazzano’s culture, and as befits the purposes for which his work is written. They are verses, primarily, of word-play, a defect inherent in the traditional concept of the *macchietta*; but with a jolly spirit of fun that comports with Ferrazzano’s whole view of life. As his career suggests, Ferrazzano, along with Grauso, would make an excellent subject for a *macchietta*.

The motives of these verses range between antipathy to the new conditions the immigrant meets in America and a sort of education of the Italian in adaptation to these new conditions. There is naturally more “punch” in the animosities than in the sympathies. We have taken the title of this article in fact from *Lu Cafone intelligente*:

Chi dice ca l’America è civile
nun tene lu cerviello sestimato:⁷
questa è la terra de lu tradimento;
questa è la terra de lu scustumato.
Addò vedite a li paise nuoste
ca na figliola quannu fa l’ammore
vene lu nnamurate a qualunque ore
s’a piglia e se la porta a divertì?
E quannu se retira
si parla sulamente
o pate o a mamma, siente:
No laiche? Mi go ve!
Chi nasce qua, nasce senza vergogna:
Questa è la terra cchiù sanemagogna!⁷

⁷ *sestimato*: “sistemato”; *sanemagogna*: son-of-a-gun.

And Ferrazzano goes on to blame the lawlessness of America, and the bad habits of the Italians of the second generation. In *La scienza americana*, he maintains that without Italian labor, American grandeur would be nothing:

Parlate cu sti ciucci americani
E po vedite come fanno 'e sbloff⁸!
Ve dicenò ca nuie 'taliani
siamo animali e siamo molto roffi. . . .
Ma quale scienza teneno sti tali?
Ch'hanno scuperto, neh? ch'hanno inventato?

Lu cafone patriota deals with the *sechenenze*, the man who is ashamed of being an Italian and of talking Italian, and who habitually makes unfavorable comparisons of Italy with America. Through all this affirmation of Italianity there runs the epic of Columbus, of which the greatest expression has been in the work of Pascarella. A rival of Ferrazzano, Vincenzo de Falco, observes in his *Lu cafone cittadino americano*:

Ma si aspettava c'a scupreva n'ato,
Mo stessero li puorce mmiezo qua!

And Ferrazzano in *'O cafone che rragiona*:

Quante vote a Culumbo jastemmammo
che scoperchiò sta terra 'e libertà!
La libertà, se ntenne,
ca i' no vengo li frutte!
vene lu pulizzimmo⁹
e se li piglia tutte!
Si parle si' arrestato,
po vaie nnanz'a la leggìa
e . . . zitto. . . . Ca pe niente
ti mannano a la seggia!

The jolliest compendium of all these motives is to be found in Ferrazzano's *Orré for Italy: scuperchiatevi li cape!*, of which we must quote the prose narrative of a patriotic night:

⁸ sbloff, 'bluffs'; roffi: 'roughs' = 'toughs.'

⁹ vengo: vedo; pulizzimmo: policeman; seggia: electric-chair.

Na sera dentro na barra¹⁰ americana, dove il patrone era americano, lo visco era americano, la birra era americana, ce steva na ghenga de loffari tutti americani: solo io non ero americano; quanno a tutto nu mumento me mettono mmezzo e me dicettono: *Ald spaghetti! iu mericano men?* No! no! *mi Italy men! Iu blacco enze?* No, no! *Iu laico chistu contri?* No, no! *Mi laico mio contry! Mi laico Italy!* A questo punto me chiavaieno lo primo fait! "Dice: *Orré for America!*" Io tuosto: *Orré for Italy!* Un ato fait. "Dice: *Orré for America!*"—*Orré for Italy.* N'ato fait e n'ato fait, fino a che me facetteno addurmentare; ma però, *orré for America* nun o dicette!

Quanno me scietaie, me trovaie ncoppa lu marciapiedi cu nu pulizio vicino che diceva: *Ghiroppe bomma!* Io ancora stunato alluccaie: *America nun gudde! orré for Italy!* Sapete il pulizio che facette? Mi arrestò!

Quanno fu la mattina, lu giorge mi dicette: *Wazzo maro laste naite?* Io risponette: *No tocche nglese!* "No? *Tenne dollari!*" E quello porco dello giorge nun scherzava, perchè le diece pezze se le pigliaie! . . .

The difficulties of the Italian in his new environment form a frequent and characteristic theme. In *Pascale se ne va*:

Io so passato qua nu sacco 'e trobale
e m'arritruovo sulo e disperato;
tutte le sorde che m'haio purtato
l'haio fernute, e nun tengo cchiù!
So faticato pure cu la sciabola
Sotto nu bosso il più ssanemagogna
C'a dirla a buie è una gran vergogna
quel porco che buleva far cu me!

Nicola in *'E guaie 'e Nicola 'America* painfully learned to give his seat to the ladies in the street cars:

Stevo int'o carro elettrico
leggenno lu giornale,
nu piezzo d'animale
vene vicino a me:

¹⁰ barra, 'bar;' visco, 'whiskey;' blacco enze, 'black-hand;' fait, 'fight,' 'punch;' chiavar nu fait, 'give a punch;' nato fait, 'another punch;' scietaie, 'woke up;' ghiroppe bomma, 'Get up, you bum!;' alluccaie, 'shouted;' giorge, 'judge;' wazzo maro, 'what's the matter.' Pezze: Neapolitan for "dollars." Purely English phrases are in italics.

*"Ghioppa, mecche uomene
sedan, iu bigghe wappe! . . ."*

In another we find a complaint about the diversity of our local governments: the immigrant in changing towns has to learn everything over again—Sunday laws, liquor laws, license laws, and so on.

The *galant* motives of vaudeville are, of course, a commonplace—praises generally of the *ghelle taliane* as superior to those of all other nationalities. An exception or two, however, may be found. From *'E femmene scenì*:

I' aggiu girata 'America—
ve pozzo garentì
che non truvate femmene
cchiù bbone d'e scenì. . . .

The "mericana è splendita," the "taliana è orraite," the "germanese è nzipita"; the "franceselle te fanno 'e pezze spennere," etc., etc. In a satire on the dandy (*Io songo lu cchiù bello*) a squabble is described between "na Ndoccia (German, 'Dutch'), na Pulacca e na Scenì." Another criticizing American husbands also dis-counsels American wives:

P'a ghella americana è diferente,
pecchè 'ne cagna uno ogne mumente;
se sa, p'a faccia loro, o tradimente
nun è nu scuorno, è nu divertimente.

A subject of unfailing interest, it would seem, to the "colonists," is that of citizenship, with the advantages and disadvantages of joining the political clubs. It is curious that socialism is usually of the color of *lo cuntri*—anti-clerical and republican.

So' socialista, nun so' cchiù cafone:
il prevate nun fa cchiù scemo a me.
Voglio cercà la giobba a lu patrone
cu la cravatta rossa e stu gilè. . . .
'I mo nun saccio leggere e so buono
cuntarve tutta 'a vita 'e quello lì—
comme se chiamma—già—Cirdano Bruno
dal giorno che nascì fin che morì.

Lu cafone sucialista.

The purposes of a *globbo* are thus described:

Non è come li clobe americane
che sono fatte pe divertimento:
il nostro è pe mparà li paesane
di farli abituare in suggettà.
Qualunque membro della nostra ghenga
si debbe fare un uomo onorato;
e v'assicuro che da oggi in poi
nisciuno cchiù addà essere arrubato!
Quest'è la prima cosa
che io te lo dico a tutte:
Fratelle n'arrobate;
Li carcere so brutte!
A Singhe-singhe bello dello zio
lo trobolo che se passa lo sacc'io.

Lu presidente dello globbo.

La cittadinanza, offering aid to the *suffragette* in a variety of ways,
thus outlines the advantages of citizenship:

La carta serve a tante e tante cose:
Puo' ave' na giobba in corte, o fa' o polisse;
E poi ci sono specie 'e besinisse
ca senza 'a carta non se ponno fa'. . . .
La barra è quell'affare
che frutta assaie denaro;
e vuie c'a carta mmano
facite chillo affaro.

And in *A carta cittadina*:

Tengo a dumanda pe' fa' l'ispettore
O de le gliarde¹¹ e de li scupature,
o pure pe' scupri' li condutture
ca ncopp'e tramme arrobano moni.
Tengo nu forte pullo,
na specie e Roselvetto:
fra poco pur a sinnaco

¹¹ gliarde, 'yards;' scupature, 'sweepers;' pullo, 'pull;' frescia, 'fresh;' luvà, 'take.' It is understood that in all these citations I pay no attention to double senses.

m'hann'a sagli' p'etto.
 Però mia moglie è frescia:
 M'hadda fa' scumparì,
 Ca se presenta sempe
 Appriesso addo' vac' i'.

Later on:

Però mia moglie a ditto:
 Nun ghì a sta parata:
 iette lu sango a vennere,
 li chende e a limmunata.
 Se tu non saie leggere,
 grannissimo ghini,
 dimme nu poco, spiegame:
 Tu addo' vuo' sagli'?
 La mia signora tiene il fruttistendo
 e venne chendi frutte e limmunata,
 e si a dumanda mia viene accettata
 da miez' o stritto la voglio luvà. . . .

These ideas are expressed of course through some character of colony life: there are *O guardapurtone a New York* and *Lu bosso de lo muffo-piccio* among professional types, for instance; *Lu cafone nervoso*, *Lu cafone ngannato*; *Lu cafone sciampagnone*; *Crési ghella*, etc., among social types. *O conduttore'e l'eleve* begins as follows:

Nel treno che si allonga sulla traccia¹²
 di coppesteso faccio il conduttore;
 il mio cognato Gecco, il faietatore,
 mi fece prender questa giobba qua.¹³

The classic success of the *macchietta coloniale* is doubtless *A lingua 'ngrese* of Farfariello, a surprisingly ingenious compilation of all the strange words and meanings the Italian hears in the English language: this poem is unpublished. I can cite only a few combinations from memory: *donne* are in English *uomene*; *ragazzo* is *boia* ("boy-executioner"); *chiesa* is *ciuccio* ("church," "donkey"); the *strada larga* is *stritta* ("narrow"); *O viso o chiamano fessa*; *o carbone o chiamamo culo*, etc., etc. Of all the poems of Fer-

¹² traccia, 'track'; coppesteso, 'upstairs'; Gecco, 'Jack'; faietatore, 'prize-fighter.'

razzano, I prefer *O cafone ricco* which must be a fairly complete expression of the Italian laborer's American ideals: he starts in the ditches, and becomes a *foremme* ("foreman"); he saves his money and becomes a property holder; he rears a large family and educates the children; he goes back to Italy and becomes mayor of the commune he left so long before. We wish such good fortune to as many as possible of all the thousands of Italian immigrants that have laughed at the *macchiette coloniali* of Farfariello and Ferrazzano, who have given the first extensive artistic expression to the Italo-American's speech.¹³

IV—THE *Carmina* AND *Canzoni* OF MR. DALY

Only one word, in conclusion, apropos of the Italian dialect poems of Mr. T. A. Daly;¹⁴ or, rather, two words, one of admiration (in which thousands of American readers would be eager to join), and one of caution against some erroneous impressions commonly derived from these same poems.

Giuseppe, da barber, he gotta da cash,
He gotta da clo'es an' da bigga moustache,
He gotta da seelly young girls for da mash,
But notta—
You bat my life, notta
Carlotta.
I gotta.

Everyone surely has read *Mia Carlotta* of the *Carmina*, even if not

¹³ Here is a list of my collection of *macchiette coloniali* that contain Italo-American elements. They are published by Antonio Grauso, 192 Grand Street, New York: (1) *Guerra Internazionale: Pascale vo' Sparà*; (2) *Lu Bosso de lo Muffo Piccio*; (3) *Lu cafone nervoso*; (4) *Lu cafone sciampagnone*; (5) *La cittadinanza*; (6) *Maritem 'è nglese*; (7) *Lu cafone che ragiona*; (8) *'O conduttore 'e ll'eleve*; (9) *'O guarda purtone a New York*; (10) *Lu cafone cantante*; (11) *'E ffemmene sceni*; (12) *Orrè for Italy*; (13) *Lu figlio de lu cafone che ragiona*; (14) *Lu cafone ngannato*; (15) *'O dentista a Nuova Iorca*; (16) *Lu cafone cittadino americano*; (17) *A carta cittadina*; (18) *Lu presidente dello cloba F. F.*; (19) *Gli stornelli del soldato*; (20) *Lu cafone suczialista*; (21) *Lu cafone patriota*; (22) *Geni!*; (23) *In Cicaco i' e in Cicaco tu!*; (24) *'E ccafuncelle 'America*; (25) *Stornelli toscani*; (26) *'E guaie 'e Nicola 'America*; (27) *Pascale se ne va*; (28) *'O cafone che rragiona*; (29) *La scienza americana*; (30) *Lu cafone intelligente*; (31) *Io songo lu cchiù bello*; (32) *'O surdato voluntario*.

¹⁴ *Carmina*, New York, Lane, 1914.

everyone has experienced the delight of hearing Mr. Daly's own readings of his work. Such poems as *The Lonely Honeymoon*, *The Busy Wife*, *All's Well that Ends Well* rank among the masterpieces of American cleverness in verse;—wit tempered with a touch of tenderness and pathos, and objectifying if not a real emigrant personality at least an interestingly American concept of the immigrant personality. Indeed, this is just the point to be borne in mind if we are to concede any value to Mr. Daly's work as a reflection of immigrant character. Some traits of Italian psychology, to be sure, have penetrated the *Carmina* and *Canzoni*, but not so many as some social workers think. I consider the psychology of *Two Mericana Men*, or *Da Sweeta Soil*, for instance, as an American idealization of the immigrant—charming, in truth, and good as melting-pot propaganda—but not as a “reflection of life.” To begin with, the Italian does not consider himself a “Dago-man,” and he is not imbued with those pious aspirations to middle-class respectability which inform many of Mr. Daly's poems. Such a pose is doubtless to be met with in Italian colonies; but it is always a pose, covering a deal of self-respect and a national pride not at all to be confused with middle-class nationalistic theories. For middle-class patriotism the majority of Italian laborers have scant regard. In Italians of the second generation all these American traits are prominent enough.

And the language, again, is not Italian at all, one may say; it is rather a genial and clever “baby-talk” which Mr. Daly has invented for the purposes of an original and clean-cut artistic visualization wholly personal in character. The protagonist of the *Carmina* is, it will be remembered, a Neapolitan. Our preceding discussion will furnish sufficient data to establish this criticism without detailed exposition here of Mr. Daly's “phonology and morphology”; just as the excerpts from the *macchiette coloniali* will furnish a basis for estimating dominant immigrant ideals. But here, again, as in the case of Pascoli, we are afraid of intruding on a sacred field. Mr. Daly is an artist. And as all philologists will admit, art has nothing to do with scientific technicalities.¹⁵

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¹⁵ For interesting word lists see *Carroccio* (New York), 1917, pp. 178 and 454; and for comment *Corriere Italo-Americano* (New York), Aug., 1917.

IV—WORD LIST

Abbordare, to board
abbordato, boarder
airesce, Irish (contemptuous)
airond, I don't know
alveto, Elevated railroad
auschieppe, housekeeper
avvenuta, avenue

Baccau, backhouse
barmi, bottomings
barna, barn
barra, bar
barratenne, bar-tender
barranda, amusement-house
barrista, bar-tender
baschetto, basket
beccia, bitch (complimentary)
besenisso, business
bigù, be good, good-bye
bimbo, beam
bisini, business
bisinissi, business
bistecca, beef-steak (Ital.)
blaccoenze, Blackhand
blocco, block
bloffo, bluff
bòcchese, box
bomma, prostitute
bommo, bum
bancio, bunch of bananas
bordare, etc., board
bossa, housekeeper, boss
bosso, boss
briccoliere, brick-layer
Broccolino, Brooklyn
bucco-taimo, time-book
buscellatore, trimmer, ?

Canno, can
carpentieri, carpenter
carro, car
carta cittadina, naturalization papers
cianza, chance, luck, job
checche, cakes
chendo, candy
ciappa, chop
cocco, cook

conduttore, conductor
contri, country
coppetane, Uptown
coppesteso, upstairs
coppo, cop
corpulasion, city-government
costume, customer
cottatori, cutters
cotto, coat
Cunailande, Coney Island

Digò, dago
dezzò, that's all (basta)

Faietatore, prize-fighter
faite, punch (pugno)
 (*chiavar nu faite*, give a punch)
fald, fellow
farma, farm
fattoria, factory
ferri, ferry
Flabussce, Flatbush; *andar a f.*: die
flabussce, (exclamation)
Fogiorge, Fort George
foremme, foreman
frencofutte, frankfurter
frescio, fresh (contempt)
fruttistenne, fruitstand

Garitta, garret
Gecco, Jack
Gerseri, Jersey City
ghella, girl
ghemma, game

ghenga, gang
ghini, guinea
ghinino, guinea
giobba, job
giobbista, jobber
giuro, Jew
gliarda, yard
globbo, club
godaella, *mandare a*, discharge
grasso, gas
grignollo, green-horn
grollo, growler

grussaria, etc., grocery
guardare, to look (appearance)

Indiccio, ditch
ingaggiare, engage
indoccia, German ('Dutch')

Limone, lemon (slang)
livetta, elevated, elevator
lo contri, the old country
loffaro, loafer
loffarone, loafer
lotto, building-lot
luppettellà, loop-the-loop

Marchetta (—o), market
mascina, machine
Massasciutto, Massachusetts
mezzo-, half-day laborer
moni, money
Morbeda, Mulberry
muffo-piccio, moving-pictures

Naffia, knife
Nordobecce, North Beach

Obochino, Hoboken
olla, hall
operatore, operator
orraite, all right!
opportunità, opportunity

Parata, parade (Ital.)
penni, penny
penta, pint
picco, pick
picconicco, picnic
pipoli, people, gente
pizza-paia, cheese-cake
polasciare, polish
pondo, pound
posizione, position (*giobba*)
pressatore, presser
pulizio, police (polisse)
puliziamme, policeman
pullo, pull (political)

Quarto, quart

Rella, rail
riccemanne, richman
rivolvaro, revolver
roffo, rough

Salone, saloon
sanemagogna, son-of-a-gun (adj.)
Saudobecce, Southbeach
sbloffo, bluff
scenì, sheeny
scèperi, shaper
scheppese, scab (Ital. *crumiro*)
schidù, skidoo
sciabola, shovel
sciaccenze, good-bye (shake-hands)
sciainatore, shiner (boot-black)
sciamma, shame (peccato)
sciappa, shop
sciò, show
scrima, ice-cream
sechenenze, second-hand
seggialettra, electric-chair
siri, city
siriollo, city-hall
smatto, smart
Sobborè, Subway
Sobbuele, Subway
stambotto, steamboat (Ital.)
steggio, stage
stima, steamer
stinge, stingy
stocco, stock (goods)
storo, store
stufa, stove (range)
strappare, to strop a razor
stritto, street
suri, city

Tantane, Downtown
temeniollo, large glass of beer (Tam-many/Hall)
ticchetta, ticket
tonno, tunnel
toppo, cream (top)
tracca, track
tracca-ferrovia, railroad track
trobolo, trouble

Visco, whiskey

HISPANIC NOTES

AMIADÔ

IN the *Revue de dialectologie romane*, IV, 99, Jenoees *amiadô* iz menciond in coneccion with *amiâ*, but the sound *d* iz not explaind. Spanish *mirador* iz the sorse ov *amiadô*, hwich means 'terrazzo.' In modern speech *amiâ* has replaced *miâ* < *mirare*, and givn its prefix to the Spanish loan-word. A Latin *t* iz regularly lost between vouels in nativ words: *dio* = *dito*, *majo* = *marito*, *mezuaio* = *misuratore*. The loss ov intervocalic *r* iz cwite modern, and iz lacking in som ov the nehboring Ligurian dialects.

FONO

In Galician we find the verb-ending *-no* az a variant ov *-ron* < *-runt*. Thus *fono* iz uzed several times in Pondal's *Campana d'Anllons* (Coruña, 1895), riming with *dono* (= *dueño*) and *sono* (= *sueño*). Asturian has a corresponding form ritn *fonon* or *fonun*. Thees developments aroze from an extension ov nazality. In the extreem west, *lana* developt thru **lāna* to *lāa* and *lā*. Similarly stresless *-ron* became nazal *-ro*, and the nazalized *r* waz then alterd to *n*, the nearest ordinery nazal sound. Under the influence ov the Spanish sound-sistem, Galician *lā* has become *la* or *lan* (ritn *lan*). Likewise the ending **-nō* became *-no*, in acordance with *orde* and *orfo* beside Portugees *ordem*, *órfão*. Asturian shared with Galician the developments *hominem* > *ome* and *-runt* > **-nō*; the verb-ending, perhaps influenced by forms with distinctiv nazal vouels (az **-ā* < *-ant* beside *-a* < *-at*), has become *-noŋ*, *-nun*, with the final *ŋ* that regularly corresponds to Castilian *n*.¹

Nazalized *r* iz not common in Romanic speech, but we can find evidence ov such a sound outside ov Spain. It miht wel be asumed for Rumanian *fereastră* < *fenestra*, *cunună* < *corōna*, and iz clearly implied by the ritn *nr* hwich ofn replaces *r* < *n* in erly Transil-

¹ Munthe, *Anteckningar om folkmålet i en trakt af vestra Asturien*, p. 17, Upsala, 1887.

vanian, az *buru* = *bunru* = *bun* < *bonus*.² Spanish has *horca*, *horma*, *horno*, agenst French *forme* beside *fourche* and *four*. It seems hardly riht to call modern *forme* bookish, for the same development ov *o* (insted ov the sound *u*) iz found in other words befoar *rm* and *rn*. We may asume the existence ov a nazalized *r* in erly French: it nazalized the sound *u*, hwich later became *ō* > *o* az in *donne* and *couronne*. The nazality ov *r* wood likewise explain *a* (< *ā*) for *e* in *larme*.

SONIDO

Rumanian *sûnet* corresponds to *sonitus*. Hispanic speech de-veloppt the form **sonitus* thru asociacion with *auditus*: *habeo auditum illum *sonitum*.

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² Tiktin, *Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, § 112, Heidelberg, 1905.

REVIEWS

The Source of Wolfram's Willehalm, by Susan Almira Bacon: *Sprache und Dichtung*, Heft 4, Tübingen, 1910, pp. viii, 172.

In 1910 there appeared as volume 4 of the Swiss series, *Sprache und Dichtung*, a brochure entitled *The Source of Wolfram's Willehalm*, by Susan Almira Bacon.¹ It is a pleasure to introduce this book to readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW because it has admirable qualities of scholarship and the merit of unusually clear presentation. The *Willehalm* is not one of Wolfram's important works, and it is valuable principally for the sidelight which it throws upon the French epics of which it is an imitation. The main source was some version of the French poem, *Aliscans*, but Wolfram had fragmentary information about the other poems of the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange. It is the question of the relations of the *Willehalm* to the whole French cycle which Miss Bacon so admirably studies. Her book is of great value to a student of the French poems, as an analysis of its contents will show.

After a succinct résumé of the work already done in the field, the author states the six objects of her discussion, to each of which is consecrated a chapter. The first is: "To examine the indications concerning his source given by Wolfram in *Willehalm*." Starting with the indication that Wolfram received the French text from the Landgrave Herman (*Wh.*, vv. 3 and 8-11), she analyses thirty-six other passages in which Wolfram makes a direct appeal to an authority which may have some connection with a French source, giving for each one, wherever possible, the French parallel. In conclusion she divides them into four categories (p. 31):

A. Eight references which are general and imply no specific correspondence in French sources.

B. Seven references which seem to demand a specific correspondence, and for which none can be found.

C. Three specific references which are explicable by accounting "aventure" to refer to Wolfram's personal inspiration alone and not to his French source, or "diz maere" to mean Wolfram's own poem.

D. Specific references that find a parallel: in some metrical version of *Aliscans* (nine cases and possibly seven more); in some later prose version (one case and perhaps one more); in some branch of the cycle other than *Aliscans* (one case and a possible second).

It is, of course, impossible here to go into detail as to these references, but in general two comments may be made:

1. In the author's division B, it seems that she over-emphasizes the impossibility of finding a source. Of the seven references, the first two referring to the beginning of the first battle of *Aliscans* might find a parallel in the passage in the *Willame*, vv. 150-158, where Vivien and Tedbalt de Berri go out to recon-

¹ A notice of the book was arranged at that time for the ROMANIC REVIEW, but was not completed.

noitre the position of the Saracens and Tedbalt is frightened by the great number of ships and tents. The third reference is in connection with Gandalüz—a personage whom Wolfram borrows from his own *Parzival*. The fifth and sixth apply to generalities which might have been in Wolfram's *Aliscans*. There are left only two references which really seem inexplicable.

2. Throughout this whole section of the study it seems that Miss Bacon takes too seriously Wolfram's appeals to authority. Two of the three references which she classes in division C indicate that he uses such an appeal rather loosely. He cites authority very solemnly for saying that Galafrè is as white as a swan and that Josweiz fights for love, two statements that are hardly to be taken seriously. The general impression from the French epics is that the jongleurs attribute the fabrications of their own imaginations to a chronicle or other written source in order to convince their audience. May not Wolfram have done the same thing?

In the same division Miss Bacon gives three references "which seem to indicate that Wolfram took a critical attitude towards his source." The first relates to Guillaume's reception at Louis' court. As Mr. Raymond Weeks has shown (*The Messenger in Aliscans*), there certainly is inconsistency in the treatment of the court incident according to *Aliscans*.² Guillaume goes to Laon to ask aid of Louis. He sets out from Orange clothed and armed in the magnificence of the pagan, Aerofle, and mounted on the famous Arabian horse, Folatise (*Al.*, 2013–2022, 2068). He makes no change, according to the story, except to take off his helmet and hauberk and hang them to his saddle (2282–3). Once arrived at Laon, the squires describe with contempt his torn clothes and broken armor, and particularly do they make fun of his ungainly horse (2287–2309). Whether the messenger were originally Bertram or Guillaume, the logical account of the court scene in the *Willame* has been warped in *Aliscans* by the introduction of inconsistent material in which Guillaume is ill-treated in order to heighten the dramatic effect of Louis' cold reception and ingratitude. A careful comparison of the parallel scenes in the *Willame* and *Aliscans* shows this clearly. These interpolated inconsistencies are so closely parallel to the events of the like scene in the *Siège d'Orange* as reproduced by the *Nerbonesi* that it seems as if there must have been a conscious imitation on the part of the author of some version of the story midway between the *Willame* and *Aliscans*.

Wolfram objected to these inconsistencies and tried to explain the cold reception of Guillaume at Laon. Miss Bacon hardly does justice to the German poet's discrimination. She says:

"There is no real contradiction in *Aliscans*, for in laisse LXII, 2282–3, immediately after Guillaume has left the monastery, we are told that he packed his helmet and his haubert, and in line 2308 it is again implied that he had removed his armor, and 2300–2301 that his garments were torn.

2282 Li quens Guillames pensa de l'exploitier
Son elme torse en son hauberc doblie

² Miss Bacon seems to have reference to this article on page 100, where by a misprint her text reads "that Bernart was the messenger." "Bernart" of course, should be corrected to Bertram.

- 2300 Si garnement n'estoient pas entier
 Ains sont derout et devant et derier
 Chainte ot l'espee dont li poins est d'or mier
- 2308 S'il fust armés, bien samblast soudoier."

Guillaume's helmet and hauberk are just as visible after he has packed them on the back of his saddle as before, as we see in line 2337. At line 2288, with Guillaume's entrance into Laon, begins the confusion between the well-armed Guillaume who left Orange and the battle-worn Guillaume who is mocked in the court. Later in her book (p. 95 ff.) Miss Bacon returns to the question of this court scene. She summarizes the objections which Klapötke, following Weeks, makes to the *Aliscans* inconsistencies, and asks the question: "Did Wolfram note the defects in his source and remedy them, or was his version free from them?" This question, which she does not answer, seems rather in contradiction with the statement just quoted as to the logic of the *Aliscans* scene. Miss Bacon's summary of the passage (p. 35) implies the inconsistency of the poem:

"The principal contradiction between the French and German versions, for which we can only surmise a reason, is that he (Guillaume) is armed in *Willehelm* on his arrival at court, unarmed in *Aliscans*. My judgment would be, not that Wolfram's version of *Aliscans* differed at this point from ours, nor that he knew two different versions, but that he wished to make the cold reception which Wilhelm finds, more reasonable. Wilhelm has transgressed court customs by arriving at the palace in armor."

What she says here is true, but might have been clearer had she recognized the inconsistency of *Aliscans* and its plausible connection with the *Siège*.

In connection with these interpolations of the *Siège* in *Aliscans* one might suggest that Wolfram's description of Guibourc's ruse in defending the city of Orange during her husband's absence may also have been an incident of the *Siège* which found its way into Wolfram's version of *Aliscans*. The only parallel now existing for this episode is in the *Nerbonesi* résumé of the events of the lost *Siège*. If one accepts the theory that *Aliscans* borrowed from the *Siège* in these passages of the extant version, one is inclined to believe that Wolfram's *Aliscans* contained this further addition of *Siège* material in the description of Guibourc's ruse. Such a supposition would require more support, but it accounts for the presence in *Aliscans* of this material, which is otherwise difficult to explain.

As a second evidence of critical attitude, Miss Bacon clearly shows (pp. 36-37) Wolfram's change by which the queen has already escaped to her apartments before Guillaume breaks out into the insulting accusations against her (*Al.*, 2772 ff.; *Wh.*, 152, 28 ff.). Miss Bacon says: "A comparison of the French and German indicates in my opinion that the French text used by Wolfram contained these, or similar violent expressions, and that Wolfram refuses to repeat what he found there." His attitude here might be compared with that of the French knightly poet, Herbert Le Duc de Dammartin. In *Foucon de Candie*, Herbert also refuses to reproduce this violent scene and has the queen make her remonstrances from Aix, so that her brother can not make his insulting reply. A comparison of the whole episode of Guillaume's journey to Laon in all its various renderings would form an interesting and helpful study.

Chapter II (pp. 39-85) is "to discuss to what degree it is probable that

Wolfram had heard or read other branches of the cycle to which *Aliscans* belongs." Miss Bacon analyses first the group of French poems, *Li Nerbonois*, *Le Departement Aymeri*, *Guibert d'Andrenas*, which have been thought to have inspired the opening scene of the *Willehalm*.

"Certain it is that Wolfram knew: (1) that Heimrich had seven sons, whereas in *Aliscans* he has only six; (2) that he disinherited them, of which there is no mention in *Aliscans*; (3) that he dismissed them and bade them go to Charlemagne, who would reward them with lands, nothing of the kind in *Aliscans*; (4) that he adopted a godchild in their place, also a blank in *Aliscans*" (pp. 45-46).

Yet, she continues, he certainly did not know these poems in the present version because he substitutes a Bertram as Guillaume's brother in place of Garin, and yet places in the story a Scherins von Pantali, whom he does not admit in the family. (There are hints in the French cycle of a brother, Bertram,—which makes this reference interesting.) Neither does he recognize Schilbert von Tandernas to be the same as the Schilbert whom he mentions as Guillaume's brother. Miss Bacon seems convinced that Wolfram never heard the poems himself, but gained these half-truths through conversation with someone who had heard the French epics. She closes, however, with the rather more cautious statement (p. 52):

"Wolfram combines striking features of the two branches in this passage and is ignorant of equally important points. This inclines me to the belief that he obtained his information either by hearsay or from his version of *Aliscans*; at the same time I do not deny the possibility of his having known a version of *Nerbonois* strikingly different from ours."

This chapter provides a very clear treatment of the puzzling problem of Wolfram's introductory episode.

The next poems to be considered are the *Couronnement Louis*, the *Charroi de Nîmes*, the *Prise d'Orange* and the *Moniage Guillaume*. Miss Bacon's conclusions are the following (p. 85):

"Wolfram could not have known any of them, except *Charroi*, in the form we know them, because of his evident ignorance of characteristic features in them. My inference would be either that Wolfram had oral information about striking incidents in the cycle, and that the *Charroi* was quoted at some length by his informant, or that Wolfram's version of *Aliscans* contained some or all of these allusions. Both alternatives do not exclude one another, both may be true, and in one case the first may be preferred, in an other the second."

The divisions devoted to Wolfram's knowledge of the *Charroi de Nîmes* or of the *Moniage Guillaume* are particularly interesting. It is striking that Wolfram's passage, 298, 13-18, "implies that Willehalm took Nîmes from Tybalt." Miss Bacon's conclusions about the *Moniage Guillaume* do not seem quite clear on one point. In the *Willehalm*, the description of the little house near the moat in which Guillaume spends the night at Orleans is parallel to the description of Bernart's house where Guillaume stays before fighting the giant Ysoré at Paris, as the story is told in the *Moniage Guillaume*. Miss Bacon says (p. 84):

"How are the likenesses between *Moniage Guillaume* II and *Willehalm* to be accounted for? To my thinking by a similarity between the versions of *Aliscans*, with which the two authors were familiar. It is worth noting that

Wolfram indicates that he has authority for his description of Willehalm's lodging: '*sin herberge ist mir gesagt.*' Unless we have proof to the contrary, such a statement should mean that this passage is not the invention of the author. If we assume that Wolfram knew a version of *Moniage* containing the episode at the gate of Paris, would he have transferred it to Orleans with the just quoted introduction?"

Does she mean that such an incident is copied by both the *Moniage Guillaume* and the *Willehalm* from a version of *Aliscans* different from ours? The statements with which she ends her consideration of this poem are most suggestive (p. 84):

"A comparison of the two versions of *Moniage Guillaume* with each other makes it easier to believe in a version of *Aliscans* which, while telling the same story as the versions which we know, may have been widely different from them. In my judgment the relation between *Willehalm* and *Moniage Guillaume II* increases the probability of the existence of a version of *Aliscans* unknown to us, containing the points of similarity between *Moniage II* and the German epic."

Chapter III (pp. 85-106): "To what degree is it probable that his version of *Aliscans* contained material to be found in later prose versions of *Aliscans* or in *Chançon de Willame*, but not in the metrical versions of *Aliscans*?" Miss Bacon answers this question for the *Chançon de Willame* as follows (p. 97):

"It is clear that Wolfram did not know *Chançon de Willame*, as it stands, and there is no convincing proof that any likeness between *Chançon de Willame* and *Willehalm* is due to a version of *Aliscans* with features peculiar to *Chançon de Willame*, but it is quite possible that Wolfram's source had an account of Vivian's death with the similarities between *Chançon de Willame* and *Willehalm* noted above under '4.'"

The similarities referred to in the scene of Vivian's death which Miss Bacon notes, are two sets of parallel lines. She passes over the fact that the character of the two scenes is strongly religious, rather theological, in contrast to the heroic, martial quality of the *Aliscans* scene. She notes two other similarities, but does not give them sufficient prominence: (1) The order of Guibourc's questions about her nephews; (2) the order of the tests by which she seeks to recognize Guillaume when he arrives at the gate of Orange. Miss Bacon quotes (p. 92) Klapötke's objections to the *Aliscans* scene, that Guibourc asks "three times after the fate of her nephews, and only at the third time receives the correct answer that Vivian is dead and the others are prisoners. How does he know, besides, that his nephews are prisoners?" In the *Willame* Guibourc asks about Vivian, about Bertram, about Guiot, about the other three nephews, and in answer to each of the four questions, receives the correct answer. In the *Willehalm* she asks a direct question, dividing the squires into three groups and receives the only answer that Guillaume is able logically to give—that Vivian is dead, since in the *Willehalm* and in *Aliscans* both, no mention is made as in the *Willame* of his seeing the capture of his nephews. Miss Bacon continues: "Wolfram may have reduced the repeated questions of Guiborc in *Aliscans* to a question divided into three parts, because he felt the effect was lost by repetition." Is it not better to assume that Wolfram's *Aliscans* contained a logical account, of which the type is seen in the *Willame*? Again, one important similarity she puts in a note (p. 91):

"When William is seeking admission to Orange after the first battle, his

wife tests him in two ways, before she will let him in, one is that he must show his valor by freeing christian captives, the other that he must show the scar on his nose. The order of the tests is the same in *Willehalm* and in *Chancun de Willame*, that is: he sets the captives free first, and then removes his helmet to show the scar on his nose. In *Aliscans* he shows the scar first and then sets the captives free. A sense of logical sequence may have induced Wolfram to change what he found in his source. It does not seem probable that Gyburg after recognizing the scar on his face, would insist on a second test."

Is it not more probable that Wolfram's source like the *Willame* had these tests in their logical sequence? A third similarity between the *Willame* and *Willehalm* has been noted by Mr. Raymond Weeks (*Modern Philology*, vol. II, No. 1 (1904), p. 6):

"While we are speaking of the name of the new epic (of the *Willame*), it is interesting to note that we can now see why Wolfram von Eschenbach did not call his poem *Aliscans*. The original which he was translating evidently bore the title *La Chanson de Guillaume*, called familiarly the *Guillaume*, as we say the *Roland*. He remained faithful to the title, and called his translation the *Willehalm*."

One may suppose, of course, that Wolfram, copying *Aliscans*, deliberately changed the title from the name of the battle to that of the hero, and thus unwittingly took the title of the older redaction, unknown to him. This would seem, however, an unlikely coincidence, especially since Wolfram emphasized the location of the battle in the Aliscamps at Arles more than the French authors. Hence this title, which Miss Bacon does not even mention, provides perhaps the strongest proof that Wolfram's source was closely related to the *Willame*.

The *Storie Nerbonesi* offers as its most important parallel passage the description of the honorable burial of Guibourc's Saracen relatives after the second battle of Aliscans. This may have been in a common source, or may have been the fruit of Wolfram's general tolerance toward Saracens, which is in marked contrast to the attitude of the French epics, except *Foucon de Candie*. The prose version of *Aliscans* offers striking parallels with the *Willehalm*, and strengthens the argument of the different versions of *Aliscans*:

"The probabilities are strongly in favor of a version antedating *Willehalm* containing the Orleans scene, more like the one in the prose romance than those in our *Aliscans* manuscripts, and containing an interview between Desramés and Guiborc" (p. 105).

Miss Bacon begins her fourth chapter with the statement that some of the remaining divergencies "can be traced with a certain degree of probability to four written sources: (1) the *Kaiserchronik*; (2) the open letter of Michel Mouriez, Archbishop of Arles, addressed to all Christendom; (3) the *Guide de St. Jacques*; and (4) the German *Rolantsliet*." This chapter (pp. 106-125) by its acute, direct reasoning gives an interesting theory as to one striking originality of Wolfram's poem, that is, the repeated mention of the sarcophagi on the battlefield of Aliscamp:

"Let us bear in mind that we have good evidence for believing that Wolfram was familiar with the German *Rolantsliet*, and that the *Kaiserchronik* is probably, at least in part, also from the pen of the Pfaffen Konrad. There is a passage in the *Kaiserchronik* which would account for Wolfram's idea that God provided beautiful coffins for the christian dead after a battle near Arles" (p. 111).

According to the *Kaiserchronik* by a miracle Charlemagne found all the Christians buried in these beautiful sarcophagi.

"Now add the information of the circular letter. The archbishop of Arles states that in the great burial ground of Aliscamps near Arles are buried those who shed their blood as martyrs under St. William and his nephew Vivian and St. Charlemagne.

"Charlemagne and the geographical situation form connecting links between the two stories.

"St. William and his nephew Vivian connect de Mouriez's letter with the epic of *Aliscans*" (p. 113).

The logic seems clear and the study of this puzzling question is one of the best parts of Miss Bacon's book.

The problem of Chapter V (pp. 125-166) is "to show to what degree the extant manuscripts of *Aliscans* were like or unlike Wolfram's text of *Aliscans*." First of all Wolfram's confessions that he was unable to either read or write are probably sincere, because of the insistent phonetic Germanization of proper nouns. "Would a man who could read and write put down *Puzzât* for *Beauchant*, *Terramêr* for *Desramés*, *Gwigrimanz* for *Guinemans*, etc.?" "If there were not such a plain tendency to the German pronunciation of French words, the problem would not be so simple." For the same reason, the man who read the French text to Wolfram and the scribe who took down the *Willehalm* could not have been one and the same person. Wolfram probably knew French well enough to be able to understand the French poems read to him.

After a detailed and careful analysis of the variant readings of the *Aliscans* manuscripts, Miss Bacon concludes with the following summary:

"The comparison of the manuscripts leads to the conclusion that Wolfram's manuscript was more like M than like any one other manuscript, but that his manuscript contained many lines missing in M and still preserved in other versions, also, that in a number of cases, other manuscripts have preserved the reading in Wolfram's version, where M has a different reading" (p. 166).

Chapter VI contains a summary of the points already made. As will be seen from the above quotations and analysis, Miss Bacon has done a great deal of careful, interesting work. She has kept an open mind, and her conclusions are free from dogmatism. One sometimes wishes that she were a little dogmatic. She hesitates to write, in definite statement, suggestions which her analysis has brought out so clearly as to make them pragmatically certain. But that is to err on the right side.

Her final analysis of the extant manuscripts of *Aliscans* needs very much to be completed by some attempt to correlate all her observations as to what existed in Wolfram's version, to reconstitute his version—not so much in the verbal readings (which she does study in connection with the *Aliscans* manuscripts) as along the broad general lines of narrative. In the final summary she says: "I have tried to set up the opposite poles of possible opinion with regard to Wolfram's source; as an expression of my own opinion, I would choose a middle ground." What is that middle ground? It seems as if, at the end of the book, a reader should have a more definite answer to this question. Moreover, two problems as to Wolfram's sources still stare one in the face: (1) Why did Wolfram give such prominence to Tybalt? We know that Thibaut was eliminated from the second half of the *Willame* and hence largely from

Aliscans, because in *Willame*, line 675, Vivian says that he killed Thibaut at the long siege of Orange. Did the dramatic possibilities of Thibaut, the French Menelaus, appeal to Wolfram as to Herbert Le Duc, the French knightly poet, so that he extended *Aliscans* 1776 to make Thibaut present throughout the whole story? (2) Miss Bacon proposes a most acute theory to the effect that a mis-reading of *Aliscans* 32-34, manuscript M, produced the puzzling figure of Mile, Guillaume's sister's son. However, if Wolfram misunderstood *Aliscans* 34, how did he know the old tradition extant only in *Foucon de Candie* and the first half of the *Willame*, that Vivian was a son of a sister of Guillaume (*Wh.*, 4723, or 484, for instance)? In the later versions he is spoken of as son of Garin or Beuve.

Miss Bacon says in her preface:

"A plan was made for a study to be divided into four chapters: the first to contain a comparison of *Willehalm* with its Old French sources; the second, parallel summaries of *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*; the third, a detailed analysis of all differences between *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*; and the fourth, a critical comparison of the literary value of the two poems, based on the preceding work."—"It is the first chapter alone, which is offered here to those interested in the subject."

Perhaps she means to take up these wider questions in her later studies. At any rate this first chapter, with its careful, well-ordered presentation, leads one to await with interest Miss Bacon's continuation of her admirable work.

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De Pascal à Chateaubriand: Les défenseurs français du christianisme de 1670 à 1802. Par ALBERT MONOD. Paris, librairie, Felix Alcan, 1916, in-8, 606 pages.

M. Albert Monod a présenté à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris comme thèse principale pour le doctorat ès lettres, une étude sur l'apologétique chrétienne depuis les *Pensées* de Pascal jusqu'au *Génie du Christianisme* de Chateaubriand. Ce sujet est très voisin de celui qu'a traité le regretté Pierre Maurice Masson dans son brillant ouvrage sur la *Religion de Jean Jacques Rousseau*. Il serait injuste d'opposer P. M. Masson à M. Monod. Tout honneur rendu au talent délicat, robuste et vif de P. M. Masson, le sujet qu'il avait choisi avait par lui même un attrait qui portait son auteur: la peinture des manifestations et des transformations de la sensibilité religieuse, si peu que l'on ait de sens de la vie et des choses du cœur, prend aisément un intérêt pathétique. Mais l'histoire et l'analyse des constructions logiques par lesquelles les théologiens ont essayé de défendre la vérité de la religion, la description de toutes les fortifications scolastiques et de toute la stratégie dialectique qu'ils ont opposées à la libre pensée conquérante, ont quelque chose d'ingrat et de rebarbatif; on ne saurait vraiment reprocher à M. Monod de ne pas avoir répandu de grâces et de joie sur une telle matière. Songez que des 950 apologies qu'il a enregistrées de 1670 à 1802, et qu'il a lues à peu près toutes, il n'y en a pas demi-douzaine où l'on puisse dire qu'il y ait du talent; et ce n'est jamais un talent de premier ordre, une fois Malebranche et Fénelon passés, et Jean Jacques Rousseau excepté.

Il valait pourtant la peine de regarder cette masse d'écrits presque tous oubliés et dignes de l'ère. L'intérêt historique remplaçait l'intérêt littéraire. Ces médiocres ou méchantes apologies de la religion sont des documents précieux pour l'histoire des idées religieuses. Comment les théologiens catholiques et protestants et les philosophes chrétiens ont-ils défendu la foi et les dogmes contre le progrès de l'analyse philosophique, du positivisme scientifique et de la critique historique, et contre le débordement de l'incrédulité? Quelles positions ont-ils prises successivement et abandonnées? Quelles concessions ont-ils faites à l'esprit du siècle? Dans quelle mesure en ont-ils été touchés eux-mêmes? Et surtout comment la religion, entre leurs mains, est-elle passée peu à peu de l'état de croyance rationnelle qui se démontre, et de l'état de fait historique qui a de sûrs témoins, à l'état de sentiment ou d'*expérience* qui s'affirme? Comment l'apologie chrétienne a-t-elle été enfin amenée à trouver le terrain sur lequel elle est invincible, en renonçant à proposer des preuves à l'esprit, et en se contentant de déclarer la certitude du cœur? La réalité de la vie religieuse devient ainsi la grande preuve de la religion: preuve qui n'en est pas une évidemment; mais preuve qui dégoûte et dispense de vraies preuves, difficiles à administrer. Ce resserrement et ce recul progressif de l'apologétique qui se retranche enfin dans le réduit du sentiment subjectif, voilà l'objet et l'intérêt de l'étude de M. Monod. Il a porté la lumière dans un sujet triste et ardu. Il a employé beaucoup d'érudition, d'exactitude et de bon sens à poser et à discuter tous les problèmes qu'il rencontrait. Protestant, comme Masson était catholique, il a su être comme lui, autant que lui, impartial et serein, équitable à la fois aux catholiques et aux incrédules, avec plus de sympathie pour ceux-là que pour ceux-ci comme on pouvait s'y attendre. Il a analysé sûrement, clairement une multitude d'œuvres dont il a su en quelques lignes faire saillir les traits et les directions caractéristiques: il faut un véritable tour d'esprit, en même temps qu'un rare maitrise de soi pour entrer ainsi dans la pensée d'autrui. De cette masse d'analyses se dégagent avec netteté les lignes générales du développement de l'apologétique: les diverses méthodes, et les moments de chaque méthode, et les raisons qui la recommandent ou la font désertir apparaissent en pleine clarté. Cet ouvrage austère est l'un des plus substantiels et des plus utiles qui aient été écrits sur le xvii^e siècle.

On comprendra qu'il y aurait bien des points sur lesquels une discussion pourrait s'engager. Je n'ai pas le loisir d'entrer dans le détail. Je dirai seulement que M. Monod me paraît moderniser Pascal à l'excès, et ne pas donner à toutes les parties de sa démonstration la valeur qu'il donnait lui-même. Je dirai aussi que pour nous parler de Voltaire et de sa critique, M. Monod emploie assez souvent des expressions qui me paraissent représenter plutôt son antipathie que sa connaissance: il ne s'en est pas aperçu; et cela n'a pas autrement d'importance. Il faut souhaiter qu'après le catholique Masson et le protestant Monod, un rationaliste d'esprit également large, serein et élevé, repasse une troisième fois sur ce grand sujet. L'accord de trois hommes placés à des points de vue aussi différents, aurait une force singulière. Des gens sincères qui savent rechercher les faits et qui ont l'esprit critique, arrivent à voir les mêmes choses—ils ne diffèrent—et c'est leur droit—que par les qualificatifs dont ils les marquent, et qui sont le dernier refuge de l'émotion subjective dans les travaux scientifiques.

A cet ouvrage considérable M. Albert Monod a joint comme seconde thèse, une *étude sur les manuscrits inédits de Paul Rabaut* suivi du texte de trois sermons annotés (Les sermons de Paul Rabaut, pasteur du Désert, 1738-1785). De 1685 à 1787 le protestantisme a disparu officiellement de France; mais il a vécu. On n'a publié qu'une petite partie des sermons qui ont été prononcés dans les assemblées clandestines. On en possède un plus grand nombre d'inédits. M. Monod, après avoir donné la vie de Paul Rabaut qui fut un des pasteurs les plus courageux et actifs, explique l'intérêt de ses sermons manuscrits; puis il décrit les manuscrits, discute si ce sont des brouillons ou des copies définitives, et enfin date avec beaucoup d'ingéniosité et de précision ceux des sermons qui ne sont pas datés. Il ajoute à ces recherches un catalogue des desseins traités, un index des allusions historiques, et une liste des lieux des assemblées où les sermons furent prêchés.

La seconde partie de la thèse contient une édition de trois des sermons, dont chacun représente un aspect particulier de la prédication de Rabaut. M. Monod a accompagné les textes d'un commentaire curieux, sobre et précis.

Ce petit travail, très bien conduit, où paraissent les mêmes qualités de conscience et de jugement que dans la grande thèse, mérite de n'être pas lu seulement des Protestants. L'histoire littéraire y est intéressée. L'éloquence Calviniste n'a pas en général l'éclat et l'agrément littéraire de la prédication catholique. Cependant elle a eu à toute époque des qualités de force et de sérieux moral: elle a su garder dans la persécution même une belle tenue de modération et de loyauté; et c'est une inexactitude autant qu'une injustice que de la traiter comme si elle n'avait rien produit entre Saurin et Adolphe Monod.

G. LANSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Teatro Antiguo Español: I. Luis Vélez de Guevara, *La Sarrana de la Vera*, publicada por R. Menéndez Pidal y Maria Goyri de Menéndez Pidal. Madrid, 1916. Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas: Centro de Estudios Históricos. 8°, vii + 176 pp.

In the "Advertencia" prefixed to this volume we are informed that it is the purpose of the "Centro de Estudios Históricos" to publish "those dramatic works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which, on account of their interest, should no longer remain inedited, or which deserve to be reprinted."

The *Teatro Antiguo Español* makes a most auspicious beginning with this comedia of Luis Vélez de Guevara, which is here published for the first time from the autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional. This manuscript is dated at Valladolid, "a 7 [month omitted] de 1603." This date, however, the editors prove conclusively to be incorrect. According to a letter of Juan Vélez, son of the poet, the latter was absent from Spain from 1599 to 1605. Besides, it was the custom of Vélez de Guevara to write, at the beginning of each act of his plays, the names of the members of his family at the time. In this play we find the names: Luys, Ursola, Francisco, Juan, Antonio. Of these Juan was born in 1611 and Antonio in 1613. The manuscript is therefore of the year 1613, or is subsequent to this year. This date is of importance for the study of the origins of the play and of its imitations.

Lope de Vega wrote a comedia on the same subject and bearing the same

title, which he mentions in the first edition of his *Peregrino en su Patria*, and which, accordingly, must have been written in 1603 or earlier. Both plays are founded on a legend of Estremadura which has been preserved in ballad form, of which twenty-one versions, the earliest of the seventeenth century, are known to the editors.

Especially interesting, in the "Observaciones" by the editors, is the chapter devoted to a comparison of the plays of Lope and Guevara. Both poets have written much better plays; Lope's comedia, as the editors observe, is, in spite of much very fluent and excellent verse, one of the poorest that he has written. Another very interesting chapter discusses the other dramatic works "de asunto análogo a las de Vélez y Lope." The whole concludes with some excellent notes and a metrical scheme of the comedia. The volume, which is very handsomely printed, is a model of careful, scholarly editing.

H. A. RENNERT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

NOTES AND NEWS

The John G. White Collection of Folk-lore, Oriental and Mediaeval Literature, owned by the Cleveland Public Library, has just received an interesting Italian version of Barlaam and Joasaph, information about which is solicited from the readers of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

The fundamental study of this romance was made by E. Kuhn (*Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der K. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Bd. XX, Abt. 1, 1894). According to Kuhn (p. 61), the Italian texts fall roughly into two classes: a fuller form, whose title begins "Storia," and a briefer, called "Vita." Of the editions of the "Vita" known to Kuhn, the oldest, except for an undated fifteenth century text in the Trivulzian library, was published by Bindoni at Venice in 1539. The White copy, a "Vita" text, was issued from the same press, but in 1524. Now the first printed edition of the "Storia" form did not appear till 1734 (there is a copy in the White collection). The Cleveland copy, therefore, appears to be earlier than any other dated Italian edition. (It may be added that Harvard and the Library of Congress possess no Italian edition earlier than the eighteenth century.)

Furthermore, Kuhn says that, though the MSS. of the "Vita" call King Barachias "Alfanos," this name is found in none of the few editions to which he had access. It is used, however, in the White copy.

Into the details of the text there has been no leisure to go; but on the surface the White copy appears to be the oldest dated Italian edition on record, and to be unknown to bibliographers. Perhaps some reader of the *ROMANIC REVIEW* will be able to throw further light upon it.

GORDON W. THAYER

Professor Ernest Langlois, despite the discouragements of failing eyesight, has published for the Société des Anciens Textes Français the first volume of an edition of the *Roman de la Rose*. The volume is entirely given over to the Introduction.

Persons who desire to have literary (rather than paleographical) research done at the Bibliothèque Nationale, cannot do better than to consult M. Jean Vic of that Library. He is a scholar of distinction, both in French and Spanish literatures, as the recent numbers of the *Revue du Dix-huitième Siècle* testify, and is a réformé de la guerre. M. Vic can be adrest at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

It may interest those who purchast copies of the translation of Giraud's *French Miracle and French Civilisation*, to know that over 1200 copies have been sold. A draft for 2000 francs has been sent to M. Boutroux, President of the Association des anciens élèves de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, for the orphans of French teachers. This gift is in memory of Michel Lanson, son of Professor Lanson.

If the sales of the book continue during the year, another thousand or 1500 francs will be realized. The translators desire hereby to express their appreciation to those who have aided the cause and made the venture a success.

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE OLD FRENCH PROSE *LANCELOT*.—I

J'ay leu . . . LANCELOT, le tresplaisant menteur.—Clément Marot, *Élégie XVI*.

THE opinion that the Old French prose *Lancelot* is a composite work has been pretty generally expressed in one form or another, although, as a rule, very vaguely, by scholars who have occupied themselves especially with the prose romances. Apropos of the magic ring which had the power of increasing love and which the damsel of "l'estroite marche" gave Hector on parting and in view of the fact that nothing more is heard in the narrative of this damsel and the ring (Hector becoming involved afterward in other *amours*), Paulin Paris remarks that the episode¹ proves that the prose *Lancelot* was composed "de laisses (ou plutôt de lais) recueillies de diverses parts, sans lien des unes avec les autres."² In *La littérature française au moyen âge* (first edition,

¹ It will be found in H. O. Sommer's *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, III, 351. This work (7 volumes, plus Index) was published at Washington, D. C., for the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Vol. I (*Estoire del Saint Graal*, often called *Grand St. Graal*) is dated 1909 and Vol. II (*Merlin*) 1908. Both really appeared in 1910. Vols. III (1910), IV (1911), and V (1912) contain the *Lancelot*. This is the first edition of the complete romance since the sixteenth century. Vol. VI (1913) contains the *Queste del Saint Graal* and *La Mort le Roi Artus* (or *Mort Artu*), and Vol. VII (1913) the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337 (Bibliothèque Nationale). All my references to these romances will be to Sommer's edition, unless otherwise stated. Henceforth, for brevity's sake, I will omit in my references his name and the general title of the work. Sommer's division of the *Lancelot* into three Parts has no authority in the text itself.

² *Romans de la Table Ronde*, III, 376, note, 5 vols., Paris, 1868-1877. I will henceforth cite this work, as a rule, merely by the author's name. Moreover, IV, 208, note, he expresses the opinion that the episode of Gawain and Carados the Giant did not belong to the *Lancelot* in its original form—so, too, V, 167, note, with the episode of Bors (Bohort) with Brangoire's daughter. Cf. still further, IV, 137, note, V, 358.

Paris, 1888), 101 f., G. Paris speaks of the "*Lancelot en prose primitif*"—which, according to his assumption, was connected with the *Perlesvaus* in Grail matters—as having been recast into a "*seconde rédaction*" (the *Lancelot* of the extant MSS.), in which the Galahad *Queste* has taken the place of the *Perlesvaus*.³ Otherwise, I do not find that G. Paris has expressed himself more definitely on the subject. R. Heinzel⁴ also indicates certain modifications which the original *Lancelot* underwent on being combined with the *Queste*. A similar view is expressed in general terms by E. Wechssler,⁵ and by Miss J. L. Weston.⁶ Miss Weston⁷ supposes, also, that the rôle of Bohort was amplified in successive redactions of the *Lancelot*. Furthermore, G. Gröber⁸ assigns the *Charete* section and the sections that precede and follow it to three different authors, respectively. E. Brugger⁹ observes that "der ungeheure Lancelotroman hat natürlich eine lange Evolution hinter sich," and that the differences between the *Lancelot* as an independent romance and in the cyclic form (the latter being the only form in which we possess it) are greatest in the so-called *Agravain* section (Part III of *Lancelot* and Vol. V in Sommer's series), owing to the efforts of the redactor of the cycle to make it fit with the *Queste* and *Mort Artu* that follow.¹⁰ Brugger regards as interpolations, moreover, the story of the conception and *enserrement* of Merlin¹¹—also,¹² the False Guinevere episode, the interpretation of

³ This view, which has been commonly held, that a *Perceval Queste* once occupied the place in the prose cycle which in our extant MSS. is occupied by the Galahad *Queste*, I have combatted in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IV, 462 ff. (1913) and in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918). The opinion which G. Paris thus expresses in the first edition of his *Manuel* is repeated in all subsequent editions.

⁴ *Über die französischen Gralromane* (Vienna, 1892), pp. 159 f.

⁵ *Die Sage vom Heiligen Gral* (Halle, 1898), p. 128.

⁶ *Legend of Sir Lancelot* (London, 1901), pp. 137 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 143 ff.

⁸ *Grundriss*, Band II, Abteilung I, pp. 996 ff. (1901).

⁹ *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, XXXVI, 208 (1910). This opinion, with which I agree, appears to conflict with that which is expressed by the same scholar, XXIX, 86 (1906). There he says that the pre-cyclic *Lancelot* was doubtless pretty nearly identical with the *Lancelot* of our MSS., barring some interpolations in the latter.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 205 f.

¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, XXX, 175 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, XXX, 208, XXXI, 251 f. and 252 f., respectively.

Galahad's dreams and the Morgan-Guiomar episode. In his introduction, pp. xvi f., to *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I, Sommer declares that internal evidence proves that the *Lancelot*, "as found in the Vulgate cycle," is not the work of one man.¹³

Aside from the internal evidence here referred to (though not specified), which we shall examine in the present article, one would naturally be inclined *a priori* to regard as composite this huge romance, which in Sommer's edition fills 1195 large quarto pages, and so exceeds in bulk the four other members of the cycle combined (1140 pages in Sommer's edition). For the *Lancelot*, in its original form, is generally accepted as the earliest of the Arthurian romances in prose, with the possible exception of the brief prose renderings of Robert de Borron's *Joseph* and *Merlin*¹⁴—that is to say, as the earliest specimen of prose fiction in any of the great literary languages of Modern Europe.¹⁵ Now, there is not the

¹³ We are not concerned here with the statement which Sommer adds as to how the Vulgate cycle was evolved. It includes, among other things, the familiar theory that the Galahad *Queste* of our MSS. has been substituted for an earlier Perceval *Queste*. As I have already said in a note above, I have combatted this theory in the articles there mentioned. Apart from this, however, Sommer's assertion that "it is not difficult to distinguish the old stock of the romance from later additions and modifications," will, I believe, strike any one who has actually tried to make the division in a definite form as decidedly overconfident.

In combatting the Perceval *Queste* theory, referred to above, in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IV, 462 ff., I overlooked the fact that Brugger, *Zs. f. fr. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXIX, 81, in framing his theory, not only substitutes an hypothetical *Perlesvaus* for the actual *Perlesvaus*, but an hypothetical *Mort Arthur* for the *Mort Arthur* (*Mort Artu*) of our MSS.—more specifically, one with Guinevere left out. But every version of the theme in existence, from Geoffrey down, has Guinevere in it. When the author of a theory has to resort to such assumptions as these, comment is superfluous.

¹⁴ I exclude the *Didot-Perceval*, which some scholars accept as a prose-rendering of an hypothetical lost *Perceval* poem by Robert de Borron. In any event, this romance, too, is comparatively short—shorter than the prose-rendering of de Borron's *Merlin* (Sommer, II, 3-88)—it fills only 104 small octavo pages in Miss Weston's edition, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, even if we include the disputed *Mort Arthur* section.

¹⁵ France, of course, led the way in the development of prose fiction, yet French prose of any kind only commences in the last years of the twelfth century. See on the subject Gröber's *Grundriss*, Band II, Abteilung I, pp. 718 ff. (1901), and Paul Meyer, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXIII, 379 f. (1906).

slightest probability that the earliest work in Modern European prose fiction was, in its original form, also, the longest in all European fiction, excepting, possibly, one or two of the Spanish and French romances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁶ On the other hand, we know that in the thirteenth century it was customary to add continuations even to historical works and to interpolate them with extraneous matter.¹⁷ Leaving aside additions that have a purely cyclic aim, we have in the history of Chrétien's romances in verse an analogy, still closer home, to what we may reasonably surmise to have been the history of the prose *Lancelot*. The (unfinished) *Lancelot* of that poet was carried on by Godefroi de Leigni, and his *Perceval* (also unfinished) received additions forwards (the so-called *Elucidation*, the Bliocadrans prologue and the Wolfram-Guiot introductory episodes) and continuations¹⁸ (Wauchier de Denain, Manessier and Gerbert, to say nothing of a possible pseudo-Wauchier and the Wolfram-Guiot ending). The

The year 1216 (see my discussion in the ROMANIC REVIEW, III, 185 ff.) is the *terminus ad quem* for the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (at least, in a possible earlier form), which is the latest member of the Vulgate cycle, except the *Merlin* continuation; but by that year Villehardouin's chronicle is the only work of any extent in French prose, outside of the Arthurian romances, and Villehardouin (in N. de Wailly's edition, Paris, 1874, only 150 octavo pages, if we exclude the 59 pages by Henri de Valenciennes) is very much shorter than the shortest member of the Vulgate cycle (i. e., the *Mort Artu*, which in Sommer's edition fills 189 large quarto pages). Gröber, *loc. cit.*, p. 724, remarks that even Latin works of such volume as the romances are in the twelfth century exceptions. Besides, the *Schwerfälligkeit* of the writing of the clerics (the best educated men of the age) as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century makes him skeptical as to romances, composed in the twelfth century. In view of these circumstances, I do not believe for a moment that Sommer is right when he says, p. ix of the Introduction to his edition of the Vulgate cycle, that this cycle "reached the last phase in its development, i. e., the form in which we possess it, at the very latest, by 1215." Compare Villehardouin, with his paltry 150 pages, and the *Lancelot* of our MSS. with its 1195 large quarto pages.

¹⁶ According to my calculation the *Lancelot* contains about two and a half times as many words as Dickens's long novels, e. g., *Pickwick*. The Spanish and French romances referred to are, in the matter of form, lineal descendants of the *Lancelot* of our MSS. Some of them, however, like *Le Grand Cyrus*, appear to outdo their ultimate model in prolixity.

¹⁷ Gröber, *loc. cit.*, p. 724, has already drawn the comparison.

¹⁸ The MSS. of these continuations, moreover, show important and extensive variations. Cf. C. Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, III, 47, 84, *et passim*. (Mons, 1866).

closest parallel of all, perhaps, is furnished by the prose *Tristan*, the MSS. of which preserve two versions of that romance, one relatively short and simple, the other (the common version) cyclic in form and longer.¹⁹ The difference in the case of the *Lancelot* is that only the cyclic form has been preserved.²⁰

Our *Lancelot* MSS. themselves, however, afford evidence that even in the non-cyclic parts the romance is probably the result of an evolution, extending through many years. These MSS. show that scribes or redactors or perhaps occasionally other persons did not hesitate: (1) to substitute variant versions of single episodes or even longer stretches of narrative for the versions that were current, or (2) even to add entirely new episodes of their own invention.²¹ In illustration of these different kinds of change, I cite the following instances:

1. The narrative covered by the first 204 pages of Sommer's Vol. IV (Part II of the *Lancelot*)—i. e., from the point where Galehaut takes Lancelot off to Sorelois up to the point where Lancelot (in the *Charete* episode) arrives in the capital of Gorre to fight Meleagant and deliver the Queen—exists, as Sommer (prefatory note to the volume) tells us, "in two distinctly different redactions." As bearing on the subject of the growth of the ro-

¹⁹ On the subject cf. E. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan* (Paris, 1890), p. xii of the Introduction. Individual MSS. of each group, of course, may show expansions or condensations, compared with other MSS. of the same group.

²⁰ The reason for this, no doubt, is that in the long interval that elapsed between the composition of the *Lancelot* (at the latest, the first decade of the thirteenth century) and the date of our earliest extant MSS., none of which are so early as the middle of the thirteenth century (MS. 342 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the earliest dated and apparently as early as any extant, was finished in June, 1274), the cyclic form had time to drive out the non-cyclic form entirely, especially as the whole group into which it was fitted had become authoritative. In the case of the prose *Tristan*, the interval between the date of composition (about 1220 or 1230) and date of the earliest extant MSS. (the earliest dated is 1268) is not so great. Besides, it was never so thoroughly welded with a standard cyclic group.

²¹ There is no need to mention the occasional changes in the order of episodes and the abbreviations or expansions within comparatively restricted limits which we find in the MSS. of the *Lancelot*, as of the other members of the cycle. For these expansions in the *Lancelot* MSS. we have a parallel in the Grimaud expansion of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* in certain MSS. It is printed by E. Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, III, 311 ff. (Le Mans and Paris, 1878).

mance, it is also significant that some MSS.²² offer a combination

²² Cp. Sommer, *loc. cit.*

of both. The redactions²³ differ so much that for these pages Sommer could not introduce everywhere his usual system of reference numbers. He has printed one of them, but, in the present state of our knowledge, no one can say positively whether it is the original version or not.

The texts printed in the Appendices to Sommer's Vol. IV would seem to represent still other variant versions of parts of the narrative, covered by the first 204 pages of that volume.²⁴

See, too, the variant version of III, 404-430, in the British Museum MS., Royal 19, C. XIII, indicated by Sommer in note 5 to III, 404.

2. Gawain's adventures, IV, 182-195, Sommer tells us, are found only in the British Museum MS. Add. 10293, and the adventures of Bohort, Lionel, Hector, and Gawain in the last quest of Lancelot, V, 413-474 (Appendix), only in Harley 6342.

Now, if, despite the influence of a standardized cyclic text, we find liberties of this kind taken with the narrative, we may be sure that still greater liberties were taken with it before such a text was established, and that the original *Lancelot* was expanded and interpolated in the same manner as the other Arthurian romances, mentioned above, quite apart from the question of additions which have a cyclic purpose. Then, undoubtedly, there were considerable additions made with this cyclic purpose in view.

Granting, however, the contention (which in the case of the

²³ In his *Romans de la Table Ronde*, IV, 137, note, Paulin Paris observes that the explanation of Galehaut's dream and the episode of his parliament, together with the election of Baudemagus as governor of Sorelois, are not found in the majority of MSS. These features of the *Lancelot* fall within the 204 pages under consideration.

²⁴ In the Introduction, p. ix, to his edition of the *Vulgate Version*, Sommer spoke of the version of the False Guinevere episode, etc., which he has printed, IV, 365 ff. (in an appendix), as earlier than the common version of that episode. This rarer version is very much shorter and is preserved only in MS. 768 (Bibl. Nat.) and another MS. in the possession of Mr. H. Y. Thompson of London—also, partially, in MS. 339 (Bibl. Nat.). When Sommer came, however, to print this text, he was silent as to his previous claim. Cp. *loc. cit.*, note 1. As a matter of fact, there is no reason to believe that the shortened version was the earlier. In such cases, the chances of priority are always on the side of the longer version.

cyclic episodes, of course, amounts to a certainty) that the original *Lancelot* underwent additions and changes of various kinds, it remains extremely difficult, in the absence of external evidence, to distinguish the limits of such additions and changes; for any one who added to the work of a predecessor (or predecessors) would, as a rule, naturally make his own work fit as closely as possible with that of this predecessor, so that the result might well baffle the highest analytical acumen.²⁵ This is illustrated by the *Charete* story, which has been incorporated into the *Lancelot* romance. It makes no difference whether we assume, as Gröber does (rightly, I believe), that this part of the *Lancelot* was not by the same author as the so-called *Galehaut* section²⁶ that precedes it or not. In any case, the incorporated story, as we know, once constituted a separate romance (Chrétien's *Lancelot*), and is here fitted into a narrative with which it had originally no connection—yet how complete is their union! As G. Paris has said²⁷ of this *Charete* episode, it is "rattaché par mille fils à toute une série d'aventures étrangères." Now, of course, the person who adapted this extraneous story so closely to the *Lancelot* did not have to be identical with the author of the preceding section. If the author of the preceding section (which, for my own part, I do not think so likely) could effect the connection so thoroughly, a continuator could do it just as well. Then, too, within this prose rendering of Chrétien's *Lancelot* we have undoubted interpolations, viz., IV, 174 ff. (Lancelot visits the tombs of the elder Galahad and Symeu) and 215 ff. (Bohort's cart adventure), both of which are fitted with the greatest exact-

²⁵ In his article "Zur Lancelotsage," *Romanische Studien* (edited by Eduard Boehmer), V, 557 ff. (1880), Paul Märtens (especially pp. 621 ff.) gives a collection of examples of repetition and self-contradiction in the *Lancelot*, but he draws no inference from these materials as to the composite authorship of the romance. Such matters, to be sure, do not always justify the inference of diverse authorship.

What I have said above applies, of course, equally well to composite fiction of modern origin. Take, for example, R. L. Stevenson's *St. Ives*, which he left unfinished at his death and which was completed by A. T. Quiller-Couch. There is a great difference of style between the two parts, but they fit closely together, as far as the story is concerned, and Quiller-Couch's portion shows no inconsistencies.

²⁶ I do not believe with Gröber, however, that it was earlier than the *Galehaut* section. See my discussion below.

²⁷ *Romania*, XII, 387.

ness into Chrétien's story. These instances illustrate, accordingly, the difficulties which we may expect to encounter in delimiting the component parts of the romance which by such successive expansions grew to be the *Lancelot* of our MSS. We can rarely point to some definite line and say: Here one man's work ends and another's begins. Nevertheless, now that we have the *Lancelot* generally accessible in a modern edition,²⁸ Arthurian scholars cannot shirk the task of determining as definitely as is possible the true nature of this romance—which, through its influence on subsequent fiction, both prose and verse, is one of the most important books in European literature—and so, though fully conscious of the thorny nature of the questions involved, I offer the following pages in the hope that they may, in some respects, at least, advance the solution of that very difficult problem—the composition of the Old French prose *Lancelot*.

Inasmuch as there is a general consensus of opinion that the *Lancelot* in its original form had nothing to do with the Grail, it seems best to isolate and discuss, first of all, as far as possible, the passages in our romance which connect it with the Grail romances—especially with the specifically Grail romances of the same cycle (the Vulgate), viz., the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (often called the *Grand St. Graal*) and the *Queste del Saint Graal*. These passages are brief in the first part of the *Lancelot*, but later on—particularly in the last division (= Sommer's Vol. V, and often called the

²⁸ Sommer's edition of the *Lancelot*, as of the rest of the Vulgate cycle, is, of course, not a critical edition. He reproduces (without punctuation) the text of the British Museum MSS. Add. 10292-10294, only substituting the readings of other MSS. where the text of this MS. series is glaringly defective. From time to time he gives also the variant readings of other MSS. at the bottom of the page, but he does not state anywhere how systematic his collations were, so that it is perhaps not always safe to draw inferences from his silence—especially, when one considers the huge bulk of the cycle. The want of critical editions of the prose romances will, no doubt, continue to hamper Arthurian investigation for a long time to come. Pupils of Professor E. Wechssler's began, in 1911, an edition which claimed to be based on all the MSS. Only three rather small sections of it (Hefte 2, 6, 8, of the *Marburger Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie*) have as yet appeared. E. Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XL, 37 ff. (1912), has shown, however, that the above-mentioned claim amounts to very little and that the edition offers no real advantage over Sommer's.

Agravain)—they expand to full episodes, and to fix the limits of these episodes will be one of the chief problems that confront us. Furthermore, however, along with such Grail passages, we shall discuss also, for convenience sake, all passages which connect our romance with the *Mort Artu* and other romances that are certainly of later composition than the original *Lancelot*, and which, therefore, furnish, likewise, valuable indications as to the growth of the *Lancelot*—for it is to be remembered that the *Lancelot*, as we have it, apart from any modifications or interpolations that may have been introduced into it to fit it to the *Estoire del Saint Graal* or the *Queste*, and, we may add, the *Mort Artu*, was also subject to interpolation from other romances, such as the *Merlin* continuations or the *Perlesvaus*. Such interpolations may run through all the extant MSS., for the reason that these MSS. all go back to archetypes that are relatively late, as compared with the date of composition of the *Lancelot*, even in its cyclic form, and these archetypes were open to interpolation from romances that had been composed in the interval between the composition of the cyclic romance and the writing down of the archetypes²⁹ of our MSS.

In the following I will first point out the references contained in the individual passages and interpret and discuss them, as far as that seems required. Having considered them *seriatim* from this individual point of view, I shall then turn to the larger questions of composition. I will say here once for all that the passages which I am about to discuss embody in every instance conceptions which (in my judgment) were foreign to the primitive *Lancelot*.³⁰

²⁹ For a fuller discussion of these matters I must refer the reader to my recent article, "Pelles, Pellinor, and Pellean in the Old French Arthurian Romances," *Modern Philology*, XV (1918). See, too, Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXX, 176 ff. (1905). Brugger, *ibid.*, XXXIII, 192 (1908), supposes that the *Lancelot* is largely interpolated with material from his hypothetical lost redaction of the *Perlesvaus*, but it could be interpolated from the actual *Perlesvaus* just as well. I may add that there is no reason why even metrical romances, composed in this interval, may not have furnished materials for *Lancelot* interpolations.

³⁰ The fullest list that has been hitherto given of such passages as I am about to discuss is that of Paul Märtens, Eduard Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, V, 643 ff. (1880).

REFERENCES TO OTHER PROSE ROMANCES IN THE *Lancelot*

III, 3.

At the beginning of the *Lancelot* it is said that in his old age King Ban of Benoic had one child, a son, by his young wife, and that this child (the hero of our romance) "auoit non Lancelos en sournon, mais il auoit non en baptesme Galahos"—the "Galahos" of Sommer's MS., as numerous other passages show, being really a variant for "Galaaz," *i. e.*, Galahad.⁸¹ Immediately after these words, then, we have the following:

"Et che pourcoi il fu apeleis Lancelos che deuisera bien li contes cha auant. Car li liex ni est ore mie ne la raisons."

The anticipatory reference here is, doubtless, to a passage in the latter part of the *Lancelot*, V, III:

"Et tout aussi comme li nons de Galaad auoit este perdu en Lancelot par escauffement de luxure, tout aussi fu il recoures par cestui [*i. e.*, Galahad] par abstinence de char."

This idea of the change of Lancelot's name is imitated, no doubt, from the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 74 f., where, on becoming Christians, Seraphe is renamed "Nascien," Evalac, "Mor-drain," and so on. In the present case, however, the process is reversed: Instead of acquiring a new name by baptism, as a sign of regeneration from sin, Lancelot loses his baptismal name, and is given another, as a consequence of his lapse into sin (with Guinevere).

13.

Ban's wife is "deschendue de la haute lignie le roi David."⁸² Cf., too, III, 88.

This, like everything in the *Lancelot* concerning Lancelot's genealogy, was, no doubt, suggested by the *Estoire*. In that branch, I, 135, it was intimated that Galahad (and hence Lancelot)

⁸¹ Other MSS. give here the correct form, "Galaaz." So the MS. followed by G. Bräuner in his edition of the beginning of the *Lancelot*, *Marburger Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie*, Heft 2, p. 1 (Marburg, 1911). I shall take the liberty in my quotations of capitalizing proper names, although this is not done either in the MSS. or in Sommer's edition.

⁸² Bräuner's text (p. 20) has here merely "descendue del haut lignage que vos establites el regne aventureus," etc., but other passages seem to show that the reading of Sommer's MS. is justified.

was descended from Solomon³³—so, of course, from David (though this is not stated). Solomon laid a letter in his marvellous ship, warning his descendant (“Os tu cheualiers boin eureus qui seras fin de mon lignage”) to beware of women. This descendant is the knight, “qui puis fist tant de cheualeries el roialme de Logres & mist a fin les auentures que el roialme de la terre foraine & en mainte autre auenoient par lauenture & par la force del Saint Graal si com li contes deuisera cha en arriere.” Cf., too, the prophecy, I, 132. We have here, of course, a reference to Galahad, as is plain (if proof were needed) from the sequel to the story of Solomon’s ship in the *Queste*, VI, 145 ff.

In connection with the present passage, III, 13, it is desirable, however, to investigate still further the statements in regard to this descent of Lancelot and Galahad from David’s line which we find in the *Lancelot*, *Estoire* and *Queste*. Galahad is given this descent, of course, in imitation of Christ, whose putative father, Joseph, was of that line.

Some of the passages³⁴ involved speak only of Galahad’s descent from David, and not of Lancelot’s, but as far as the *Lancelot* is concerned, Galahad’s descent from David must be through his father (Lancelot); for, apart from the analogy of Christ (whose putative father was descended from David) and the clear implications of III, 13, 88, Lancelot is explicitly derived from David in V, 17, 237, whereas only once (III, 117) is such a derivation possibly implied for Galahad’s mother (Pelles’s daughter). In the passage, III, 117, Pelles is said to be of the lineage of Joseph of Arimathea, who is sometimes confused with Joseph, husband of Mary. This passage (which I presume P. Paris, III, 3, had in mind, when he says that Galahad’s mother was descended from Joseph of Arimathea) stands alone in the *Lancelot*, as regards this matter, and its interpolator, doubtless, drew an inference from the *Estoire*, I, 135, which is inconsistent with the rest.

³³ The *Queste*, probably, had no direct responsibility for this descent, for it is to be noted that the mysterious ship is in that branch, outside of the well-known interpolation (VI, 151–161) from the *Estoire*, only once (VI, 177) called Solomon’s ship, and that, most likely, is, also, an interpolation. The sword is not called David’s sword at all.

³⁴ Besides the passages in the *Estoire*, just cited (I, 132, 135), see, also, the *Queste*, VI, 7.

There is, apparently, a difference of conception, however, in different parts of the *Lancelot* as to whether Lancelot himself was descended from David through his mother or his father. Of course, both lines of descent are possible, but, aside from the absence of any allusion to such a double descent of Lancelot from David, the varying conception of the manner of this descent, recorded in different passages, is, *per se*, more likely to be due to carelessness or confusion—whether on the part of one person or of more.

According to III, 13, 88, as we have seen, Lancelot was descended from David through his mother.³⁵ On the other hand, the question would seem to be left open, V, 17, where it is merely said that he was of the lineage of David and Joseph of Arimathea, and V, 237, where he is referred to as of David's line.³⁶ Similarly, in the *Queste*, VI, 7, Galahad is merely said to be of the lineage of David and Joseph of Arimathea, without any specification as to whether it was in the paternal or the maternal line. The coupling of David and Joseph of Arimathea in these instances, I may remark, is due, in all likelihood, to a confusion of the latter with Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary,³⁷ the error being of the same general sort as that in the *Estoire*, I, 131, where the Virgin

³⁵ P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, III, 14, note (to the passage III, 13), says that the author makes Lancelot's mother a descendant of King David, because he confused Joseph, husband of Mary, with Joseph of Arimathea. The confusion of the two Josephs is, to my mind, certain, but, excepting III, 117, just discussed, there is nothing to show that the author (or authors) of the *Lancelot* thought her descended from Joseph of Arimathea. In fact, apart from these bare statements, that she was of David's line, we are told nothing of her ancestry.

³⁶ The same thing is said of Bohort, V, 416, in the interpolation which is peculiar to MS. Harley 6342 (printed by Sommer as an Appendix to vol. V). Bohort was of identical descent with Lancelot, their fathers being brothers, their mothers sisters.

³⁷ It is possible that the identification of the two Josephs was intentional. The romancers wanted to identify Galahad with Christ, and, at the same time, make him a descendant of the first Grail-keeper.

The *Perlesvaus*, p. 113, even confuses Joseph of Arimathea with Josephus, the historian; for a comparison of the passage with page 1 shows that the Joseph of Potvin's text, p. 113, is identical with Josephus, who is cited at the beginning of the romance as the writer's authority for his story. For other confusions of Joseph of Arimathea and Josephus in mediæval literature cp. Heinzel, pp. 105 f.

is said to be of the line of Solomon (David), whereas it was really her husband, Joseph, who was of that line. (Cf. *St. Matthew*, I.) The real implication, after all, then, of the passages, *Lancelot*, V, 17, and *Queste*, VI, 7, to say nothing of *Lancelot*, V, 237, might be that Lancelot was descended from David in the paternal line. But we may advance a step further; for, granting my assumption that Joseph of Arimathea was, in the above-mentioned instances, confounded with Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary, a later passage in the *Lancelot*—viz., V, 246—would, beyond question, force us to infer that Lancelot's descent from David was through his father (Ban), inasmuch as in this passage, V, 246, Lancelot's paternal grandfather (so, Ban's father)—here correctly called "Lancelot"—is said explicitly to be of the line of Joseph of Arimathea. The same conception is, no doubt, hidden under a blunder in still another *Lancelot* passage—viz., in the interpolated episode⁸⁸ of Symeu and the burning tomb, IV, 174 ff.; for, p. 176, Symeu, speaking from the burning tomb, says that Ban (Lancelot's father) originally named his famous son (Lancelot) "Galahad," after his (Ban's) father. Now, in the list of Galahad's ancestors in the male line (back to Nascien) which is given in the *Estoire*, I, 203, Ban's father is not named "Galahad," but "Lancelot." There is an elder Galahad, to be sure, in the *Estoire*, but nothing is said as to his being an ancestor of Lancelot or the younger Galahad. He is the son of Joseph of Arimathea and his conception is related in that romance, I, 209. At I, 283, we learn that he married the daughter of the King of the "Lointaines Illes" and had by her a son named Lienor, from whom Urien and Yvain were directly descended. It would seem, then, that the author of IV, 174 ff., by a very natural confusion of memory, substituted the older Galahad for the older Lancelot in the list of Lancelot's ancestors. Lancelot had himself, according to III, 3, been first called "Galahad," before he lost the name (which, owing to the famous Grail Winner, is in the romances the synonym of purity) through sin, so the author of IV, 174 ff., by a slip of memory, probably, gave his grandfather the hero's baptismal name, instead of the name which was later conferred on him and which, according to the genealogy, *Estoire*, I,

⁸⁸ The episode is, of course, interpolated under the influence of the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 283 ff., to which it is a sequel.

203, was the true name of his grandfather. The mistake as to the elder Galahad was all the easier to make, because the name naturally belongs in the genealogy of Lancelot and Galahad, the Grail Winner, and not in the genealogy of Yvain. Indeed, when coupled with the fact that according to these genealogies of the *Estoire*, Joseph of Arimathea, the original Grail keeper, had no connection at all with the Grail Winner, but was the ancestor of Yvain, who, of course, in none of the romances has any intimate relation to the Grail, one cannot but suspect that there is something wrong about the *Estoire*, in the form that is alone preserved in our MSS. of the Vulgate cycle,³⁹ and that the genealogies just referred to have suffered blundering alterations.

The natural conclusion from the apparent differences of conception which I have noted in the passages just discussed is that the brief interpolations, III, 13, 88, as to Lancelot's descent from David through his mother are by a different hand from that which penned the longer interpolation, IV, 174 ff.⁴⁰

As regards the *Estoire* (*Grand St. Graal*), it may well be, as

³⁹ The passage relating to these matters are essentially the same in Furnivall's and Hucher's texts as in Sommer's. See F. J. Furnivall, *History of the Holy Grail*, II, 100, 117, 347 (London, 1864), and Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, III, 117, 126, 275 (Le Mans and Paris, 1878). R. Heinzel's speculations in regard to the different Galahads, *Über die französischen Gralromane*, pp. 134 f. (Vienna, 1892), are not supported by any evidence whatever. Nothing is more certain in respect to the Arthurian romances than that Galahad, the Grail Winner, is a purely literary creation, and the elder Galahad is, of course, simply a later double (after a fashion) of the Grail Winner. It does not seem to have been observed that the most distinctive thesis of E. Wechssler's book, *Die Sage vom Gral* (Halle, 1898), viz., that Galahad (not Perceval) was the original Grail Winner, is derived from this passage in Heinzel's treatise. This thesis is manifestly untenable and has found no further acceptance at all among students of these subjects.

⁴⁰ The *Estoire del Saint Graal* does not represent that Lancelot was descended from David through his father. If we take the genealogy of Galahad in the *Estoire*, I, 203, and test it at every stage we find no support for this view. Ban (Lancelot's father) was the eighth in descent from Nascien, who heads the list. Of Nascien's parentage we are told nothing, and the same is true of his wife Flegentine. Their son, Celidoine, married (I, 195) a daughter of Label, King of Persia (cf. I, 141). She was christened Sarracinte, after Mordrain's wife. As to the descendants of Nascien between Celidoine and Ban, nothing is said about their wives. But, as stated above, the genealogies in the *Estoire* may have been altered.

Heinzel (p. 141 of his Grail treatise) maintains, that the author of this branch really thought of Galahad as descended from David through his mother. The authors of the Grail romances, I believe, equated her with the Virgin Mary, and the *Estoire*, I, 131, as we have seen, like the *Legenda Aurea* (cited by Heinzel), made Mary (wrongly) a descendant of David. In that case, Galahad's descent from David would be through the Fisher Kings (types of the Holy Spirit). Heinzel's reconstruction of Galahad's genealogy, however, as he thinks the author of the *Estoire* conceived it, has no support whatever in the texts and is wholly unnecessary. If this was, indeed, the conception of that author, there is no evidence at all that he had thought the genealogy out in detail—hence the obscurity which left the door open to the divergent interpretations of the *Lancelot* interpolators. One may remark finally that there is not the slightest probability in Heinzel's suggestion that the elder Galahad ever existed outside of the *Estoire* and passages written under its influence.

19-21.

The account of Merlin's birth and love affair with Nymenche (Ninienne and other variants) has nothing to do with the Grail. It is in all probability, however, an early interpolation, as has been shown by Brugger.⁴¹

⁴¹ *Zs. f. frs. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXX, 188, and the argument that precedes this conclusion. The author of the interpolation probably took Robert de Borron's *Merlin* as his starting point. Sommer, p. xxi of the Introduction to his *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I, appears to have forgotten Brugger's article when he makes no distinction between the author of this interpolation and "the writer of the *Lancelot*."—In this same passage, pp. xx f., Sommer collects a number of incidents (all but one relating to Uterpandragon) which he supposes "the writer of the *Lancelot*" to have derived from an hypothetical lost *Brut*. It is preposterous, however, to lump together the first two examples, III, 3 (Uterpandragon aids Aramons against Claudas) and III, 46 (Nascien and Hervi de Rivel were companions of the Round Table in Uterpandragon's reign) with V, 130 (an old knight, turned hermit, who had known Urien in Uterpandragon's reign, refused to join the Round Table, because he hated a member of it), V, 117 (Ban and his brother, Bohort, do homage to Arthur after Uterpandragon's death), and V, 144 (on returning from Arthur's court shortly after the king's marriage to Guinevere, the elder Bohort had been attacked in ambush by Ceres del Uermeil Castiel), for they are separated by nearly 900 large quarto pages and are in parts of the *Lancelot* that are certainly by different authors. For the rest, there is no reason to look for these inci-

28-29.

"Et sacies que onques a son tans el royaume de logres nen ot vne que saparellast a l(u)i [i. e., Guinevere] de grant biaute fors que .ij. seulement, si fu lune du chastel qui siet en la marche de Norgales & des Frans, si a non li chastiax Gazeuilte. Et la dame ot non Heliene Sans Peir. Et chis contes en parlera en auant. Et lautre fu fille au Roi Mahaignie. Che fu li rois Pelles qui fu peires a Amite meire Galaat chelui qui vit apertement les grans meruelles del graal. Et acompli le siege perillous de la Table Reonde. Et mena a fin les auentures del roialme perelleus & auentureus. Che fu li roialmes de Logres. Cele fu sa suer si fu de si grant biaute que nus des contes ne dist que a son tans fust ne se peust de biaute a lui apparellier. Et si auoit non Amite en sornon & en son droit non Helizabel."

This passage is, no doubt, a late interpolation. That it is interpolated is proved by the Grail allusions—also by its exaltation of Helaine Sans Per, who figures in only one brief episode of the *Lancelot*, III, 390-394, and has no importance in the romance. The author of the *Lancelot* would not have had in mind so early in his work this insignificant character. Moreover, nowhere else in the six volumes (2,335 large quarto pages) of Sommer's edition of the Vulgate cycle, to say nothing of the supplementary seventh volume (323 more pages), containing the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337, is Galahad's mother given a name of any kind. In his Index and side-lines Sommer misleads the inattentive reader by calling her "Elaine (Helaine)." It was doubtless with Malory in mind that he introduced this error into his edition, for she is so called in the *Morte Darthur*.⁴² Now, if the memory of a modern editor

dents in a lost source. They are all manifestly inventions for the nonce.—With regard to III, 46, P. Paris, III, 53, is, I believe, right in regarding this passage as being of different authorship from its setting, although he is mistaken in identifying Kaheus de Cahors of his MS. with Keu, the seneschal, and imagining that the passage is older than its setting. It is, no doubt, really later. It is an error of Sommer's to cite Nascien in this passage. Nascien is not mentioned anywhere in the *Lancelot*, as Sommer's own Index shows.

⁴² How she came to be so called I have explained in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918). Malory, no doubt, found the name already in his French original. P. Paris, V, 309, also applies it to Galahad's mother, but if he had MS. authority for this, we do not know what it was.

can play him such a trick,⁴³ we need not be surprised if something of a kindred nature should have befallen a medieval interpolator in regard to the same character—if, indeed, as is still more likely, he did not arbitrarily invent a name for her.

The source of the present interpolation is to me clear. It is the eulogy of Guinevere in the Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 159. The MS., however, followed by Sommer in his edition is so corrupt in the latter part of the passage as to be unintelligible, so that for all but the first words (ending with *Gazewilte*) I shall have to substitute the (correct) reading of MS. 747, as reproduced by him in *Modern Philology*, V, 305 (1908). The passage runs thus:

“Et li contes dist quele [i. e., Guinevere] fu la plus sage feme de la bloie Bertaigne & la plus bele & la miex amee qui onques fust el pais ne en la terre, fors seulement Elain Sans Per la feme Persides le rous del castel de Gazewilte & la fille le roi Pelles de Listenois del chastel de Corbenyc qui fu niece le riche roi pescheor & le roi malade de plaies dont li uns ert apelez Alains des Illes en Listenois, & cil ert malades de maladies de plaies & li riches rois qui estoit apelez mehaigniez estoit naurez parmi les .ii. cuisses de la lance uengeresse & fu apelez par son droit non quant il estoit en sante li rois Pellinor de Listenois. & li rois Alains & li rois Pelinor si furent frere germain & cele pucele dont ie uos di si estoit lor niece & fille le roi Pelles qui frere (estoit) a ces .ii. dont ie uos ai dit. icele pucelle fu la plus bele que len ueist onques an la terre & la plus nete. icele garda le santisme graal iusquiel ior que Galaad fu engendrez.”

The connection between these two passages which exalt Guinevere above all women, save Helaine (Elaine) Sans Per and Galahad's mother, is too obvious to require argument, and that the former is based on the latter seems to me equally obvious; but the *Lancelot* interpolator must have quoted from memory, for what he has written, from any point of view, is a tissue of blunders. In the first place, it contains the absurdity of making Amite (Helizabel) both Galahad's mother and his sister. Then, it identifies Pelles with the Maimed King, which is not paralleled elsewhere in the

⁴³ Through a similar slip of memory, in the headlines and notes to my edition of the *Mort Artu* (Halle, 1910) I called the Maid of Ascalot, “Elaine,” although she really does not bear that name (in the extant texts, at least) before Malory. I observed the error in time, however, to call attention to it in my Introduction, p. xxxv, note.

Vulgate cycle, save in a similar blundering passage in some MSS. of the *Queste*, VI, 150. In *Modern Philology*, V, 293 ff., however, Sommer has pointed out that, unlike the MS. on which his edition is based, the majority of the *Lancelot* MSS. (15, to say nothing of the early prints, against 8⁴⁴) have in this place "Perceval"⁴⁵ instead of "Galahad," the MS. variants being Pelesvaus, Perleuaus, Perlesuax, Perleuax, Perceval, Parceva. But granting that "Perceval" stood originally in the passage and is not due merely to the effort of the later scribes to correct a crass blunder in the interpolation, this fact would not have the importance which Sommer attaches to it, for the form of the name shows that the writer must have had the *Perlesvaus* in mind, and, consequently, was merely guilty of a momentary carelessness or confusion of memory which is nothing like so bad as the blunder found in this passage in virtually all MSS., viz., that of making the mother of the Grail Winner at the same time his sister. For, with the exception of one or two MSS. which try to remove this absurdity by putting "mother" for

⁴⁴ Sommer, *loc. cit.*, neglects to include the British Museum MS., Add. 10293, in his enumeration of the MSS. that have "Galahad"; also Royal, MS. 19. C. XIII.

⁴⁵ In the ROMANIC REVIEW, IV, 462-471 (1913) I have examined in detail all the evidence as to "Perceval" here having been brought into such MSS. from the *Perlesvaus*, viz., in my argument against the common theory that Perceval once occupied in the Vulgate cycle the place held by Galahad in our extant MSS., so that I shall not go over the ground again now. In writing p. 469 of the article I overlooked Sommer's exact statement in *Modern Philology*, V, 293, as to which MSS. offer the reading "Galahad," and which "Perceval," but this does not affect my conclusions. If my argument in the article, just cited, is sound, there is no need to enter the jungle of hypothetical lost cycles with Sommer, pp. 295 f., and *Romania*, XXXVI, 546, in order to explain the passages under discussion. See, too, my article, mentioned above, in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918). Sommer, p. 295, ascribes "the greatest possible critical value" to the fact that in the British Museum MS., Royal 19. C. XIII, in the passage we are now discussing, after "la fille le roi Pelles" there once stood "le roi Mahaigne lo oncle Parceua", but afterwards "Parceua" was stricken out and "Galaad" substituted. But it is absurd to attach any importance to a scribal blunder, which was later corrected. Brugger, though himself believing in a Perceval-Lancelot cycle, has already (*Zs. f. frz. u. Litt.*, XL, 47, note 11) disposed of Sommer's errors of statement and reasoning here. Moreover, the term of "oncle Galaad" betrays, I have no doubt, the influence of *Queste*, VI, 8. For a similar influence of the *Perlesvaus*, p. 222, on this MS. in a matter of detail (the scar on the brow of the Maid of Ascalot), see my *Mort Artu*, p. 280, and ROMANIC REVIEW, III, 182, note 16.

"sister," the MSS. are all alike in this respect, whether they read "Galahad" or "Perceval."

It will be observed that Galahad's mother, according to our interpolation, was called "Amite en sornon & en son droit non Helizabel." The words "en son droit non" betray likewise the influence of the above quoted passage from the Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 159, where the Maimed King "fu apelez par son droit non quant il estoit en sante li rois Pellinor de Listenois." This idea of people having double names is only found in the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and works (like the Vulgate *Merlin*) or passages (like III, 3) written under its influence. In the *Estoire* compare Seraphe-Nascien, Evalac-Mordrain, Orcans-Lamer, etc. The change of name in the *Estoire* accompanied the formal adoption of Christianity and so corresponded to a frequent actual custom. Then, in Lancelot's case (III, 3), it became merely symbolical of a change in spiritual status (lapse into carnal sin)—so, too, in that of Galahad's mother (in imitation of Lancelot) in the present passage; for her change of name is, also, conceived of, no doubt, as a consequence of her loss of virginity. Before that loss she bore a name with sacred associations, "Elizabeth" (mother of John the Baptist and cousin of the Virgin Mary), "Helizabel" and similar variants being, doubtless, corruptions of "Elizabet" ("Elizabeth"),⁴⁶ which is the reading of some MSS. After losing her virginity, like Lancelot under similar circumstances, she acquired a *sornon*, "Amite." But *c* and *t* were constantly confused in mediaeval MSS., and "Amite" is plainly a variant of "Amice," name of the friend of the heroine (Lidoine) of *Meraugis de Portlesgues*.⁴⁷ Now, barring the present passage and a passage in the Portuguese *Demanda*,⁴⁸ which

⁴⁶ Sommer, *Modern Philology*, V, 293, note, gives the MS. variants of Helizabel and Amite, respectively, without specifying in which or in how many MSS. each occurs. These variants are: Amide, Anite, Aude, Amides, Enite, and Eliabel, Elizabel, Heliabel, Helizabel, Elizabeth, Elizabet. "Aude" is, no doubt, due to the influence of the name of Roland's lady-love in the *Chanson de Roland*, "Enite" to that of the heroine of Chrétien's *Erec*. In Robert de Borron's *Joseph*, ll. 2309 f., Joseph's brother-in-law was called, it is said, "Hebron," "par son droit non", ll. 3344 f., "le riche Pescheur"; but this is not a parallel case.

⁴⁷ Cf. especially ll. 3749 ff., 5090 ff. in M. Friedwagner's edition (Halle, 1897).

⁴⁸ Cf. Sommer, *Romania*, XXXVI, 545 f. Again, Sommer here connects the name with the theory of a Perceval-Lancelot cycle, which I have tried to show is untenable.—"Amice" is, probably, a pseudo-learned feminine to "Amis,"

evidently derives it from our *Lancelot* interpolation, this name occurs nowhere else in mediaeval romance, save in the *Meraugis*. I have, therefore, no doubt, for my own part, that the interpolator got it from that source. The name is of frequent occurrence in the *Meraugis*, since it is borne by a character who plays a considerable part in the romance, whereas in the *Lancelot* it occurs only in this single passage.⁴⁹ If, as Heinzl (p. 158, note 6, of his Grail treatise) suggested, the name of Bohort's son, Helains li Blans, was derived from or influenced by ("H)elins li Blans" in *Li Biaus Descounens*, l. 527 (G. P. Williams's edition, Oxford, 1915), why could not an interpolator draw upon the *Meraugis*, when he wanted a name for Galahad's mother? The Helis (Helins, Helains) li Blans (Blois) of the *Lancelot* (for variants and passages, cf. Sommer's Index), I may add, was certainly taken from *Li Biaus Descounens*—so, too, probably the names Gales li Gais (for li Chaus) and Thors li fiex Ares, associated with it directly, III, 178, although these last two occur also in Chrétien.

88.

On this page, l. 2 (Et se)—l. 12 (quide), we have a passage concerning the descent of Lionel and Bohort—Lancelot's double first cousins and hence of exactly the same ancestry as himself—with an allusion to the future achievement of the Grail adventures by Galahad. Of Lionel and Bohort it is said:

"Car combien quil soient haut de par le peire riens namonte enuers le hauteche quil ont de lor boine mere. Car nous sauons par le tesmoignage des escriptures que ele & si anchisor sont deschendu del haut lignage au haut roi Daud—ne nous ne sauons a com grant chose il poront monter. Car che sauons nous bien que en la Grant Bartaigue atendent tout a estre delivre des merueille(s) & des auentures qui i aiuenent par un qui sera del lignage la meire a ches enfans."

and is meant to suggest friendship or friendliness. Cf. "Amiles" in "*Amis and Amiles*."

⁴⁹ The *Meraugis* and the *Lancelot* have certain episodes in common, and it is possible that the latter is in these matters the source of the former, but one cannot say definitely. See Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXVIII, 59, XXXI, 246, and M. Friedwagner, pp. clxvi ff. of the Introduction to his edition of the *Vengeance Raguidel* (Halle, 1909). We are dealing here, however, with an interpolation which is certainly much later than the *Lancelot*, taken as a whole.

This passage, of course, could not have stood in the original *Lancelot*. It raises the same questions as the passage p. 13, and I will, therefore, refer the reader for a consideration of these questions to my discussion above.

107-108.

This passage, extending from p. 107, l. 34 (*Li contes*) to p. 108, l. 22 (*nostre ioie*), contains no allusion to the *Queste*, etc., but is suspect on account of its religious tone, which is foreign to the *Lancelot*, in general. In commenting on the five great festivals of the year when Arthur was accustomed to hold high court, the writer expounds quite in the manner of a mediaeval theologian the difference between Easter and Whitsuntide in their import to the Christian. I believe that we may safely set this passage down as an interpolation.

112-117.

The description of the ideal of knighthood, pp. 112-116, which the Damsel (Lady) of the Lake sets before Lancelot for his emulation reads like an intercalation, but there is not sufficient religious emphasis in this description, *per se*, to connect it indisputably with the Grail conceptions. Nevertheless, its connection with the passage that follows immediately after—p. 116, l. 36, to p. 117, l. 12—is so close that it is better, perhaps, to accept the whole as an intercalation. This latter passage, which mentions Joseph of Arimathea, the elder Galahad, etc., of course, is a later addition to the primitive *Lancelot*.

After naming certain characters in Jewish history as examples of perfect knighthood, the Damsel (Lady) of the Lake adds to the list Joseph of Arimathea and his son, "*Galahas li haus rois de Hosseliche qui puis fu apelee Gales en lonor de lui*" (*i. e.*, the older Galahad), *Pelles de Listenois*, and *Helains li Gros*, brother to *Pelles*.

Most of this comes straight from the *Estoire del Saint Graal*. *Hosseliche*⁵⁰ (*Hocelice*, *Haucelice*, etc.), as the supposed name of

⁵⁰ As appears from Sommer's Index, this name assumes an extraordinary variety of forms in the MSS. We find it even as "Ostrich"! All the variants are, doubtless, corruptions, and it is impossible to say what the true form is. *Galice* (= *Galicie*) may, perhaps, enter into the composition, owing to the assonance with *Gales*. Could it then be a corruption of *Haute Galice*? Another possibility is that we have here a corruption of some noun, meaning

Wales before it was renamed Gales, originated with the author of this branch and is only found in it—and that but a single time, I, 282—and in the romances (Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 174, *Livre d'Artus*, VII, 140—once each) or passages (*Lancelot*, III, 117, IV, 27—in Sommer's edition, disguised as "lices"—175) written under its influence. Helains li Gros is derived, also, from the *Estoire*, I, 203. Only there have we the name in just this form. It is given to an ancestor of Galahad, who is the third in descent from Celidoine, being a son of the second Nascien. The epithet, "li gros," belonged, originally, to Bron's son, Alain,⁵¹ who in the *Estoire*, I, 251, is expressly distinguished from Celidoine's descendant (Helain).

But the influence of the Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 125, 159, is also discernible in the present passage in the idea that Pelles had a brother named Alain. Nowhere else, save in the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337, VII, 145, *et passim*, and the present passage, do we find this idea,⁵² and the *Livre d'Artus* in question is generally recognized as dependent on the Vulgate *Merlin*.⁵³ It is very likely that the qualification, "de Listenois," attached to Pelles's name, is, also, a mark of the influence of this last-named romance. This, too, seems char-

"country" (e. g., *pais*) + *galesse* (*galesche*), the adjective to *Gales* (Wales). In the metrical romance, *Sone de Nausay* (ed. by M. Goldschmidt, Tübingen, 1899: Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CCXVI), which belongs to the late thirteenth century, the name of the Grail Castle is *Galoche*, 5503, *Galoches*, 16801, 17897, etc., *Galoces*, 16849. These are all, no doubt, corruptions of *Galesce(s)*, *Galesche(s)*. Probably its source had *Castiaus Galesches*.

⁵¹ See G. Weidner's *Der Prosaroman von Joseph von Aramathia*, p. 127 (Oppeln, 1881), where it is said: "Li dozesme de ses [i. e., Bron's] fiz ot non Alains li gros." This romance is, of course, the prose rendering of Robert de Borron's *Joseph*. The epithet, however, is wanting in the verse form.

⁵² In his Index Sommer cites the *Queste*, VI, 102, under the heading of Alain, Pelles's brother, but the passage gives no support to this identification. In fact, the correct reading there is not "Alain," but "Herlan"—the name of another character. I have discussed this and all other matters pertaining to this Alain, Pelles's brother, in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918).

⁵³ P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, II, 397, and IV, 239, note, and 365, expressed doubts as to whether the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337 was not earlier than the *Lancelot* and Vulgate *Merlin*. In his brochure, *The Structure of Le Livre d'Artus and its Function in the Evolution of the Prose Romances* (London, 1914), Sommer has developed these suggestions, which had found no acceptance among Arthurian scholars, but has not convinced anybody, as far as I am aware. I have commented on his argument in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918).

acteristic of the Vulgate *Merlin* and *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337. We find it, besides, at the beginning of the *Queste*, VI, 3, 5, but the chances are that it did not belong to the *Queste* in its original form.⁵⁴

Finally, a glaring proof of interpolation in this passage is the fact that it refers to Pelles as dead, although his whole share in the story comes later in the romance. The words are:

“Si en fu li rois Pelles de Listenois qui encore estoit de chelui lignage [*i. e.*, the line of Joseph of Arimathea] li plus haus quant il viuoit.”

140.

Lancelot stops at a house of religion (thirty miles from Nohaut) where there was a tomb of Leucan, “nies” (according to other MS. variants, son, or merely of the same lineage) of Joseph of Arimathea. Joseph’s lineage bore the Grail and conquered the mis-believers. “Nies,” it should be remarked, could mean either nephew or grandson in Old French.

This seems merely an isolated interpolation—probably by the same person that interpolated the passage, III, 112 ff., which we have just considered. The interest in Joseph’s line appears to show this. The character, L(e)ucan, is derived from the *Estoire*, I, 42, 75, where he is one of three Grail-bearers that accompany Joseph of Arimathea. At I, 42, however, he is called Joseph’s “cousin germain.” Neither the authors nor the interpolators of the Grail romances troubled themselves about exactness in such matters. The name is probably a corruption of “Leucius” in the pseudo-Gospel of Nicodemus.

Lancelot’s fight with Alibon at the Queen’s Ford, pp. 140 ff., which follows immediately upon his visit to the house of religion, is manifestly, also, an intercalation, and, probably, from the same hand as that episode. The incident which is here narrated to explain the origin of the name, “Queen’s Ford,” is found only in the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337, VII, 122, and that is, no doubt, our inter-

⁵⁴ I have commented on this in the article just cited. Since writing that article I observed that Heinzel in his Grail treatise, p. 160, suggests that the idea of Pelles’s having a brother, Alain, and the idea of making Pelles a king of Listenois belonged originally to the *Merlin* continuations, and were later introduced into the *Lancelot*. The Vulgate *Merlin* is really responsible for both.

polator's source.⁵⁵ The Saxon wars, in which the incident occurs, belong properly to the *Livre d'Artus* (*Merlin* continuation) division of the cycle, and not to the *Lancelot*, so that there can be no question that the *Lancelot* is the borrower in this instance.

199–200, 215–223.

The first of these passages recounts Arthur's strange allegorical dreams concerning his sins, the second the interpretation of these dreams by a holy man.

We have in these passages only one Grail allusion, p. 222, viz., to the manner (related in the *Estoire*, I, 20 f.) in which Joseph of Arimathea was miraculously sustained in his wanderings, after he left the Holy Land. Nevertheless, the religious tone of the whole excites suspicion. It is, in part, an imitation, no doubt, of the popular prophecies of Merlin, but the interpolation, on the religious (or pseudo-religious) side, was inspired, I believe, by the *Estoire del Saint Graal*.

As late as p. 226 we have an allusion to the interpreter of the dreams.

226.

Gawain exhorts the knights of Arthur's court to enter upon the quest for Lancelot, "la plus haute queste qui onques fust apres celi del Graal"—an obvious interpolation. These words were sure to be inserted after the *Lancelot* was united with the Grail romances.

381.

Sagremor is said here to have received his epithet, "li desrees," from Guinevere on the day that the thirty knights defeated the Saxons and Irish before "Estreberes." Sommer (Index) identifies this place⁵⁶—rightly, no doubt—with the "Vandeberes" of the *Merlin* continuations—similarly, Brandague, King of the Saxons, with Brannague, and Margan, King of Ireland, with Maaglans (also peculiar to those continuations).

There is no account of Sagremor's killing these kings in the Vulgate *Merlin* continuation (or *Livre d'Artus*), but we do find

⁵⁵ P. Paris, III, 151, note 2, has already observed this.

⁵⁶ Possibly the Old French name for Shrewsbury may be responsible for "Estreberes." The name is found as "Estroburgis" in the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, line 691 (edited by Paul Meyer, 3 vols., Paris, 1891–1901).

such an account in the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337, VII, 45. Here it is related that Sagremor killed the two brothers, Magaat and Brannague, at Vandebere. The *Lancelot* interpolator, then, is alluding to this passage. He has, however, got one detail wrong. It was the old queen of Vandebere, not Guinevere, who in the *Livre d'Artus* of 337, VII, 46, conferred on Sagremor his epithet.⁵⁷ Our interpolator, nevertheless, clearly has in mind VII, 44-46. What I said above at the end of my discussion of the previous borrowing (pp. 141 f.) from this *Livre d'Artus* applies here, too.⁵⁸

Brugger in the Heinrich Morf *Festschrift* (Halle a. S., 1905, p. 71, note 1) assumes that the *Livre d'Artus* of 337 is dependent on this *Lancelot* passage, and not *vice versa*, as I have done, but that assumption is untenable, for in the latter we have a mere allusion (and plainly, to VII, 44 ff.), in the former a full narrative.

429.

In the penultimate paragraph of what Sommer calls Part I of the *Lancelot*, it is related that clerks wrote down the preceding adventures of Arthur's knights. The paragraph ends: "Et tout cil autre [*i. e.*, narratives concerning the adventures of the other knights] furent branche de cestui [*i. e.*, narrative of Lancelot's adventures]. Et li contes Lancelot fu branche del Graal si com il y fu aioustes."

The last sentence states plainly that the *Lancelot* was adjusted to the Grail romances. It was, of course, written by an "adjuster," as, indeed, was, most likely, the whole paragraph.

IV, 19-35.

The whole passage concerning Galehaut's dreams (p. 5) and their interpretation by Helyes of Toulouse, pp. 19-35, is very likely an interpolation. There is no question at all, however, about the words, p. 23, ll. 19 f.:

⁵⁷ Keu (Kay), on the other hand, nicknamed him (p. 46) "li Morz Ieuns." We find earlier in the *Lancelot*, III, 278, a different explanation of Sagremor's epithet, "li Desrees," which, in its turn, is imitated in the *Livre d'Artus* of 337, VII, 55. P. Paris, III, 290, note, observed the connection of the present passage with the *Livre d'Artus* of 337.

⁵⁸ It may be that the reference in the *Queste*, VI, 52, to the slaying of Perceval's brothers is a late insertion, based on the *Livre d'Artus* (VII, 239), like these passages in the *Lancelot*; but a lost metrical romance is more likely the common source of both.

"Et autresi que nulle beste ne puet durer contre le lupart fors li lyons. tout aussi ne puet estre mielldres cheualiers de lui [*i. e.*, Lancelot], fors uns tos seus, mais il en sera mis & sera fils a cel lupart."

The leopard in the allegory is Lancelot, and the son of the leopard is, of course, Galahad. After the *Lancelot* was adjusted to the Grail romances, the exception in favor of Galahad as the best knight had to be inserted always.

The Grail allusions run all through pp. 26-28 and stamp these pages as an interpolation. We find here an explanation as to why the lion (Galahad) is superior to the leopard (Lancelot). The allusions to the knight who will end the adventures of the Grail refer, of course, to the *Queste*, and in that branch, VI, 94, 98 (in the episode of Lancelot's vision) Galahad figures also as a lion. In the *Estoire*, I, 203, he is again (in Nascien's vision) allegorized as a lion—uncrowned, it is added.⁵⁹

It is a sign that the entire dialogue, pp. 19-34, between Galehaut and Helyes is an interpolation, when we find Galehaut, p. 26, talking about the Grail. Down to the present passage none of the Grail allusions have appeared in the speeches of characters.

In the prophetic eulogy of Galahad by Helyes, pp. 26 f., we have the following words:

"si nos dist Merlins qui encor ne nos a menti de rien que de la chambre al roi mehangnie de la gaste forest auenturosse en la fin del roialme de lices [for "*Hocelices*," doubtless] uendra la merueilleuse beste qui sera esgardee a merueilles es plains de la Grant Bertaigne. Cele beste sera de diuerse maniere sor toutes autres bestes. Elle aura teste de lyon et cors dolyfant et autres membres et si aura cuer dacier dur et serre qui nauera garde de flescir ne damolier."

This passage is connected with the interpolation, III, 28 f., by the apparent identification of the Maimed King with Pelles, which is exceptional in the Grail romances, being probably due to an error,⁶⁰ and with the interpolation, III, 112 ff., by the introduction

⁵⁹ One might, at first, suspect the influence of this detail at p. 22 (higher up in this same supposed interpolation), where Galehaut, as an uncrowned dragon, confronts the crowned dragon, Arthur; but, as a matter of fact, Galehaut is not called king in the *Lancelot*, but merely "prince" and "sire" (=lord).

⁶⁰ I have discussed the matter in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918). The real

of Hocelices (from the *Estoire*), which is, also, rarely mentioned in these romances. It would seem, then, that all three of these passages were the work of the same interpolator.

It is to be observed still further that the description of Galahad in the last sentence of the passage just quoted is, barring a few changes in the words and their order, identical with the description of Perceval in the *Perlesvaus*.⁶¹ The latter runs as follows:

“Il a chief d’or, et regart de lion, et nombril de virge pucele, et cuer d’acier, et cors d’olifant, et tesches sans vileinnie.”

Which text is the borrower?—It can hardly be open to question that the *Lancelot*, in its original form, is earlier than the *Perlesvaus*, but we are dealing here with an interpolation. Now, there is other evidence, as we have just seen, to connect the present passage with the interpolation, III, 28 f., where, as I have already remarked,⁶² the form of Perceval’s name (found in the majority of the MSS., instead of Galahad’s) points unmistakably to *Perlesvaus* influence. I believe, then, that in the present passage our interpolator is the borrower.

We have, p. 33, another clear imitation of the *Queste*. In the former (IV, 33) Helyes is disclosing to Galehaut in the chapel the total number of years the latter is to live. He does so by drawing a corresponding number of lines (45) on the wall with charcoal. A mysterious hand, as red as a coal of fire, holding a blood-red sword, appears through the closed door and strikes out 41 and a quarter of the lines that indicated years. The apparition of the hand is thus described:

“si regarde Galehot et voit uenir parmi luis vne main et si estoit li huis fermes. & vns (*sic*) bras tant comme il dure dusques as Maimed King lived in the same Palais Auentureus (in the forest here named) as Pelles, himself, so that the identification with Pelles in the present passage is not absolutely required from the strictly logical point of view, but Pelles was the lord of the castle and father of Galahad’s mother; there is every likelihood, therefore, that the allusion here is to him.

⁶¹ Cf. Potvin’s edition, *Perceval le Gallois*, I, 37—also, 197 f., with a slight change in the word-order. In the *Livre d’Artus* of MS. 337, VII, 52, we have the same description applied to an unnamed knight, who is, however, doubtless, Perceval; for the allusion to Keu’s relations to Arthur’s son, Lohot, makes it clear that the writer is drawing on the *Perlesvaus*.

⁶² See p. 258, above.

espaules et fu uestus d'une lee mance dynde de samit trainant dusques a la terre. Et duroit dusques au coute. Et dilueques en auant estoit vestus dusques al poing ausi comme de blanche soie. Li bras estoit lons a merueilles et la mains estoit rouge comme charbons enbrases. Et cele main tenoit vne espee de sanc vermelle & lenheudure de lespee dusques au poing. Et sen vint tout droit a maistre Helye," etc.

Compare this with the following description in the *Queste*, VI, 108, of a similar apparition in the adventure of Gawain and Hector at the dilapidated chapel:

"En ce quil parolent ensi, si voient issir parmi luis vne main de la chapele qui apparoit iusques vers la coute si estoit couerte de vermeil samit delie. A cele main pendoit .j. frein de cheual ne mie moult riches & tenoit en son poing vn gros chierge qui moult ardoit cler si passa par deuant aus & entra el cancel & sesuanui dentrels en tel maniere queil ne sorent quele estoit deuenue."

There are differences in the descriptions, of course, owing to the different requirements of the situations, but the passage in the *Queste* plainly furnished the inspiration to the *Lancelot* interpolator.⁶⁸

I repeat that this whole conception of Galehaut's premonitory dreams was a later insertion, for, after all Helyes's elaborate interpretation, when Galehaut dies, IV, 155, not a word is said of them.

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⁶⁸ Before leaving this interpolation, it is, perhaps, hardly necessary for me to say that the various pretended predictions of Merlin in it, pp. 23, 27, 28, are inspired by the prophecies of Merlin that were current in the literature of the period and have nothing to do with the Old French *Merlin* romances. It looks as if we had a reference to some one of these romances IV, 40, where it is related that wars between Uterpandragon and Urien explained (ultimately) the presence of so many exiles in Gorre. But there is no such story in the *Merlin* romances. Indeed, Urien only enters the narrative of that branch after Uterpandragon's death, and the passage in the *Lancelot* is an invention of the author of this part of the romance. The same thing applies to the statement, IV, 124, that Morgan learned from Merlin what she knew concerning enchantment. Through Geoffrey, Wace and Robert de Borron Merlin's magical powers were known far and wide.

P. Paris, IV, 138, note, states that the interpretation of Galahad's dreams is not found in most MSS. This would, of course, confirm the theory of interpolation. Sommer says nothing on the subject.

(To be continued.)

STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE SICILIAN POETS

THE RELATIVE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE CHIEF SOURCES

IN a previous paper in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*¹ I summarily indicated the problems which the text of the Sicilian poets brings up, and made certain statements about the manuscript evidence. It is my design, in the present paper, to substantiate those statements by a detailed examination of certain canzoni contained in all three of our primary sources, P, V, and L. There are eleven such canzoni out of those attributable to the Sicilian group, occupying consecutive positions (tho sometimes with intervening non-Sicilian pieces) in L, the order of which, for convenience, is here followed, with reference to the position of each poem in P and V, and to the best printed text.

- I. L 55: *Madonna, dir vi voglio*.—P 37, V 1.—Langley, *Giacomo*, p. 3.
- II. L 56: *Ben m'è venuta prima cordollienza*.—P 19, V 7.—*Ibid.*, p. 13.
- III. L 58: *Meravilliosamente*.—P 39, V 2.—*Ibid.*, p. 6.
- IV. L 60: *Già lungamente, amore*.—P 28, V 111.—*Ibid.*, p. 40.
- V. L 61: *Vostr' orgogliosa cera*.—P 62, V 35.—Monaci, p. 63.
- VI. L 62: *Amore avendo interamente voglia*.—P 12, V 78.—No good text.
- VII. L 63: *Membrando ciò k'amore*.—P 38, V 179.—Langley, p. 37.
- VIII. L 64: *Amor mi fa sovente*.—P 15, V 84.—Monaci, p. 202.
- IX. L 65: *S'eo trovasse pietanza*.—P 58, V 107.—Casini, *Poeti Bolognesi*, p. 133.
- X. L 72: *Biasmoni dell'amore*.—P 64, V 110.—Monaci, p. 78.
- XI. L 73: *Contra lo meo volere*.—P 74, V 36.—Monaci, p. 66.

In the ensuing discussion, reference is made to each poem by the Roman numeral in this table. Questions of disputed attribution are for the present disregarded.

Most editors of the Sicilian poems have regarded V as the most reliable source. It was the first of the three to be published, and it contains by far the largest number of poems; yet it by no means offers substantially better texts than its rivals. None the less, L's variants have often been relegated to the background, and P has been regarded with explicit distrust. The origin of this feeling

¹ *A Plea for the Sicilian Poets*, vol. VI, No. 4 (pp. 448-457).

lies in the words of Caix,² who calls the MS. the work of a copyist "more tender of elegance of execution and richness of ornament than of scrupulous exactness of reading. . . . While the poems of this poet [Guittone] and of the southerners are beyond measure corrupt and deformed, those of Bonagiunta are transcribed with particular care and with much correctness." This is gravely overstated; for in truth the "carefully transcribed" poems of Bonagiunta exhibit precisely the same slips which we shall find in the Sicilian pieces, and the alleged distinction becomes wholly illusory. "Yet," Caix continues, "certain important features of the earliest poetic language are in this MS. and in this alone, marvellously preserved, so that it remains, in certain respects, the most faithful to the first literary tradition." This is unquestionably true; but if it is the case with forms, why may it not equally be the case with readings? Thus the opinion of Caix is not so sweepingly adverse as it at first sight appears; but the unduly unfavorable words have been meekly accepted by later scholars, as by Parducci³ and Langley,⁴ with consequent relegation of P to a distinctly inferior position. It is this estimate which we shall chiefly have reason to revise in the light of the ensuing discussion.

It is perfectly true that the text of P shows numerous signs of carelessness; the question is, just what is the nature of this carelessness? Does it seriously invalidate the entire text, or does it merely affect a word or a passage here and there? It may be said at once that some of the errors are the result of hurried running together of syllables, as a letter-writer might put *rember* for *remember*, and do not at all indicate fundamental corruption; thus, in I. 8 we have *tenese l'aita* for *teneselo a vita* (L), in VI. 21 *divendo* for *divenendo*. Other errors arise from non-observance of rime, as, in III. 34, *cognosco* for *angoscio*, in VI. 21 *alegreza* for *alleganza*, and the like. This fault, however, occurs likewise in V; in VI. 29 we have *saccante* for *sacciate*, in X. 9 *scordo* (repeated from 8) for *stordo*. On this score, then, V's alleged superiority to P does not appear. Obviously, to settle the dispute, we must examine a sufficient number of variants to show how often V or P is seriously

² *Le Origini della Lingua Poetica Italiana* (Florence, 1880), pp. 17-18.

³ *I Rimatori Lucchesi del Secolo XIII* (Bergamo, 1905), p. lxxxvi.

⁴ *The Poetry of Giacomo da Lentino* (Cambridge, 1915), p. xxxvi.

corrupt, and how often either offers a reading intrinsically superior to that of the other. We shall also, by including the variants of L, secure both a useful checking device and the means of attaining an exacter idea of the value of L's text. Naturally the conclusions thus reached will not necessarily be true of other parts of the MSS.; but since a beginning must be made somewhere, and since the Sicilian poems must have in part a different transmission from that of Tuscan work, we shall gain at least a basis for further study, and a clearer notion of the state of the text in the Sicilian poems themselves.

Before beginning the detailed examination, it will be convenient to indicate certain general sources of variation, yielding differences too minute to be here discussed. Divergences of spelling, where the same word or form is obviously intended, are disregarded;⁵ so are minute syntactical variants, such as the employment of different conjunctions (cf. XI. 23: *però* P, *perciò* V, *dunqua* L) or prepositions (cf. VII. 6: *dal* V, *del* PL); the substitution of a reflexive for a non-reflexive verb form (cf. V. 43: *ispegna* V, *si spegna* PL); the presence or absence of a pronoun (cf. I. 29, where V omits *eo*); or a shift of word-order without substitution (cf. I. 52: *ke gecta a la fortuna* P, *c'a la fortuna gitta* VL). Any conclusions on such small points must obviously depend on our view of more extensive dissimilarities; and to deal with them here would unwarrantably extend our discussion without any real profit. Moreover, by confining our attention to major variants we shall avoid as far as may be the errors incident to working from diplomatic transcripts, not from the MSS. themselves.

I

It so happens that this poem is one of the strongest witnesses for the value of P. Tho in fourteen cases P varies from VL, the only obvious corruptions are in lines 37-40, of which no MS. gives a wholly satisfactory version. A few of these cases are slight; two others (3, *vostro* P, *grande* VL, and 22, *constrecto* P, *distretto* VL) are neutral, but with no objection to be raised to P's reading. In 6, P's *in tante pene è miso* seems to me smoother than V's *ch'è'n*

⁵ Individual readings are given in the orthography of the respective MS., but in some cases a normalized text is used in incidental discussion.

tanta pena miso, or *L's che'n tanta pena è miso*; so, too, perhaps, in 52, quoted above. More important and equally defensible readings are given by P in the second half of stanza i, its version of which is this:

- 9 Or donqua moro eo?
 No, ma lo core meo
 More spesso e più forte
 Che non faria di morte—naturale;
 13 Per voi, donna, cui ama,
 Più ke sè stesso brama,
 E voi pur lo sdegnate;
 Donqua nostra amistate—vide male.

Here, in 9, V's *adunque morire'eo* is less smooth; L's *dunque mor'u'viv'eo* has rather the look of a conscious emendation. In 11, L's *assai più spesso e forte* for PV's *more spesso e più forte* involves the loss of a verb form needed for smoothness; and in 16 L's *vidi* for *vide* may be an emendation, or a mere failure to note that the verb in the third person is governed, like those above, by *core*. I likewise prefer P's reading in 16 to the *amor vostr'amistate* of VL. Thus, by accepting P, we secure a clear and smooth-running text.

We should likewise, I believe, follow P in the beginning of stanza ii, where its version differs radically from that of VL. Lines 17–20 run thus in P:

Del mio innamoramento
 Alcuna cosa ò decto;
 Ma sì com'eo lo sento
 Cor nolo penseria nè direa lingua.

whereas VL read

Lo meo innamoramento
 Nom pò parire in detto;
 Così com'eo (ma sì come L) lo sento
 Cor nolo (core nol L) penseria nè diria lingua.

It seems to me that P's reading best accords with the train of thought. Giacomo *has* just said something of his love, for he has spoken of the pain it brings him; but he is not able to express it in its full intensity, as he goes on to say:

Ciò k'eo dico è neente
Inver k'eo son constrecto.

This is assuredly intelligible, and less conventionally rhetorical than the version of VL. For these reasons, I have no hesitation in preferring P.

If we now inspect the readings peculiar to V as against PL, we shall find few of them preferable (except perhaps *invenire* for *avènire* in 34), and several unquestionably corrupt. In 7, V's *vede che si more* is out of harmony with the context. In 45 V's *è* is inferior to PL's *fa*; in 51 V's *costì* for *è sì* makes havoc of the passage by removing a necessary verb. If we add these to the already cited lines in which V differs from P without advantage, we shall scarcely gain a renewed faith in the plenary inspiration of the former.

Of six cases in which L differs from PV, two (11 and 16) have been mentioned above. In 26, PV's *perchè no mi consuma* seems better than L's *e mai non me consuma*. The other cases are of minor importance: *madonna* for *bella* in 56, *bella* for *donna* in 66, *facesse motto* for *dicesse motto* in 76. Here, as in most of the poems we are to examine, L oftener stands with either P or V than in opposition to both of them. In two cases where all three differ, L gives a smoother reading in 8 (*teneselo a vita*) and in 24 (*foc'aio al cor non credo mai si stingua*, where *al cor* is lacking in PV).

We have now left for consideration some cases in which all three MSS. differ. Of these I mention some merely to illustrate a frequent but not important type of minor variation, in which the essential meaning is unaffected, and which, in subsequent poems, I shall largely disregard. Thus, in 31 P reads *e non sacio k'eo dica*, V *e non saccio che dica*, L *e non so che mi dica*; in 53, P reads *e scanpane per gieto*, V *e camppane per getto*, L *e canpan per lo getto*; in 73, P reads *ben vorria k'avenisse*, V *a deo c'or avenisse*, L *vorria c'or avenisse*. In such cases no reading possesses intrinsic advantages over the others. In 36-40, however, we have a graver problem. P, as was noted above, reads erroneously in 37 *e paremi uno spirito*, where V correctly has *sì com'omo in prodito*, and L *cha sì com'om prudito*. I take it that P's *spirito* is an alteration of the unusual *prodito* (for *prurito*; see Langley's note *ad loc.*) which

the scribe did not understand. So in 38 VL's *lo cor* is right, P's *k'al cor* wrong; and in 39 P's *e giamai non son kito* is less good than VL's *che* for *e* and *è* for *son*, if we desire to keep *core* as the subject thruout. In 40, however, all three radically diverge, thus:

V finto che non vene al suo sentore
 L mentre non pò toccar il suo sentore
 P s'eo non posso trar lo suo sentore

Using the text of VL for the opening of the passage, what is the sense of the whole? "My heart makes me feel like a man with the itch, for it is never quiet"—until it is scratched, is the obvious supplement. Which reading, then, best fits? Evidently P's is least good; V's is understandable, but L's seems more forceful. *Sentore*, by the way, means here, as elsewhere, *sensation* or *feeling*.

We may thus conclude that P offers us, despite some slight errors, several acceptable readings, except in 37-40; that L has some independent readings which deserve consideration; and that V offers quite as many real corruptions as P, and of a more serious nature, without the compensation of better individual readings.

II

The text of this poem presents few striking divergences, and relatively few cases in which one MS. stands against the other two. Of two such cases in which P stands alone, I think its readings preferable: 1, *cordollienza* (parallel to *cordollo*, -ioso) for *al cor doglienza*, and 9, *quella gente* for *l'altra gente*. L reads in 5 *tant'è potente* for *ma sì è potente*; in 30, *per soffrir* for *per mio amor*; in 31, *torna in pietanza* for *torna pietanza*, the latter being more idiomatic in the period (like our English idiom *turn salt*). Similarly V has, in 15, *bella* for *donna*; in 17, *ch'io non faccio*, less smooth than *eo non vi faccio*; in 36, *fugge* for *teme*. Obviously from variations like these very little can be inferred. More significant are four cases of considerable divergence. The first is 26:

P di piacer penza—assai, poikè si pente
 L di far plagensa—pensa, e poi si pente
 V di ben fare penza—e poi si pente

where either P or L is obviously preferable to V. So in 29:

P seria sovente—più ricca la gioia mia.
L dunque più gente—serea la gioi' mia.
V dunque saria più gente—far la gioia mia.

V's reading flatly disregards the metre. Yet again, in 33:

P ma se voi sete senza percepenza
L e voi che siete senza percepenza
V voi so che siete senza percepenza

P is obviously best. It would hardly be tactful to preface a plea to one's lady by assuring her of one's confidence in her lack of perception. In these three cases, then, the reading of V is unacceptable; in one that of P is preferable, in the others surely possible; in all three it is clear that P and L embody different traditions. Less simple is the fourth case, 40:

P ki sofra vince e sconpra one acordanza
L ki sofra conpie e vince ogni tardanza.
V se sofera sgombra e vince ogni tardanza.

Here PL agree on the first two words, all disagree on the third, and L agrees with V for the rest of the line. A case of this kind is hard to settle by any but the rule-of-thumb method of building a composite line by taking all readings attested by any two of the MSS. against the third. Langley has actually done so in this case, and the principle, if carried out consistently, might prove helpful in disposing at least of the smaller variations.

In this poem, then, we find P and L distinctly superior to V in three cases of serious disagreement, with P entitled to credit in certain passages, and nowhere seriously corrupt. In view of the general close agreement of the MSS. I think it significant that V's peculiar readings should so uniformly be inferior or worse.

III

Here again we encounter, I think, a case in which P is clearly superior to its rivals. It has at least ten individual readings, only one of which (43) is obviously corrupt, and that merely in anticipating the rime-word of the next line; four, tho minor, are defensible; and the remainder are of capital importance. In 2-6 the vulgate, based on VL, is as follows:

Un amor mi dstringe
 E sovenmi ad ogn'ora
 Com'omo che ten mente
 In altra parte, e pinge
 La simile pintura.

In 3, P reads *mi tene*, in 4 *om ke pone mente*, in 5 *in altro exemplo*, all of which seem to me preferable, and the last the only way of making sense of the passage. In 25, P's *come quello ke crede* is smoother than VL's *sì com'on che si crede*, and in 27 its *ancor non vegia inante* gives a much better sense than VL's *ancor no a* (or *va*) *davante*. V has two peculiar readings: *voi siete* for *parete* in 11, *così* for *al cor* in 28; in both cases Monaci and Langley prefer to follow PL. In 20 and 23, L exchanges the rime-words without discoverable reason; in 45 it reads *forte* for *bella*, the latter being preferable, and in 47 *molte* for *tutte*.

When we turn to three cases of divergence in all three MSS., we again find P most acceptable. In 13 it reads *o deo co'mi par forte*, better than L's *e molto mi par*, or V's *anzi m'asembra morte*, which can scarcely be right, and is rejected by Monaci and Langley. In 37 V's *se voi siete* (emended by Langley to *se siete* for the metre) seems to me not clear; the same is to be said of L's *se colpo*; whereas P's *s'eo guardo* is clear and simple. (This passage is further discussed below, because of its bearing on the correct order of stanzas.) In 32, P's insertion of *in* seems to give quite as good a sense as V's omission of it; L goes off on a wholly different tack, with *tanto prende più loco*. In two of the three cases, then, L represents a different tradition; in one of them V is in error, in another less clear; in all three, the readings of P are legitimately entitled to acceptance.

Finally, as to the order of stanzas.⁶ It is clear that *v* and *vi* in V should be interchanged, as they are in PL, followed by Monaci and Langley. But what is *v* in L is *iv* in P; hence the simplest correction of V is P's shift of V's *vi* to fourth place, followed by V's *iv* and *v*, whereas L compared with V has the order *iv*, *vi*, *v*. To demonstrate what I think is the correct order, let me summarize

⁶ For convenience I have used above the older line-order to be found in the printed texts.

the trend of the thought. In iii, Giacomo tells us how he painted a picture of his lady, on which he gazes when he cannot see her. In VL's iv the fire of this love is described, in their v the result of an actual meeting. Now it seems to me that if, with P, we follow iii with the description of the actual meeting, we get an effective contrast of situations, on which follows the general account of the ardency of his love. Moreover, P's individual readings fit well into this order. "If I look as I pass," its version of iv begins, "I do not turn toward you, fair one, to look again (*risguardare* taken in its literal sense, not as a mere synonym of *sguardare*); as I go, I heave a great sigh." Likewise, at the end of v, the converse of the situation is given: "In like manner I burn when I pass by and do not look." That is, whether the poet, on meeting his lady, looks at her but once, or whether he passes by without looking, the effect on him is the same. I believe that anyone who carefully reads thru the three parallel versions in Monaci will be convinced that P is in almost every case better, and I therefore unhesitatingly maintain that P's order of stanzas and individual readings should be made the basis of any sound text. We have seen that editors have adopted P's readings when they are incontestably better; the question is simply, why should not these readings be equally accepted where the merit, tho real, is less marked? In other words, if P, as here, is unquestionably right in several important cases, why not assume that it is right in the others? This is not to assert that such a course should be everywhere followed; but I do believe that the definitely superior version of any MS. in a given poem should lead us to accept its readings wherever we can do so.

IV

We have here a case of uncertain attribution, V assigning the poem to Tiberto Galliziani of Pisa, L to Rugieri d'Amici, and P, less plausibly, to Giacomo. The variants offered by the different MSS. are numerous, but for the most part too minute to merit discussion here. P's text is distinctly unsatisfactory, being corrupt in 3 (*dalcòr* for *d'altro*), 17 (anticipating end of the following line for the correct *e vorria dire*), 25 (*non è strania gente* for *nolle sterea gente*), and 26 (syncopation of syllables). In other cases

(as 19, 27, 30) P is either mildly corrupt or less preferable; only in 45 can its reading, *ella arà'l pentimento*, be argued for against VL's *ell'à lo perdimento*. V and L are for the most part close, tho in 42 V's *voglio di molte* is an error for *vorrei* (or *vorria* P) *di morte*. On the whole L offers the most acceptable text; whether this implies an equal credibility for its attribution is a question to be considered later.

V

This poem, generally attributed to Arrigo Testa, presents several variations among the three MSS., but none of very great importance. It is to be noted, however, that V has a number of errors: 16, *li vezi* for *levezza*; 34, *mondo* for *modo*; 41, *vedendo per* for *vedete pur*; 42, *infin che* for *ke fin ke*. In 62, V has what should be 63, and in place of the real 63 repeats 51. Moreover, few of V's non-corrupt variants seem at all preferable. P, on the other hand, is definitely corrupt only thrice: 10, *mi* for *vi*; 45, *è miso* (V's *in uso* is probably right); and 64, *fermeza* for *fermanza* (the correct rime). L's reading in 7 is presumably incorrect, as involving repetition of a previously occurring rime; in 40 it reads *verso l'amore* for *ver la natura*. We may sum up the matter by saying that V not only differs more often from the other two, but has far more corruptions;⁷ and that L almost always coincides with either P or V, having very few peculiar readings.

VI

This poem, attributed by VL to Mazzeo di Rico, by P to Raineri da Palermo, is not accessible in a good critical text. P is slightly corrupt in 21 (*divendo* for *divenendo*) and 26 (*alegreza* for *alegranza*); and more seriously so in 20, where part of the line is lost. V, however, has two cases of false rime to set against P: *fallenza* for *fallanza* in 16, *saccante* for *sacciate* in 29. Moreover, lines 47-48 are given in exact reversal of the sense of PL, for no assignable reason. The latter MSS. read

ke la pena ke l'omo à indegnamente
assai più dole dolorosamente,

⁷ In line 15 of Monaci's text of V, *l'afan* is a misprint for *l'afare*, also the reading of P and L.

whereas V has

ke la pena che l'omo à dirittamente
duole assai meno.

L reads in 41 *pur so ch'eo n'aggio adolorato il core* instead of *eo so ch'eo n'aggio doloroso core*, and supplies two words needed for the metre: *bene* in 51, and *gran* in 54. Neutral variants are as follows: 6, *vostra* P, *nostra* VL; 34, *servisio* P, *bon fatto* VL; 39, *veramente* P, *duramente* VL; 13, *compimento* V, *piacimento* PL; 45, *molto* V, *di ciò* PL; 29, *ma voglo che sacciate* L, *a ciò ke voi sacciate* PV. These indicate a fair degree of independence in the three MSS., a fact confirmed by several passages in which all three diverge. Thus, in 26-27 P has

come quello ke piange e alegreza
ke lassa, ancor li sia dispiacimento;

L,

sicome quei ke piange d'alegranza

and the next line as in P; V,

come quelli che piange l'alegranza
e lascio, ancor mi sia dispiacimento,

where the shift to the first person seems unwarranted. Likewise in 32 we have this variation:

P partendo me vi lasso ad uno amante
L da voi partendo lassovi a un amante
V partomi da voi e lasciovi ad uno amante,

in which V seems distinctly inferior. The closing lines of the poem are disturbed, and no MS. gives a wholly satisfactory version of them.

On the whole, this poem is chiefly important as showing us that V is not exempt from the type of faulty or careless rime usually charged against P, and that all three MSS. are capable of wide divergence in a single case.

VII

Yet another case of disputed attribution, V giving the poem to Beroardi, L to Giacomo, and P to Piero delle Vigne. If V's attribution is right, the poem would pass from the Sicilian circle to the

early Florentine; but until its provenance has been more minutely studied, it is convenient to discuss it here. In the text all three MSS. diverge, and both P and V show incidental corruptions. P has *pianto* for *pensamento* in 5, *dolcemente* for *tanto dolce* in 30, and *k'ancor* for *a torto* in 16—the first two surely wrong, the last probably so. P also omits lines 19–24, tho a space was left for them. On the other hand, P's *dismarrimento* in 3 is better than *del marrimento* of VL; and in 34 P's insertion of *è* helps the sense. V, in turn, has four corrupt spots: 11, *di merzede* for *di me merzè*; 18, *ello* for *lo*; 54, *soferenza* for *caunoscenza*; and 55, *challei* for *ke*. L, for its part, has no obvious corruptions, but a number of alternative readings, as 17, *ver me che m'à conquizo* for *in ver me poi m'à priso*; 26, *sospiri* for *dollie*; 32, *che tene per tal via* for *perde e va per tale* (*altra P*) *via*; 40, *bella* for *spera*; and 59, *prima* for *anzi*. Finally, in 43–44 V's version is supported against PL by its agreement with the rime-scheme. Hence we may say that the poem yields two results: (1) the middle place of L, partly agreeing with one or the other MS., partly offering alternatives of its own, but nowhere corrupt; and (2), the prevalence of incidental errors in V no less than in P.

VIII

This poem exhibits a striking harmony between P and V, and an equally marked difference from them on the part of L. P has against VL only *penaré* for *pensare* in 26; V has against PL only *consolamento* in 24, and that was corrected to PL's *confortamento*. There are very slight divergences of all three MSS. in 12 and 30, and a marked one in 36, thus:

P ch'io la terrò per donna in vita mia
 L ma tuttor la terrò per donna mia
 V ch'io la voglio tuttora per donna mia.

Otherwise, P and V are identical, except for the normal variation in spelling. L, on the other hand, has at least five considerable variants, and some minor ones; moreover, it adds two stanzas to the three of PV. The variants are legitimate, not corruptions, as the following list will show:

17 L	<i>venire</i>	PV	<i>eo viver</i>
20	<i>lo su'bel chiaro vizo</i>		<i>in tale guisa conquiso</i>
23	<i>ch'eo ne son conquiso</i>		<i>di veder lo bel viso</i>
24	<i>che'l mi terrea</i>		<i>e tegnomi</i>
25	<i>conforto e non ò</i>		<i>confortomi e non agio</i>

Hence we have here a novel relation for our series: a case in which P and V stand near together, in which L shows a wholly different tradition, and in which all three MSS. are notably free from corruption.

IX

This poem yields little that is instructive. P has two obvious corruptions: 9, *e dicio oi lasso* for *che dico oimè lasso*, and 14, *sol* for *so che*; and two neutral variants: 28, *laund'eo sento perir* for *und'eo sento morir*, and 11, *a gioi'non s'avene* for *nè gaugio*⁸ (*nullo ivene* L, *nol s'avene* V). V has *faccio* for *faria* in 5, *laove* for *a cui* in 22, *molto* for *k'assai* in 37, L has *mersede la chierrea* for *merzè le kereria* in 3; *se'l pregar* for *ke* (or *ch'al* V) *pregar* in 7; *mossa* for *mostra* in 18. There is divergence of all three twice: 24,

P *ke gioi'mi sì n'acresca* (or *s'inacresca*?)

V *che gioia me n'acresca*

L *che gioi'nessuna cresca*,

where L has taken its own tack; and 34,

P *sì come'l mare e l'onda*

V *come nel mare l'onda*

L *se non come'n mar l'onda* (reading after correction)

where P is obviously less good. The other variants are too slight to affect the sense, or to provide us useful material. It is to be noted that V adds two stanzas to the three offered by PL.

X

This poem is attributed by V to Galliziani, by P to Rinaldo d'Aquino, whose name also heads it, apparently as a Latin dative, in L. L's text differs markedly in a number of cases, as 6, *disvianza*⁹ for

⁸ This form from Provençal *gaug* in both mss. is noteworthy.

⁹ I have not found this word elsewhere in the Sicilians; it would thus be preferred as *lectio difficilior*.

disianza; 15, *ma tutto m'è neente* for *ma tucto ciò m'è neente*; 34, *sta* for *par*; 38, *fera* for *altera*; 46, *ben* for *e*; 54, *lo mal* for *l'amor*; 81, *ancora* for *ed anco a*. P is twice corrupt: 9, *tucto* for *tanto*, and 49, *como non voglo* for *c'amor non vol*; in three other cases (18, *dice come dolente* for *e dice oimè dolente*; 47, *pur* for *più*; 72, *caunoscenza* for *convenenza*) I see no reason to prefer P. V, in 20, inserts a needless *fare*, and in 64 reads wrongly *a l'amore del blasmente* for *l'amore ne blasmate*; in 43 its *v'amo* for *amo* is less good, since the poet is speaking in general, not addressing himself to his lady. In 51 all three diverge widely:

L e quella und' i' arraggio
 P a quella k'eo dovragio
 V a ella per cui moragio.

Hence L's text is seemingly to be preferred, while V and P are practically on a par in the matter of incidental corruptions, since V has a false rime in 9.

XI

This poem, which may perhaps not belong to the true Sicilian group, is not at all points perspicuous. P omits the sixth stanza, and puts what is the fifth in VL before their third; it also offers several minor corruptions: 9, *e'l giorno nona nocte ladu pari* for *n'è giorno non anotta laove apare*; 18, *si prende* for *si riprende*; 29, *convelli* for *convenelo*; 38, *la fa* for *li fora*; 50, *avermi* for *ver me*; and 65, *ne* for *non è*. Certainly the scribe must at best have copied in some haste; but three cases in which all three MSS. diverge suggest either that the original was hard to decipher or that some other factor disturbed the transmission. They are 37:

P ke razione dolzore
 L serà gioi' e dolzore
 V farà gioi' e dolzore,

where V and L are closer as against P; 51,

P e assai mi richiamo
 L e acciò mi richiame a
 V en suo amore chiamo,

where P and L are closer as against V; and 55:

P si mostran benvogliente nasce e vene
L si mostra benvogliente nasce bene
V si mostra benvogliente nasciene,

where we might conjecture that V had set down what could be deciphered of a mutilated or illegible text, whereas P and L had essayed emendation. Without closer scrutiny of the text, however, I should say only that it offers a difficult problem; that no MS. is decisively superior to the others; and that P is least good of the three.

CONCLUSION

Little more than a glance at the results reached in our study of individual cases is needed to show how diversified are the conditions. P is notably good in I, II, and III, but bad in IV and XI. L is notably good in IV and X, and never so erratic as its two companions; but it sometimes agrees for the most part with one or the other, as in VII, sometimes diverges widely, as in VIII. But V nowhere offers us a text conspicuously good, is distinctly poor in I, II, and V, and surely is at least as disfigured by errors as is P. In view of the actual evidence of readings, how can we support a blanket endorsement of V as "generally excellent"?

As a matter of fact, the palm for mechanical correctness must be unreservedly awarded to L. Once the reader has become accustomed to its peculiar word-divisions and to its Pisan orthography, it is the easiest of the three to read in a diplomatic transcript. Moreover, it is especially scrupulous in matters of metre, not always carefully watched in P, and frankly neglected in V, which revels in redundant syllables and often in grossly hypermetric lines. We must ask, however, whether this perfection of detail may not be due to conscious editing on the part of the scribe. For instance, are the insertions of words that complete the metre in cases like I. 24 or VI. 51 and 54 the result of accurate following of the source, or of intentional addition? Are the occasional shifts of word-order mere caprice, or did they seem to the copyist to give a better reading? May not even some of the variants be the product of a desire to improve the text? By these questions I mean to suggest the possibility of intelligent editing, not to raise an accusation of tampering with the text; for I believe that the scribe of L

was more nearly a cultured literary student (perhaps himself a Pisan poet?) than were either of his rivals. Where L offers a distinctly superior text of a given poem, we ought of course to accept it; but its general position with respect to the other sources deserves more attention than it has yet received.

It is, I think, undeniable that each MS. rests on more than one source. I cannot believe that all P's variations are due to scribal caprice; nor, on such a view, can I understand how P and V should be so close in VIII, and in other cases so far apart. Again, is it not significant that the three poems in which P is at its best are all by Giacomo, and may therefore have come from a single good source? P is indeed erratic, but not to such a degree that we should expect all its faults or all its virtues to centre in a given spot. Indeed, the characteristics of a scribe, both good and bad, tend to be apparent thruout his work (a fact which helps to justify such detailed studies of separate portions as the present); and a marked increase of either class is most readily explained on the supposition that a very good or a very bad source emphasized them in a given case.

So I come back to the previous statement that the text of every poem is a problem in itself, to be settled only after scrutiny of all the MS. evidence. A text of XI which relied solely on P would indeed be defective; but a text of I or III which ignores P cannot be called satisfactory. No MS. can lay claim to plenary inspiration; each must be judged for what it offers, and neither be prized too highly nor unduly depreciated. If the present discussion has sometimes assumed an air of special pleading for P, it is merely because previous students have so often unduly slighted it; and I have endeavored to record its shortcomings no less than its merits. No single mode of procedure will solve all the problems which the text of the Sicilians offers; but if we can substitute, for sweeping acceptance or dismissal of any particular source of information, a clear idea of the relative value of all, we shall at least have the basis for a consistent handling of those problems. In subsequent papers I hope to extend this treatment to various points which still appear more or less dark.

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TEDBALT OF THE *CHANÇUN DE GUILLELME* AND
HUGH III, COUNT OF THE MAINE (992-1015). A
POSSIBLE HISTORICAL PARALLEL

THE figure of "Tedbalt le quart cunte," as it appears in the first part of the *Chançon de Guillelme*, is one of the most vivid and life-like in Old French epic literature. But, despite the attention given to this noble poem since its discovery in 1903, no one, so far as I know, has as yet indicated an analogous character either in history or saga. So that the following parallel may not be without interest to students of epic origins.

All readers of the poem will recall the consistency and vigor with which the character of Tybalt is drawn, as well as the evident scorn that the poet displays for him throughout. In order, however, to indicate the sequence of events in the episode, I shall give a brief résumé of the first 405 lines of the chanson.

Deramed the Saracen has laid waste the coasts of France. News of his landing and his ravages is brought to Bourges, where Tybalt is count. With him are his nephew Esturmi, and also Vivien, nephew of the brave count William of Barcelona. Tybalt and Esturmi, who are both drunk "que plus ne poeit estre," reject with scorn Vivien's suggestion that his uncle William be summoned to aid. The next day they march away against the Saracens with ten thousand men of arms. They come to the Archamp by the sea and discover the pagan host, innumerable. Instantly Tybalt is seized with panic fear. He suggests that all flee, a proposal rejected with scorn by Vivien. Then Esturmi and Tybalt tear off the ensigns of their lances, that they may not be recognized, trample them under foot in the mire, and ride away, accompanied by all the cowards. Vivien is left in the Archamp, with the valiant men. Tybalt, in his flight, rides unwittingly into a gallows, and his fear is so increased thereat that he gives physical evidence of it. Then Girard, another nephew of William, by a trick, gets possession of Tybalt's arms and war-horse. And the episode ends as follows:¹

¹ I quote from the edition of Suchier: Halle, 1911.

- 386 Girarz s'adubet des armes el chemin,
 le runcin laisset, el bon cheval s'asist.
 Tiedbalz se drecet si cum hom esturdiz,
 devant lui guardet, si choisist le runcin,
 390 prent s'a l'estrieu e es arçuns s'asist.
 Quant fut muntez, membrez fut del fuir;
 devant sei guardet, si vit un grant paliz:
 forz fut a reille, qu'il ne pout pel tolir,
 e tant fut halz, qu'il nel pout tressaillir.
 395 Desuz al val n'osat Tiedbalz guenchir
 pur Sarazins, dunt at oï les criz.
 Desus el tertre vit un fulc de brebiz,
 par mi la herde li'n avint a fuir.
 En sun estrieu se fiert uns moltuns gris.
 400 En sun estrieu se fiert uns gris moltuns.
 Tant le traïnet e les valz e les munz:
 quant Tiedbalz vint a Beürges al punt,
 n'out a l'estrieu que le chief del moltun.
 Unc mais tel preie ne portat gentilz hom!

The essential features of this episode are the folly and cowardice of Tybalt, his flight and disgraceful return to his home town. That "coward counts" existed at all times during the feudal régime is no doubt true, and it is entirely possible that the poet was drawing from life. But it seems to me that in the figure of Hugh III, count of the Maine,² we find a real parallel to the Tybalt of the poet. The disgraceful episode in which he figured is related by William of Jumièges, in his account of the reign of Richard II,³ duke of Normandy (996-1026). The story of Hugh's cowardice is told very succinctly, but in order that the historical setting may be fully understood, I shall quote the whole chapter:

Temporibus namque sub eisdem Odo, Carnotensis comes,⁴ quandam ducis Ricardi sororem, nomine Mathildem, cum multimodis muneribus a fraterna domo accipiens, sibi in matrimonio legitime copulavit. Cui dux medietatem Dorcassini⁵ castri dedit dotis

² See Latouche: *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le X^e et le XI^e siècles*, Paris, 1910, pp. 18-19.

³ *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. Jean Marx, Paris and Rouen, 1914, pp. 83-85.

⁴ Eudes, count of Blois and Chartres, 1004-1037.

⁵ Dreux (Eure-et-Loir).

nomine, cum terra super Arvae fluvium adjacente. Nonnullis hinc elabentibus annis, haec eadem Mathildis, Dei disponente judicio, moritur absque liberis. Post cujus obitum duci terram pretitulatam repetenti comes Odo nimiis versutiis cepit contraire, nolens illi quietam dimittere Dorcassini castris tuitionem. Quapropter dux, ascitis Britonibus cum Normannorum legionibus, super Arvae fluvium hostiliter veniens, castrum condidit quod Tegulense⁶ vocavit. Sumptis ex Odonis comitatu alimoniis, eandem munitionem abundantissime replevit, Nigellum⁷ Constantiniensem atque Rodulfum⁸ Totiniensem necnon Rogerium filium ejusdem cum eorum militibus custodes in ea relinquens. Quibus patrat, prospere recessit inde, unumquemque jubens ad sua redire. Odo vero comes, convocatis clam ad sui suffragium comitibus Hugone⁹ scilicet Cinomannensi ac Waleranno¹⁰ Mellendensi cum eorum militum copiis, tota nocte equitans, ad Tegulense castrum venit, preeuntibus signiferis. Quos ut viderunt proceres pretitulati, custodibus intra municipium dimissis, repentino impetu foras cum suis erumpentes, commiserunt prelium cum eis. Quos illico Deo juvante, partes ducis ita prostraverunt, ut multis peremptis, plurimis vulneratis, reliqui, per devia turpiter fugientes, opaca nutabundi silvarum quererent latibula. Odo vero atque Walerannus, querentes suffragium vitae, Dorcassini castris se occuluerunt munitione. Hugo nempe, cui insederat equo extincto, pede fugiens, ad caulas ovium divertit, lorica, qua indutus erat, sub sulco tegens telluris. Dehinc clamide opilionis se amiciens, septaque gregum infatigabiliter humeris de loco ad locum ferens, Normannos hortabatur, ut quamtotius persequerentur hostes non longe ante illos turpiter fugientes. Quibus recedentibus, previo pastore silvarum lustra carpens, tandem post triduum Cinomannis venit, vepribus et sentibus miserabiliter pedes ac tibias cruentatus.

This episode, known to modern historians as the "Battle of Tillières," took place in 1013 or 1014.¹¹ There is no reason to doubt the historicity of William's account, though the latter part of

⁶ Tillières-sur-Avre (Eure).

⁷ Néel, viscount of Coutances.

⁸ Raoul I of Toeny, lord of Conches.

⁹ Hugh III, count of the Maine, 992-1015.

¹⁰ Galeran I, count of Meulan.

¹¹ This date is that fixed by Pfister: *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux*, p. 215, note 1. It has been accepted by Lot: *Fidèles ou vassaux*, p. 265, and by Latouche, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 8, though the latter expresses some doubts on the subject.

the story may be tinted a little with Norman prejudice.¹² The resemblances to the story told in the *Chançon de Guillelme* are evident. In both stories we find (1) a coward count, who (2) flees in disgrace from the battlefield, (3) loses his armor and war-horse, (4) gets mixed with a flock of sheep, and (5) arrives home in shameful state. On the other hand, the differences in detail are so marked as to exclude a direct imitation on either side. We find nothing in William of Jumièges corresponding to the incident of the gallows, the robbery of Tybalt's armor by Girard, nor the ram's head in the stirrup. On the other hand, Tybalt is not disguised as Count Hugh is in William's story, nor does he shout encouragement to the victors.

Notwithstanding these differences, the parallel is so marked that some explanation is evidently called for. Three hypotheses, it seems to me, are possible:

(1) The resemblances may be purely accidental. The writer of the *chançon*, desiring to draw a picture of a coward count, hit upon some incidents which resemble those of a similar story told by a chronicler. Such a coincidence is by no means impossible. If such be the case, and we have no means of disproving it, the anecdote of Count Hugh will have value only as illustrative material.

(2) The author of the *Chançon* may have been acquainted with the work of William of Jumièges. The earliest redaction of the latter's *Gesta* dates from about 1070.¹³ The *Chançon de Guillelme* is probably later than that; how much later no one can say.¹⁴ The poet, to judge by his language, was a Norman, who may have used the incident related by his monkish contemporary, adapting it to his general scheme. He may even have visited the monastery of Jumièges, and picked up the anecdote there. This explanation, since M. Bédier's demonstration of the way in which the poets of the *chansons de geste* have exploited monkish material, is not without some degree of plausibility.

(3) Or, lastly, the anecdote related by William may have been

¹² Latouche, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 2 says: "Ce récit a peut-être été légèrement défiguré par la légende."

¹³ See Marx, Introduction to his edition, p. xv.

¹⁴ See Suchier, introduction to his edition of the poem, p. xxix ff. Suchier places the composition of the poem about 1080.

handed down orally among the Normans and have been incorporated in the poem in the changed form we find there. William's narrative produces on my mind the effect of a "good story," invented or embellished by the entourage of the Norman dukes at the expense of their enemies. As such, it may well have been transmitted by word of mouth as a choice anecdote, *ad maiorem gloriam Normannorum*, to the days of the poet or his older contemporary, the chronicler. That a true "epic tradition" containing such an anecdote existed, is hardly credible. Apart from the inherent improbability of such a theory, neither the episode itself nor the personages involved are important enough to justify such a tradition. But if such a story was known to William of Jumièges (and it is known to no other chronicler), he must have heard it from the Norman seigneurs whose forefathers it glorifies. The poet likewise may have heard it from one of them, and adapted it to his purposes.

This parallel, whether it be regarded as established or not, suggests a further inquiry: Did not the authors of the preserved chansons de geste exploit contemporary or nearly contemporary history more than has as yet been assumed? It is now generally accepted that the ideas, moral, social and religious, of the poets, are those of their own time, without archaic coloring. Why could not the poets likewise have used persons or events of their time, to illustrate the age of Charlemagne? That this was done sometimes, has been proved for two cases at least, the *Lorrains*¹⁵ and the *Prise de Cordres et de Seville*.¹⁶ Indeed, I should like to propound this question, as a fruitful subject for investigation: whether the series of epics dealing with rebellious vassals or in general with the attitude of the nobility to royalty, may not well have been inspired by the events of the eleventh and twelfth centuries? Louis VI, Louis VII and Philip Augustus¹⁷ had just as many difficulties with their turbulent barons as the legendary Charles and Louis of the epics. To

¹⁵ See Lot: *L'Elément historique de Garin le Lorrain (Mélanges G. Monod, Paris, 1896)*.

¹⁶ See Densussianu, Introduction to his edition of this chanson, p. xlvii ff.

¹⁷ See especially Luchaire: *La société française au temps de Philippe-Auguste*, Paris, 1909, especially Chap. VIII. Luchaire uses the chansons as illustrating the chronicles, and vice versa.

fact that this combination was used by the house of France, to which he belonged.

At the death of Henrique in 1112, his son Affonso Henriques (Affonso, the son of Henrique) was still a minor, and his energetic and ambitious mother Teresa considered Portugal as her own, by right of inheritance from her father. But her infatuation with the powerful Spanish count, Fernando Perez de Trava, whom many believe that she married, offended the Portuguese, and they rallied to the cause of the young Affonso, who took arms against his mother to gain control of the country—which he in his turn claimed by right of inheritance from Count Henrique. Teresa was defeated, and if not thrown into chains by her angry son, as some old chroniclers write, she was at least exiled, and had to relinquish her pretensions to sovereignty. Affonso then devoted himself to extending his dominions southwards, and gained many towns from the Moors. Finally, on the 25th of July, 1139, he encamped on the plains of Ourique, in the province of Alemtejo. This is the generally accepted scene of the great battle which followed, although Dr. Teofilo Braga believes that the most probable location was further north, about 24 kil. (about 14 miles) from Coimbra. Five Moorish kings with an army of three hundred thousand men, assembled from Portugal, Spain and Africa, had come to check the victorious southward progress of Affonso, and, to oppose this army—if we are to believe the early chroniclers—Affonso had only thirteen thousand Portuguese. A later writer makes the number forty thousand. Making all allowances for patriotic exaggeration, it is evident that the Portuguese were greatly outnumbered. But Affonso's confidence of victory, inspired by previous successes, was increased by a vision which is firmly established in the legendary and poetic traditions of the country, although not unnaturally disputed by historians. It is said that when Affonso, seated in his tent at night, was reading the history of Gideon's miraculous victory over the Midianites, a venerable hermit appeared to him and told him to go out alone at midnight in the fields. Affonso obeyed, and there he saw a vision of the crucified Christ, promising him victory and foretelling a glorious future for the country. Affonso made known this vision to his army, and the sol-

THE FLAG OF PORTUGAL IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

THE first flag of Portugal appears to have been a simple one, consisting of a white field bearing a blue cross. These were the arms of Henrique of Burgundy. This Henrique was the son of Henri, second son of Robert, duke of Burgundy, who was the son of Robert the Saint, king of France, the son of Hugh Capet. Henrique had come to Spain about the last decade of the eleventh century to aid Alfonso VI, king of Castile and Leon, in his frequent wars against the Moors. The participation of foreigners in these expeditions against the infidels was an early manifestation of the spirit which showed itself, a little later, in the Crusades, a spirit in which religious fervor, desire of military glory, love of adventure, or the hope of gain predominated, according to the character of the individual. Whatever may have been his motives, Henrique did good service against the Moors, and gained favor with Alfonso, the more so perhaps because he was the nephew of his queen, Constance. Alfonso gave him the hand of his daughter Teresa (whose mother was not Constance, but a former wife or favorite of his, by name Jimena de Guzman), and the county of Portugal as her dowry. Portugal was smaller then than it is now, for the Moors were in possession of the southern part of the country as far north as the Tagus; on the other hand, the southern portion of the present Spanish province of Galicia was then joined to the county of Portugal. It is true that Alfonso could not give undisputed and peaceful possession of this territory to his daughter and son-in-law. Henrique fought many a battle against the infidels, in which he was invariably the conqueror, and he was not so absorbed in domestic warfare that he could not find time to seek enemies elsewhere, for in the year 1103 he set out for the Holy Land to fight against the infidels, following the example of Godfrey of Bouillon, who was his kinsman, as some say, and who had taken Jerusalem in 1099. Perhaps it was on his return in 1105 that Henrique placed a blue cross on the white shield which he had at first used. He may have been influenced in the choice of white and blue by the

fact that this combination was used by the house of France, to which he belonged.

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E nestes cinco escudos pinta os trinta
Dinheiros, por que Deos fôra vendido,
Escrevendo a memoria em varia tinta,
Daquelle de quem foi favorecido:
E cada hum dos cinco, cinco pinta;
Porque assi fica o numero cumprido,
Contando duas vezes o do meio
Dos cinco azues, que em cruz pintando veio.

Os Lusíadas, III, 53, 54.

The legendary account is so interwoven in Portuguese history and literature, and a knowledge of it is so essential for the understanding of allusions, that one cannot afford to neglect it even if one rejects it entirely as a fabrication of priests and poets. As has been stated, the number of these besants varied; sometimes they were thirteen, and this was accounted for by saying that they represented the thirteen thousand Portuguese engaged in the battle. The crest of this coat-of-arms was the Serpent of Moses, accounted the prototype of the Cross.

At Affonso's death in 1185 he was succeeded by his son, Sancho I, who used arms consisting of a field argent bearing five azure *escudettes*, or escutcheons. It has been suggested that this was only a variation from the primitive blue cross, for, as a modern Portuguese writer very reasonably observes, it is but natural to conclude that the arms of Affonso must have been much worn in the course of his long series of campaigns against the Moors, and that he would take pride in showing to what hard use they had been subjected. The blue leather would have disappeared in places where it was not protected by the nails. These were no doubt placed at the point where the two strips were joined and at the extremities of either piece, so that when the intermediate portions were worn away five unconnected escutcheons would appear.

The flag and arms seem to have remained without important changes till the reign of Affonso III (1248-1279). Affonso was the younger brother of Sancho II, who was a weak man, completely under the control of his ambitious wife, Dona Mencia de Haro. The Portuguese became disgusted with the abuses which Sancho's indolence encouraged and called upon Affonso, who was of a more resolute and warlike character, to take the place of his brother as

king of Portugal. The change was effected in 1245, after a little fruitless resistance on Sancho's part; three years later he died in Toledo, whither he had fled, and Affonso became undisputed king of Portugal. He now thought that it would be to his advantage to make an alliance with Alfonso VI, king of Castile and Leon, by marrying his daughter Beatrice. He had been previously married to Matilde, countess of Boulogne, whose objections to a divorce proved unavailing. Beatrice brought as her dowry certain cities of Algarve, that southern end of Portugal which remained longest in the possession of the Moors. According to one tradition, the seven castles on a field of red, as at present known, were assumed on this occasion; according to another tradition, Affonso assumed the seven castles when he completed the conquest of Algarve and gave Portugal her final European boundaries. Still another explanation of the castles may be mentioned, since it is probably the best, viz., that they were an adaptation of the arms borne by the royal family of Castile, which used the castles in allusion to those from which the country is supposed to derive its name, and which Affonso assumed, as a border surrounding the escutcheons, in commemoration of his marriage with Beatrice.

A book indeed might be written on the many variations of the arms and flag, giving the contradictory explanations of the origin of every change, and setting forth the arguments supporting or invalidating them, but a summary will serve the present purpose. The number of the castles underwent various changes and was not fixed till the time of Sebastian (1557-1578), when the number of seven was definitely adopted. The number of the besants was determined in the reign of João I (1385-1433), when they were permanently reduced to five, and it was from this time, it seems probable, that the arms received the popular designation of the *Quinas*, that is, the Fives, from their resemblance to the five of dice.

This flag waved over many a field, in hard-fought battles against the Moors in southern Portugal; it was carried to Spain by Affonso IV, when he responded to the call of his son-in-law, Alfonso XI of Castile, and gave him signal aid against the immense army of Moors which had assembled near the Salado in 1340, when 200,000 infidels were killed. It was seen also, sad to say, in wars against

the Christian rulers of Spain, sometimes in defeat, often in victory, notably at the great and decisive battle of Aljubarrota, when João I of Portugal defeated Juan I of Castile, who laid claim to the throne of Portugal through his Portuguese wife, Beatriz.

The first time—to revert to the early period—that the flag was seen beyond the limits of the peninsula was in 1180 or 1184, when the Portuguese admiral, Fuas Roupinho, after defeating the Moorish vessels which had been pillaging the coast towns of Portugal, carried the war to Ceuta on the coast of Morocco. His first expedition was successful, and he returned in triumph; but on his second expedition fortune was against him, and, outnumbered by the Moorish fleet, he met the death of a martyr for the Faith. For more than two centuries after this, Portugal was occupied at home or in wars with Spain, but in 1415 João I, with his sons, undertook the re-conquest of Ceuta. The city could not resist the furious assault of the Portuguese, and was forced to surrender on the first day (August 21st, or 15th, according to some). Ceuta carried on an extensive trade with the East by sea and land, and an old chronicler tells how in the first ardor of victory the soldiers slashed open the sacks of spices with which the storehouses of the city were filled, and how the streets were strewn with pepper and cinnamon, as they were with rushes on great feast days, and how fragrant these spices were, trampled under foot in the hot sun, till the more thriftily-disposed began to collect whatever was not ruined.

This was the beginning of Portugal's wonderful period of discovery and conquest. Affonso V, grandson of João I, extended the Portuguese possessions on the coast of Morocco, and Portuguese sailors explored the African coast southward league by league, setting up *Padrões* as a sign of their having landed, and as a guide to those who might follow them. These *Padrões* were stone pillars of fourteen or fifteen palms in height, surmounted by a cross. They were engraved with the arms of Portugal, and bore two inscriptions, one in Portuguese and the other in Latin, declaring the name of the reigning king and that of the captain who made the discovery, and the day and year in which it was made. One can imagine the thrill of pleasure a homesick Portuguese sailor must have felt at finding one of the pillars, giving a silent assurance that

his countrymen had landed there before him, and had left this sign to help him. They were scattered along the African coast, in the mangrove swamps of Mozambique and the Zaire, and on the barren and desolate shore of southwest Africa. The natives must have wondered what they meant, when they gathered around them after the strange visitors had sailed away.

At first the explorers were content with slow progress, for the dangers, real and imaginary, of such voyages, were very great. But experience made them bolder, and the discovery of the astrolabe by astronomers in the employ of João II (1481-1495) made navigation easier. In 1486 Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southern extremity of Africa, unknown till then, and the *Quinas* were set up on the little island of Santa Cruz, beyond the great cape. Dias called it the *Cabo das Tormentas* (the Cape of Storms), from the frightful winds which he had experienced there, but when, on his return, he reported the discovery to the king, João II, he was so pleased with it and the prospect which it opened of finding a water way to India, which was the great object of all these voyages, that he renamed the stormy cape the *Cabo da Boa Esperança*, a name still retained—philosophically passing over the terrors of a voyage in which he had not taken part. In 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon and carried the flag around Africa, and set up on the coast of Malabar a *Padrão* bearing the *Quinas*, thus realizing the Portuguese dream of many years.

The triumphant flag was a feared and familiar sight on the African and Indian coasts for many years afterwards. It floated over the city of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, which was so rich that the natives declared that the world was a ring made as a setting for its most precious jewel, the city of Ormuz. It was carried to the Spice Islands, to China, where the peninsula of Macao was given to Portugal, with some restrictions, in reward for defeating the pirates. It was probably the first European flag seen in Japan, where Portuguese missionaries were so successful in converting the people that the Japanese government, alarmed at the possibility of more material aggressions, put an end to Christianity in the country for the time by a massacre of Oriental ruthlessness.

The flag saw the triumph of the Almeidas, father and son;

Albuquerque raised it over the conquered cities of Goa, Ormuz and Malacca. It was defended with unsurpassed courage during the two sieges of Diu, and it was hailed with joy when João de Castro, one of the greatest and best of the Portuguese governors of India, brought sorely needed reinforcements to the beleaguered city. It was flying over the ship of Diego Lopes de Sequeira in 1509 before Malacca, and at the capture of the city by the Portuguese under the great Albuquerque in 1511.

João Ruiz de Sa writes of the glories of the Portuguese arms:

E direy primeyramente
das altas quinas rreaes,
mandadas per deos, as quaes
jaa conhece tanta gente
por senhoras naturaes.
que de Ceyta atee os Chijs,
no mar rroxo & Abaxijs,
Yndia, Malaqua, Armuz,
com a espera & com a cruz
durarão tee fym dos fiins.

Westward the flag was planted in Brazil, and the Cortereal family carried it far north, as far as the coast of Greenland. The name of Labrador, given in honor of João Fernandes o Labrador, or Lavrador, that is, the Farmer or Landowner, still testifies to the discoveries of the Portuguese in those regions, for *o Lavrador* was the first who gave news of the existence of that country.

The same flag would have been the first to be carried around the world if it had not been for the ill-judged economy of king Manuel I. For the Portuguese soldier, Fernão Magalhães, was so angered by Manuel's refusal to increase a pension he had richly earned in Africa and India that he offered his services to Spain to discover a way to the coveted Spice Islands by sailing to the west, and so it was under the Spanish flag that the ship *Victoria* first sailed over the uncharted waters of the Pacific and made the circuit of the world.

An important change in the flag was the addition of the arms of Brazil, when that rich colony was created a kingdom united to the mother country in 1816. The arms of Brazil have an inter-

esting history of their own. In 1808, when Napoleon was carrying everything before him in Central Europe and had turned his eyes southward to the Iberian peninsula, João, afterwards known as João VI, was regent of Portugal for his insane mother. On the approach of the French army João prudently, if ingloriously, determined to escape to Brazil, where he was enthusiastically received. His coming gave a great impulse to the development of the colony, which in 1815 was raised to the rank of a kingdom, united to Portugal and Algarve. In a decree dated the 13th of May, 1816, João gave to Brazil as arms an armillary sphere of gold on a field of blue. The armillary sphere was also used in the arms of the united kingdoms, the Portuguese arms being placed upon the sphere, and the whole surmounted by a crown. This did not continue long in use, for on the 12th of October, 1822, Brazil declared her independence. When João returned to Portugal in April, 1821, Brazil, fearing to lose the advantage she had enjoyed for a short time as the seat of government, determined upon independence as the only means of national preservation. Portugal was obliged to acquiesce in this, and resumed her former arms.

Why did João choose the armillary sphere as the arms of Brazil? Because this sphere was the device of Manuel I, king of Portugal in 1500, when Brazil was discovered. Manuel was apparently not predestined to be king, for he was the son of Fernando, second son of Duarte, king of Portugal, while João II was the son of the eldest son, Affonso V. João II had a son, Affonso, whose death left Manuel the next heir to the throne. Five years later, in 1495, João died, and Manuel began to reign at a time when Portugal was at the dawn of her greatest prosperity. In 1483, when he was only fourteen years of age, the king had given him as his device an armillary sphere, then called in Portuguese *Espera* or *Spera*, with the motto *In Deo*, that is *Spera in Deo*, according to the heraldic rule which requires that the device shall not give the complete sense without the motto, nor the motto without the device. This was, with some reason, considered as myteriously prophetic, for Manuel's prospect of succeeding to the throne was then very slight, and such a device seemed to forecast his advent to power and to allude also to possible discoveries, conquests and possessions

in the four quarters of the world, such, indeed, as later, during his reign, were the extensive acquisitions made by the Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America.

During this period of great maritime and military activity, every other faculty seemed to be awakened to its fullest development, as often happens in the life of nations. Portuguese architecture felt this inspiration, as is shown in edifices where Moresque, Byzantine, Norman and Gothic styles are combined with an originality which makes the whole an expression of national aspiration. In their ornamentation the effect of the Eastern discoveries of the Portuguese is manifest, the flowers and birds of the tropics being frequently introduced, and in the midst of these the Sphere often appears, being thus inseparably connected with the Golden Age of Portugal. The device was also used on gold coins which were struck at Manuel's orders, having the sphere on one side and a crown on the other. Albuquerque, after the conquest of Goa, also had gold, silver and copper money coined, to which he gave the name of *Esphas*, which had the sphere on one side and the Cross of the Order of Christ on the other. All this shows how intimately the sphere was connected with a period of which the Portuguese are justly proud.

On the 18th of October, 1830, another change in the flag took place. It was decreed that the national flag should consist of two vertical bands of blue and white, the blue being next to the staff, and the royal arms being placed on the union of the two bands. The nineteenth century saw the flag carried into the interior of Africa, and Serpa Pinto, Capello and other Portuguese explorers did brilliant service to their country. Ferreira da Silva Porto explored the sources of the Zambesi and, as Captain of Bihé and Bailondo, defended the flag bravely for many years, until, fearful of his inability longer to do so in consequence of intrigues between Europeans and natives, he put an end to his life.

The final change in the flag was planned in anticipation of the Revolution which established the Republic. Republican sentiment had been growing steadily in Portugal for years, and many had thought that the mother country might follow sooner than she did the example of her former colony, Brazil. The extravagance and

incompetence of King Carlos had exasperated the people; Franco's efforts to place the country on a better financial basis were patriotic and well-meant, but his arbitrary methods of cancelling the king's debts in an attempt to start afresh, provoked much criticism, even though his motives were above reproach. The assassination of Carlos and the Prince Royal on February 1, 1908, did not quench the desire for the overthrow of the monarchy, and Manuel's tenure of power was uncertain from the first. Bernardino Machado, Affonso Costa, Brito Camacho, Antonio José d'Almeida, Teófilo Braga and other strong Republicans continued to organize quietly, and in a congress held at Oporto in April, 1910, the question of a flag for the new movement was discussed. The moderates were in favor of retaining the former flag, simply suppressing the crown, but the advanced party advocated a more radical change. It was Dr. Teófilo Braga who chose the new colors, green for hope and red for the pernicious doctrine of Comtist Positivism, of which unfortunately that learned, patriotic, austere and humane Portuguese is a supporter. The acid green of the first days of the Republic was later replaced by a darker shade, while the red is of a brilliant tone. The green is next to the staff, and on the union of these two vertical bands is placed the armillary sphere, and superimposed on it, the national coat-of-arms—the blue *Quinas* with the five besants on each, on a white field, surrounded by a red border bearing the seven castles—unchanged except for the omission of the cross and crown.

In October, 1910, the time was ripe for a decisive blow, and the Revolution, so long planned, was swiftly accomplished. Even regiments of which the Republican leaders had felt uncertain were quick to join the movement, and the war-ships on the Tagus gave it most effective support, Machado dos Santos, Lieutenant Pereira and Captain Maia of the Sixteenth Infantry being among those who especially distinguished themselves. The red and green banner was raised on the *Adamastor* and the *São Rafael*, and received its first recognition from a foreign power when the Brazilian armored cruiser *São Paulo* fired a salute. Manuel, whom even the monarchists could hardly call more than a well-intentioned ruler, fled without delay, his escape being perhaps no more gratifying to him

than to the Republicans, who did not wish to make him a martyr, and the Republic was soon established by a revolution, which, as its leaders congratulated themselves, was one of the most humane of all similar upheavals.

Probably the last time that the old flag of the monarchy was seen on a Portuguese ship was in December, 1910, when the Portuguese bark *Neptuno* came into the port of São Thomé, a Portuguese island in the Gulf of Guinea, flying the blue and white flag, for although it was two months after the Revolution, the *Neptuno* had just returned from a long voyage and had not heard of the fall of the monarchy. The cruiser *São Rafael* was at anchor in the port, and at the suggestion of the commissioner, Lieutenant Maldonado, the commander of the *São Rafael*, sent the red and green flag of the Republic to the captain of the *Neptuno*, Manuel Martins Arroja, who at once ran up the new flag and returned the monarchical banner, which Lieutenant Maldonado had requested with the intention of presenting it to the Museum of the Revolution as perhaps the last flag of the former régime raised on a Portuguese ship. The flag was *bastante usada* (much worn), as befitted the last representative of the fallen monarchy.

Although there was remarkably little blood shed in effecting this radical change in the form of government, which, as Provisional President Braga has observed, was realized in a way more spiritual than material, the new flag was not destined to long peace. When the Great War broke out in 1914 Portugal was not at once directly involved, although her ancient treaties with England made it certain that she would fight on the side of the Allies if she entered the conflict. Till March, 1916, Portugal was in the singular situation of fighting against a nation with which she was not at war. German forces invaded Portuguese Angola and there were frequent encounters with Portuguese troops, but diplomatic relations between the two countries were not broken off. On the 23d of February, 1916, Captain Leote do Rego took forcible possession of thirty-six German and Austrian vessels detained in the Tagus, and running up the red and green flag of Portugal, he saluted it with a salvo of twenty-one guns from the Portuguese fleet. This was followed by the seizure of German ships in Por-

tugal's colonies and island possessions, and on March the 9th Germany declared war on Portugal in consequence of her action. Since then there has been more fighting between the two nations in both East and West Africa, and Portuguese expeditionary forces are coöperating with the French troops on the western front, so that the flag of Portugal is now floating beside that of the sister Republic over the blood-drenched plains of northern France.

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NOTES ON PROFESSOR M. A. SCOTT'S ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ITALIAN

I BEG to submit to the ROMANIC REVIEW a few notes on Spanish Literature in connection with Professor Mary Augusta Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*.¹

At the very beginning of the book, on page ix, we read :

In the spring of 1892, I was preparing to go to Europe to study for the doctor's degree. At that time, the University of Zürich was the only European university that admitted women to the degree of doctor of philosophy.

At the time indicated Miss Scott might have obtained her doctor's degree at Paris; or at Göttingen, as Sónya Kovalévskaya did in 1874.

On page xiv Dr. Scott mentions her own suggestion as to the possible source of the episode of Benedick and Beatrice, without stating what other investigators have done in the same line (see *Magyar Shakespeare-Tár*, VII, 269).

The reference to Ireland on page xlvii seems to me ungracious, particularly at the present time, when the banshee's plaintive cry is heard all over the Island of Saints and Scholars. By way of vicarious amends, I may as well call the author's attention to an allusion to Don Quijote's horse in an old Irish poem :

Finlay, the red-haired bard, said this :

Gael-like is every leap of the dun horse,
A Gael she is in truth.
It is she who conquers and wins,
In all that I'll now sing.
The praise of speed to her limbs,
In every fierce assault.
Marked, and famous her strength,
While quiet at the house of prayer.
The birds are they who could,
Strive with her in the race.

¹ Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916.

Not false is the fame of that horse,
The steed both sturdy and swift,
Liker she was to Duseivlin,
Than to the beast of Lamacha.

(*The Dean of Lismore's Book*, edited by the Rev.
Thomas M'Laughlan. Edinburgh, 1862, p. 112.)

Dr. Scott mentions on page xlix and elsewhere *The Triumphes of Oriana*, but does not say that Oriana was the name given to Elizabeth by the Spanish visitors after the heroine of *Amadis*.

A piece of advice to modern scientists on page li may wisely be omitted in a future edition, unless the credentials are duly produced. The charge against Cardano of having filched from Tartaglia (p. lxiii) has been substantiated, as can be learned from any History of Mathematics.

In connection with books on horsemanship (p. lxiv), Mr. Carleton Brown's paper (*The Library*, Third Series, III, 152) ought to have been mentioned.

From this point I shall register my remarks under the corresponding bibliographical numbers of Dr. Scott's work.

6.—The fact that Juan de Flores' *Historia de Grisel y Mirabella* is the Spanish original of the story, has been well established by Dr. Stiefel in his well known paper (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, Neue Folge XII, 241, Weimar, 1898). The oldest edition of the work bears no date (see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Origenes de la Novela*, tomo I, p. cccxxxvi, Madrid, 1905). The Sevilla edition of 1524 has been reprinted and is easily accessible.

The Spanish Tiresias attempts to show in his novel that woman deserves chief blame in sexual irregularities. That is just the point in which Shakespeare disagrees with Whetstone, from whom he borrowed the plot of his *Measure for Measure*. Whetstone says: "for the man was helde to bee the greatest offender, and therefore had the severest punishment" (*Shakespeare's Library*, III, 156, London, 1875), while Shakespeare takes the Spanish point of view:

Then was your sin of heauier kinde then his.
(*Measure for Measure*, II, 3, 28.) Cf. *Englische Studien*, XL, 153.

18.—The original is, of course, Spanish, not Greek, and has been reprinted in *Revue Hispanique*, XXV, 220.

28.—This story has been traced to a Spanish source (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, L, 146).

34.—The first edition of *Palmerín de Oliva* is that of 1511 (Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, Berlin, 1859, p. 185). I own the Toledo edition of 1580. This book is full of motifs and as it antedates the novels of Gelli and Bandello, it may not be amiss to mention that *Circe* and the *Dumb Knight* are familiar figures to the readers of this old romance. Dr. Koeppel has also pointed out the possibility of the *Tragedy of Hoffman* being indebted to this selfsame Spanish novel (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, C, 23). I called attention to another motif in the *Cultura Española*, XII, 1023, and XV, 733.

38.—An adumbration of the motif of the *Curioso Impertinente* will be found in *I Trattenimenti di Scipion Bargagli*, Venetia, MDXCII, p. 106 (the first edition bears the date of 1587).

41.—The first edition is that of Salamanca, of 1511. The book is again full of motifs to which attention was called a long time ago (*Studi di filologia moderna*, I, 290). Such are those of Pigafetta's *Patagonian*, that of the love-lorn maiden 'Fair Ricarda' and perhaps that of Caliban, certainly that of the Servant-Monster.

48.—It is not clear to me why Bartholomew Yonge's direct rendering of the *Diana* from the Spanish original has found a place here. Ticknor's story as to his owning a copy of the *Diana*, dated 1542, long since exploded by Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*Revue Hispanique*, II, 304), is repeated without comment. This is a chronic error with the American writers on English literature, and has passed even into many an edition of the *Two Gentlemen* in Shakespeare's works.

50.—Belianis is still popular in Ireland.

58.—The original of the story about Scipio Nasica and Ennius will be found in Cicero's *De Oratore*, 2, 68, 276.

64.—The original is French as far as my knowledge goes, viz., *Histoire des tragiques Amours d'Hipolite & d'Isabelle*, Nyort, 1597. Middleton died in 1627 and could hardly have utilized the English translation.

80.—Pope's verses remind one of Voltaire's well-known quatrain :

Confidents du Très Haut, substances éternelles,
Qui brûlez de ses feux, qui couvrez de vos ailes
Le trône où votre maître est assis parmi vous,
Parlez! du grand Newton n'étiez-vous pas jaloux?

There is also a Portuguese poem entitled 'Newton' by José Agostinho de Macedo (Lisboa, 1813).

86.—I attempted to show Warner's indebtedness to *Camões*, perhaps not quite successfully (*Revista Lusitana*, XIII, 133).

90.—Another parallel to Shakespeare's description of a storm has been published in *Magyar Shakespeare-Tár*, VI, 238. The source of the Sea Voyage has been traced to W. Warner's *Pan his Syrinx* (*Anglia*, XXXIII, 332).

132.—My copy of Strada is that of Milan, 1626.

158.—The claim that *Laelia* is the source of the *Twelfth Night* is due to those who never have seen the Latin play. No attempt worthy of attention has been made to substantiate the claim since the publication of the play.

188.—For *work* read *world*.

277.—American ownership of rare books ought to have been indicated in every case, as far as ascertainable. I greatly doubt that there is in America no copy of Florio (1598) except mine (which cost only thirty shillings).

390.—Again a disparaging remark about Ireland. A scholarly account of the *Book of Mac Durnan* would be more acceptable.

394.—Coccio's translation of *Leucippe* is mentioned, but no reference is made to the efforts to show Shakespeare's and other Elizabethans' indebtedness to this novel (cf. *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XLI, 186; XLVI, 118, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, III, 247; *Modern Language Notes*, XXIX, 63; *New York Nation*, XCII, 444).

As to omissions, I find that numerous English plays referable to Italian sources, such as the *Common Conditions*, Chapman's *May-Day*, or Marston's *What you will* (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XL, 24; XXXV, 180, and XLI, 186), are not even mentioned. To such omissions is due the fact that the names of some of the great-

est investigators, like that of Dr. Stiefel, are conspicuous by their absence from the Index, while the authors of mere remarks occupy there a place of honor. How Marie Luise Gothein has been "put on the index" (in another sense), in spite of her beautiful book, *Geschichte der Gartenkunst* (Jena, 1914), is beyond my comprehension. I am well aware of the difficulty of procuring foreign books at the present time, but I have no doubt that Dr. Scott will find Marie Gothein's work in some American library. Among the "Grammars and Dictionaries," the following should have found a place: *Colloques ou Dialogues, avec un dictionnaire en six langues: Flamen, Anglois, Alleman, François, Espagnol & Italien*. Anvers, 1579.

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[Editorial note: We cannot emphasize too strongly the usefulness and conscientiousness of this volume. It is the product not only of an enthusiastic scholar but also of a personality which leaves its visible impress on the body of the work as well as on the entertaining preface. This word of appreciation may be tempered, perhaps, with one general criticism. Dr. Scott is interested in the question of English translations of Italian from the point of view of her preoccupation with the English civilization of the Renaissance. It is questionable whether the volume as a bibliography has not been marred rather than improved by this wider interest. Dr. Scott gives little evidence of having studied profoundly the Italian Renaissance in England. Her first chapter adds little that is significant to the present state of science on this question. It shows a persistent and regrettable neglect of Dr. Scott's many and distinguished predecessors in the field. Furthermore, the successive items in her bibliography are cluttered with a straggling commentary hardly ever free from errors, serious, or—if such there may be—negligible. The remarks published above by Mr. Perott, containing, as will be seen, extensive corrections, direct attention to only a small portion of what might be criticized in Dr. Scott's text. The value of the book consists almost exclusively in its bibliography. In any succeeding studies of this character, Dr. Scott will do well to keep her orientation as a bibliographer free from the distractions of her interests in social and intellectual history. This will save her work from any air of pretentiousness and at the same time make it more easy to use.—A. A. L.]

DELLA CASA'S *GALATEO* IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

IN that valuable volume, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, by M. A. Scott (1916), we are told that "the two great books on manners" by the Italians of the Renaissance are "*Il Cortegiano*, with one hundred and forty-three editions, and *Galateo*, with fifty-six editions."¹ The author adds that in her "study of the literary influence of the Italian Renaissance, it [*Galateo*] is the second most popular book"; and that of the fifty-six editions she has met with, fourteen are in English.²

These fourteen English editions of *Galateo*, however, do not tell the whole story of the popularity of Della Casa's treatise in England. The three versions of the seventeenth century English *Galateo*, as Professor J. E. Spingarn points out, were not full translations, but were in paraphrased, loosely imitated, or epitomized form.³ Of the first and second of these, of the years 1616⁴ and 1640⁵ there was no second edition; but of the third, 1663,⁶ there were two other editions before the end of the century. Five editions in all.

To these three versions of *Galateo* in the seventeenth century must be added a fourth abbreviated version, which has been hidden from our knowledge by a change of title. It is Francis Hawkins' *Youth's Behaviour, or Decency in Conversation among Men*, a popular English book of manners of that century. Evidence of its

¹ P. 466.

² P. 466. Miss Scott does not include in her list of fourteen editions that of 1811 printed in Baltimore. It appears to be a second edition of the 1774 translation, as its title agrees with the title of that edition. A copy of the 1811 edition is found in the Library of Congress. No name of the translator is given. It appears to be a trade book and is accompanied by *The Honours of the Table with The Whole Art of Carving*.

³ Pp. 121, 122, in the Humanists' Library Edition of Robert Peterson's translation of *Galateo* (1576).

⁴ "Epitome of Good Manners" appended to the "Rich Cabinet."

⁵ Translation of "El Galateo Espanol" by Wm. Styles.

⁶ "The Refined Courtier."

unusual popularity is seen in the eleven editions that appeared between the years 1641 and 1684.⁷ We are told on the title page of the fifth edition, published in 1651, that it was "composed in French by grave persons for the use and benefit of their youth," and "now newly turned into English by Francis Hawkins." Nothing more is told us of the source of this translation; but a comparison of its forty-two pages at once reveals its close dependence upon *Galateo*.⁸

In Hawkins' *Youth's Behaviour* we have substantially another epitome of *Galateo*, with the addition of some less important material gleaned from other sources. In this epitomized form Della Casa's material has been subjected to a rigid method of selection and of arrangement under separate subject heads,⁹ with the omission of all illustrative or explanatory matter. The seven chapters into which the epitomized gleanings of *Galateo* are grouped in *Youth's Behaviour* are in turn subdivided into numerous unconnected paragraphs. The seven chapters correspond roughly to certain sections of Della Casa's book; but in each chapter the effort has been made to bring together all the information in the treatise that might be included under the chapter head.¹⁰ The book as a whole bears the unattractive stamp of a treatise of instruction; and shorn as it is of the illustrative and philosophical reflections of Della Casa, offers

⁷ The *British Museum Catalogue* and the *Dictionary of National Biography* know of only ten editions. I have made use of an edition in the Library of the University of Michigan which is later than the ten mentioned in the *British Museum Catalogue* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It bears the date of 1684 and is called *The New Youth's Behaviour*. It is made up of two parts: "I. Of your Duty towards God; II. Decency in Conversation amongst Men." The second part only reproduces Hawkins' *Youth's Behaviour*.

⁸ Della Casa's work which was first published in 1558 was translated in French first in 1562. Francis Hawkins was in all probability responsible only for the "translation," since we are told on the title page of the fifth edition that he was only eight years of age when he made this translation. I have not been able to compare his work with the *Epitome of Good Manners* appended to the *Rich Cabinet* in 1616, nor have I been able to identify the work "composed in French by grave persons for the use and benefit of their youth."

⁹ The seven chapters are: I. Of the First Duties and Ceremonies in Conversation. II. General and mixt Precepts. III. Of the Fashions of qualifying, etc. IV. Of Cloaths and Arraying the Body. V. Of Walking alone, or be it in Company. VI. Of Discourse. VII. Of Carriage at the Table.

¹⁰ For instance Chapter VI in *Youth's Behaviour* corresponds to pp. 62-92 in *Galateo*; Chapter II to pp. 17-29; Chapter VII to pp. 20-44 and to 108-110, etc., etc.

an illuminating example of seventeenth century puritan England turning to Italy, albeit unknowingly, for its popular guide in teaching manners.

A part of Chapter II has been drawn on for the following extracts, to show that *Youth's Behaviour* is derived from *Galateo*. Any one of the other chapters would have served as well for this purpose.

Galateo (1576), Hum. Lib. Ed.

P. 17: For we must not only re-
fraine from such thinges as be fowle,
filthy, lothsome and nastie: *but we
must not so muche as name them.*
And it is not only a fault to dooe such
things, *but against good maner, by
any act or signe to put a man in minde
of them.* And therefore, it is an ilfa-
voured fashion, *that some men use,
openly to thrust their hands in what
parte of their bodye they list.*

P. 27: Theis fashions to, must be
left, that some men use, to *sing be-
tweene the teeth, or playe the dromme
with their fingers, or shoofle their
feete.*

P. 18: And as these and like fash-
ions offend the senses, to which they
appertaine: *so to grinde the teethe, to
whistle, to make pitifull cries, to rubb
sharpe stones together, and to file
uppon Iron, do muche offend the Eares*
and would be lefte in any case.

P. 26: Also there be some that so
buskell them selves, reave, *stretch and
yawne, writhing now one side, and
then another,* that a man would weene,
they had some fever uppon them.

Youth's Behaviour (1684).

Chapter II. General and Mixt Pre-
cepts.

§ 2. It is ill-beseeming to put one in
mind of any unclean or ill-favoured
thing.

§ 3. Take heed as much as thou
canst in the presence of others, to put
thy hand to any part of thy body,
which is not ordinarily discovered, as
are the hands and face: and to accus-
tome thy self thereunto: it is well
done to abstain from so doing, yea
being alone.

§ 5. Sing not within thy mouth, hum-
ming to thy self, unless thou be alone,
in such sort as thou canst not be heard
by other. Strike not up a Drum with
thy fingers or thy feet.

§ 6. Rub not thy teeth nor crash
them, nor make any thing crack in
such manner that thou disquiet any
body.

§ 7. It is an uncivil thing to stretch
out thine arms at length and writhe
them hither and thither.

P. 18: So there be some kinde of men, that in *coffing, or neesing, make suche noise, that they make a man deafe to here them.*

Pp. 18, 19: *And a man must leave to yawne muche*, not only for the respect of the matter I have saide alreadye as that it seems to proceede, of a certaine werines, *that shewes that he that yawmeth, could better like to be elsewhere, than there in that place:* as weried with the companie, their talke, and their doings.

P. 19: *And when thou hast blowne thy nose, use not to open thy handkerchief, to glare uppon thy snout*, as if you hadst pearles and Rubies fallen from thy braynes: for these be slovenly parts, ynough to cause men, not so much not to love us, as if they did love us, to unlove us againe.

P. 26: So then, it is a rude fashion (in my conceipte) that som men use, *to lie lolling a sleepe in that place, where honest men be met together, of purpose to talke . . . and in like manner, to rise up where other men doe sit and talke, and to walke up and downe the chamber*, it is no point of good maner.

¹¹ Compare, further, in *Youth's Behaviour* the passages indicated here by chapter and paragraph number with the passages in *Galateo* indicated by page number (included in parentheses): Chap. VI, 18 (116); 37 (90); 15 (86); 71 (88); 35 (61); 41 (46); 42 and 38 (86). Chap. VII, 1, 2 (108); 22 (23), etc., etc.

§ 8. In coughing or sneezing, make not great noise, if it be possible, and send not forth any sigh, in such wise that others observe thee, without great occasion.

§ 9. In yawning howl not, and thou shouldst abstain as much as thou canst to yawn, especially when thou speakest, for that sheweth one to be weary, and that one little accounteth of the company: But if thou beest constrained to yawn, by all means, for that time being, speak not, nor gape wide mouthed, but shut thy mouth with thy hand, or with thy handkerchief if it be needful, readily turning thy face another side.

§ 10. When thou blowest thy Nose, make not thy Nose sound like a Trumpet, and after look not within thy handkerchief. Take heed thou blow not thy Nose as children do, with thy fingers, or thy sleeves, but serve thy self of thy handkerchief.

§ 11. To sleep when others speak, to sit when others stand, to walk on when others stay, to speak when one should hold his peace, or hear others, are all things of ill manners: but it is permitted to a superior to walk certain places, as to a Master in his School.¹¹

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ETYMOLOGIES AND ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

UNDER this title the writer proposes to publish from time to time either new etymologies, mostly Rumanian, or addenda and corrigenda to various works of etymological reference.

1. RUMANIAN *agod*

In the Dictionary of the Rumanian Academy¹ (Vol. I, Part 1, p. 71) the above word is rendered as 'règle, ordre, organisation, mœurs, coutume, habitudes, institution, arrangement.' A more logical order of meanings would appear by separating the definitions 'mœurs, coutume, habitudes' from the others, whereby the various connotations of the word *agod* would fall into two closely related categories, viz., 'order' and 'habit.' The only authority cited in the Dictionary explains *agod* as 'treabă, rânduială, rând, plan,' meanings which are subsumed under the idea of 'order.' The meanings of 'nature, custom, habit' ('firea, obiceiul, năravul') are given, however, by Ioan Pop Reteganul in his *Povești din Popor*, Sibiiu (Hermannstadt), 1895, p. 207, and there illustrated by such passages as "Bătrânii se ospătara si mâncară si beură, după cum li agodul (obiceiul) lor . . ." ("The old men feasted and ate and drank as is their wont"). *Agod* thus offers an exact parallel to Latin *mos* "die jedem eigene Art; Sitte; durch Gewohnheit festgewordener Brauch" (A. Walde).

Dicționarul Limbii Române also records the variant *ogod*. Now, in old Rumanian texts one comes across a word *ogod* with the meaning of 'pleasure, liking, contentment, favor' (cf. H. Tiktin, *Rumänisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. II, p. 1084), which, as Professor Tiktin notes, goes back to a Slavic *ugodŭ* with the same meaning.² Is this word identical with our *agod*? Phoneti-

¹ *Academia Română. Dicționarul Limbii Române. . . . Tomul I. Partea I. A-B.* București, [1908-]1913; *Tomul II.* [F-H; in course of publication since 1910].

² Following in the wake of the *Lexicon Budanum* several dictionaries enter the form *ogod* and explain it as 'quiet, tranquility, repose,' etc. Although these meanings are deducible from that of the Old Rumanian word, their authenticity

cally there is every reason to believe that this is the case, for Old Church Slavic *ugodŭ* could give only Rumanian *ogod*, whence by vocalic dissimilation is obtained *agod* (cf. *altoî* < *oltoî*; *bajor* < *bojor* < *bujor*; *babon* < **bobon* < *bubon*). Semantically too the transition from 'pleasure, liking' to 'plan, order' (through some such stages as 'liking, inclination, habit, habitual action, set order') is a natural one. This is seen in such instances as Greek *ἡθεῖος*, *ἡθαῖος*, 'chéri,' besides *ἥθος*, 'coutume, usage, manière d'être, caractère'; and in their Germanic cognates, Gothic *sidus* (Old High German *situ*, 'Sitte') and Old Norse *suáss*, 'chéri,' etc. (cf. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque*, p. 218).

Furthermore, the following passage from Dosofteiu, *Viata Sfinților* (Tiktin, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *ogoadă*) is instructive: "Chivernisindu-o [i. e., mănăstirea] pre ogod d-zeesc"; for in it the word *ogod* may be understood as either 'liking' or 'order,' and the passage accordingly interpreted as either "arranging [the monastery] to God's liking" (Tiktin: "In gottgefälliger Weise"); or "arranging the monastery in accordance with divine plan (or order)." We may conclude, therefore, that we have in *agod* an archaic word which has survived in dialectal speech, though with a modification of its original meaning.

It may not be amiss to note in this connexion that the Rumanian word *ogodnic*, which is translated by Professor Tiktin as 'gefällig, beliebt; Liebling,' has rather the meaning of 'θεράπων, cultor' (Miklosich), like its Slavic prototype *ugodnikŭ*. The Rumanian forms *ogoadă*, *ogodă*, go back to Church Slavic *ugoda*, a word which probably existed in Old Bulgarian, but is to be found only in Russian Church Slavic texts (cf. Tiktin, *loc. cit.*; E. Berneker, *Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, p. 317; O. Denusianu, *Histoire de la Langue Roumaine*, Vol. II, p. 109).

2. RUMANIAN (DIALECTAL) *ânderete*

The Academy Dictionary (Vol. I, part I, p. 165) says that the etymology of this word is unknown. Yet it records the conjecture is not sufficiently established to warrant consideration in the present discussion. Apparently the authors of these dictionaries have been influenced in their definition of *ogod* by the meaning of the word *ogol*.

of Professor Rădulescu-Pogoneanu, who sees in *anderete* a corruption of German *anderwärts* with the same meaning, 'elsewhere.' That in connecting the Rumanian word with German *ander-* he was on the right track is proved by the employment of the word *ândert* in the dialect of the Transylvanian Germans (the so-called Transylvanian Saxons) in such locative expressions as *îrentândert*, 'elsewhere'; *îrestândert*, 'in another direction,' etc.³ The Rumanian word *anderete* is thus a direct reflex of *ândert*, with final *-e* added thru the influence, in all probability, of *ai(u)re*, *aînde*, *nicăire*, and other adverbs of place.

3. RUMANIAN *arolă* AND *areșcă* (*rișcă*)

Arolă și *areșcă* is the Rumanian phrase for the ancient, though not altogether reputable, game of pitch-and-toss. Although, according to the Dictionary of the Academy, the etymology of the two words is unknown, it is readily to be found in the Russian name of the game, which is *orëlŭ ili rêška* (or *rêshotka*). Now, *arolă* is an almost exact phonetic transcription of *orëlŭ* ('head' of a coin; pronounced *ar'ol* in Russian), with an added feminine ending *-ă*, after the analogy of *areșcă*. On the other hand, *areșcă* is a reflex of Russian *rêška* ('tail' of a coin), with prothetic *a-* due to the influence of *arolă*. At Bucharest the game is known as *rișcă*, which reflects the South Russian pronunciation of *rêška*. The Academy Dictionary (Vol. I, Part I, pp. 237, 266) records also the variants *arol* and *reșcă*.

4. RUMANIAN (DIALECTAL) *feliort*

This word is explained in the Dictionary of the Academy as "extrémité (d'un corridor dans une mine)." It is an addendum to the terminology borrowed by Rumanian miners from the German.⁴ In the language of the German miners *Ort* means "das Ende . . . eines Grubenbaues . . . in Gestein" (H. Veith, *Deutsches Bergwörterbuch*, Breslau, 1871, p. 355). And, in a restricted

³ *Siebenbürgisch-Sächsisches Wörterbuch . . . hrsg. vom Ausschuss des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. Strassburg i. E., 1909, vol. I, p. 113.

⁴ A number of such borrowings will be found in Ion Borgia, *Deutsche Sprachelemente im Rumänischen*. Leipzig, 1903, p. 32.

sense, *Felort* (spelled also *Fehlort*, *Fählort*; *ibid.*, p. 357), which is synonymous with *Querschlag*, is "eyn ort das man durch quersteyn treibet, auff keinem Gang oder Klufft" (quoted from a German work on mining of 1534 by Veith, *loc. cit.*, p. 416. Cf. also Grimm's *Wörterbuch* under the words *Fehlort* and *Querschlag*). *Feliort*, accordingly, almost exactly reproduces in form and meaning the obsolescent *Fehlort*. It may be worth noting that the Rumanian miners have also retained the word *ort*, in the technical sense of 'drift'.

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MISCELLANEOUS

CHAUCER, *KNIGHT'S TALE* 2012-8

AND after this, Theseus hath ysent
After a bere, and it al overspradde
With cloth of gold, the richest that he hadde.
And of the same suyte he cladde Arcite;
Upon his hondes hadde he gloves whyte;
Eek on his heed a croune of laurer grene,
And in his hond a swerd ful bright and kene.

It is well known that this comes from Boccaccio, *Teseide* 11. 15¹:

E fece poi un feretro venire
Reale a sè davanti, e tosto fello
D'un drappo a oro bellissimo fornire,
E similmente ancor fece di quello
Il morto Arcita tutto rivestire,
E poi il fece a giacer porre in ello
Incoronato di fronde d'alloro,
Con ricco nastro rilegate d'oro.

Boccaccio was evidently drawing from observation, as may be seen by a reference to ROMANIC REVIEW 8. 223.

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HISPANIC NOTES

CAMISA; CEREZA.

Menéndez Pidal assumes, in his *Cantar de Mio Cid*, that *camisia* had long *i*. The Rumanian forms with *a* or *ea* for ôlder *e* (**kaměša*), az in *masă* < *mensa*, *s(e)ară* < *sěra*, *vede* < **véade* < **védet* < *uidet*, show that the strest *i* was short. Latin *ī* cood make Spanish strest *i* az a regular development: *tiña*, *tiñe*, *vía*. But Spanish *camisa* iz a loan-word, broht in with the thing itself by

¹ Ed. Camposampiero, Milan, 1819.

Catalan *mercaders*. Catalan has *dit* < *digitum*, with a direct change ov ôpen *i* to clôs *i* produced by contact with the folloing palatal (*Modern Philology*, XI, 351). Likewise the sound *š* produced clôs *i* from *ĭ*, hwær it waz developt befoar *pīra* became *pēra*. Portugees *camisa*, contrery to *beijo* and *cereja*, waz perhaps taken from Spanish rather than directly from Catalan. The forenness ov Spanish *camisa* miht be cwestiond, if we call *cerveza* a loan-word from France; but it iz made fairly shure by the disagreement ov *camisa-dedo* with Catalan *camisa-dit* and Italian *camicia-dito*. French *chemise*, contrery to *cervoise*, iz evidently based on Provençial *camisa*. If Catalan *cervesa* and Provençial *cervesa* came from French *cerveise*, Catalan *camisa* and Provençial *camisa* may be nativ forms. But it iz not clear hwether Catalan *artemisa* and Provençial *artemisa* (beside French *armoise*) ar normal or bookish, so that the derivativs ov *camisia* in bôth langwejes may perhaps be loan-words from Italian.

Portugees *cereja* seems to agree with French *cerise* in calling for a basis with *è*. But Vianna tells us, in § 52 ov his *Pronuncia normal portuguesa*, that the simpl vouel *ë* interchanjes with *ei* befoar *j* (*ž*), *beijo* being sounded eether *bëižu* or *bëžu*. Thus the difference between *beijo* and *cereja* may be meerly dialectal, so that *cereja* cood hav come from *cerasea*. Galician has *beixo* (*beišu*) and *cereixa*, beside *vexo* = Portugees *veja* < *video*. Consonant-asimilation iz seen in Spanish *cereça* for **ceresa*, az in *cerveça* for **cervesa* and *cedaço* for **sedaço*.

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EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU, A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

(Concluded from vol. VII, p. 109)

VII. THE *Chrestienne Resiouyssance* AND THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY SONG-BOOKS

IN the preceding chapter the process of turning popular songs into Protestant hymns was discussed in detail. In this chapter will be found a bibliographical table of Beaulieu's songs and their popular prototypes. M. Emile Picot, of the Institut de France, who has made an intensive study of sixteenth century songs, privately communicated to me the unpublished results of his investigations of the song-books as far as Beaulieu is concerned. It is with great pleasure that I thank him for his kindness. I have verified all of Prof. Picot's references that were available in the libraries of Paris and at the Musée Condé, Chantilly. In some cases I have been able to add to M. Picot's results, but those cases are very few.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CHANSONS

[In the following table all the Chansons contained in the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance* are listed alphabetically in roman type with the italicized title of the corresponding popular chanson paraphrased by Beaulieu, and accompanied in most cases by bibliographical indications. Where all indications are lacking, investigations have yielded no results.]

A Dieu la bonne chere (101).—*A Dieu la bonne chere.*

Allez fascheux, Caphardz, pleins de fallace (106).—*Allez fascheux, enuieux, plein d'audace.*

Amy Iesus: fay que ie t'ayme (75).—*Amy souffrez que ie vous ayme.*

1. Attaignant, Trente chansons musicales a quatre/parties nouvellement et trescorrectement imprimes a Paris par Pierre Attaignant demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres l'eglise saint Cosme, desquelles la table sensuyt. 1529, f. 10 v°, *Bibl. nat.* Vm7 171-183.

2. Sensuyuent/seize belles chansons nouvelles/dont les noms sensuyuent./Et

premierement/Aymez moy belle margot. (1521), 8vo, 8 fols., *Bibl. nat. Rés. Y. 4457* (three stanzas of four verses).

3. Attaignant, Quarante et deux chansons, 1529, f. 6 v°. *Bibl. nat.*

4. Fleur des Chansons, n. d., n. pl., *Musée Condé*, Chantilly, No. 406, fol. A, 32.

A tout iamais d'un vouloir immuable (29).—*A tout iamais d'un vouloir immuable.*

1. A tout jamais d'un vouloir immortel. La serviray comme la plus notable. —, Du Chemin Un, deux, trois, 4 livres à 25 chansons à 4 parties. *Catal. Rothsch. I: 627*. Cf. Eitner II, 415. 1549, Book IV, vi. Music by Crequillon.

2. Attaignant, Vingt et neuf chansons musicales/a quatre parties imprimez a Paris par Pierre Attaignant libraire/demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres leglise saint Cosme Desquelles/la table sensuyt. 1530. *Bibl. Nat. Vm7 171-183*, chanson vi.

Aupres de Dieu maintenant ie demeure (31).—*Aupres de vous secrete-ment demeure.*

1. Chans. spirit. à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596, p. 281.

2. Attaignant, Trente et quatre Chansons musicales a quatre parties, Paris, Pierre Attaignant, janvier 1529, f. 2 v°. *Bibl. Nat.*

3. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 26 r°. Music by Alf. Tarabasco.

Au seul Dieu dira sa pensée (87).—*Las, à qui dira sa pensée
La fille qui n'a point d'amy?*

Aymé suis de l'amour fidelle (48).—*Je suis aymé de la plus belle.*

1. Marot, *Œuvres*, Jannet, II, p. 180, chanson 10.

Bon iour, bon an et bonne estreine (125).—*Bon iour, bon an et bonne estreine.*

1. Beaulieu, *Divers Rap.*, 1537, f. 65 v°.

2. The melody by Beaulieu is to be found in *Paragon des chansons*, contenant plusieurs nouvelles et delectables chansons que oncques ne furent imprimées au singulier prouffit et delectation des musiciens/Jacques Moderne (printed probably in 1538 or before, since the second volume bears that date), 4to, f. 5. (Cf. Becker, *E. de Beaulieu*, Paris, 1880).

Bons Chrestiens: fournissez la . . . (138).—Sung to the tune of:
Iehan fournier four cy four la.

1. Bons chrestiens, tres tous ensemble Louer debrons le nom de Dieu. (6 couplets of 8 verses.)

Chanson nouvelle faicte sur les accordz entre le Roy et l'Empereur et se chante sur le chant: *Quand me souviens de la poulaille*. Sensuyt plu/sieurs belles chansons nouuelles, Im-/primees nouvellement, dont/les noms sensuyent cy/apres en la table/Mil cinq cens xlii (1542)./On les vend a Paris en la rue/neufue nostre Dame a lenseigne/de lescu de France, small, 8vo, 42 unnumbered pages. *Bibl. Nat. Rés. Y. 6117c*. (Reprinted by A. Percheron, Geneva, J. Gay and Son, 1867, 16mo.)

Bourriquet, bourriquet *Bourriquet, bourriquet,*
 Es tu pas bien asne? (154). *Harry, harry l'asne.*

1. Bourriquet, Bourriquet, Hanry Bourriquet l'ane: *Ancien Théâtre français*, published by Viollet-le-Duc and Anatole de Montaiglon, II, p. 373.
2. Bourriquet, bourriquet, Henry boury l'ane: *Le Fils et L'Examynateur*, in the *Joyeusetes*, published by Techener in the *Recueil des Farces*, 1837, vol. III.

3. Rabelais, Book I, chap. xi, mentions another song with the same refrain: Cen devant derriere, harry bourriquet.

To the same tune is sung:

- a. Une teste rase Se vest de drapeaux (9 couplets of 8 verses). Chanson (contre la messe), sur le chant: Harry, harry, l'asne), Chansonnier huguenot, 1870, I, p. 145.
- b. Chansons spirituelles à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596.
- c. L'on sonne une cloche Dix ou douze coups. (15 coupl. of 8 verses.) 1°. Chanson nouvelle contenant la forme et manière de dire la messe: sur hari, hari, l'asne, 1562. Le Roux de Lincy, *Chants historiques*, 1841-42, II, 266.
- 2°. Chans Hug., I, 149.

Brunette ioliette *Brunette, ioliette,*
 Qu'allez vous tant courir? (98). *Vous me faictes mourir.*

1. Beaulieu's song reprinted in Ghans. hug., I, 165.

C'en deuant derriere, *C'en deuant derriere*
 Changeons moeurs et tournons nous *Nous voulions passer les montz*
 C'en dessus dessoubz (158). *C'en dessus dessoubz.*

1. This is probably the same song, referred to by Rabelais in Book I, chap. xi. (Cf. song no. 10.)

Cent mille escus en la courroye (111).—*Cent mille escus quand ieouldroye.*

1. Cent mille escus quand jeouldroye
 Et paradis quant je morroye,
 Plus ne scavroie souhaidier.

Bibl. James de Rothschild, Recueil de chansons italiennes et françaises, en forme de coeur, ms. sur vélin, 72 ff., end of the xvth century. (*Cat. Rothschild*, IV, p. 314, no. 2973, p. 315.) Cf. Montaiglon et Rothschild, 1878, XIII, p. 288.

Certes bon Iesus Christ (131).—*Und ueller uil hellenden, tag uuil hand der sol, uuol zu sant Iacob gont.*

(sur le chant d'une Allemande, que les pellerins de la belistrerie (ou ydolatrie) de S. Iaques: chantoyent iadis communement, par les portes.)

Ces fascheux sotz qui mauldissent Luther (70).—*Ces fascheux sotz qui mesdisent d'aymer.*

1. Ces fascheux sotz qui mesdient d'aymer,

Sans en avoir la congnoissance. . . .

Fleur des Chansons, (1530?) Chantilly, f. A. 1, 3 couplets of 4 verses, reprinted in 1833, in *Joyeusetes*.

2. Sensuyvent plus. belles chansons, 1537 (Chantilly), f. lxxv.

3. Attaignant, 42 chansons, f. 5 r°.

4. Ces fascheulx sotz, qui medisent daymer

Et nen surent de leur vie la congnaissance. . . .

Sensuyt plu-/sieurs belles chansons nouuelles et fort ioy-/euses. Auecques plusieurs autres retirees/des anciennes impressions, comme pourrez/veoir en la Table en laquelle sont comprin-/ses les premieres lignes des Chansons, 1543/On les vend a Paris en la rue neufue/nostre Dame a lenseigne de lescu de/France, par Alain Lotrian, small, 8vo, *Bibl. Nat. Rés.*, Y 6117 = (2) f. lxxv (incomplete).

C'est à grant tort que maint peuple murmure (71).—*C'est à grant tort que moy paouureté endure.*

1. Attaignant, 34 chansons, f. 15r°. *Bibl. Nat.*

2. In later collections, with melodies by Clemens non Papa in Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 72r° (de Roy); and Josquin Baston (cf. Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke*, pp. 471 and 401: 1549 k, 1560 d, 1570 d, 1597 h): song for 6 voices, 550 f. (Susato, f. 16.)

3. *Escorial Library*, Mo. 8vo, 24, fol. 13v°, Pierre Aubry, 1507.

4. It is cited in 1538 in *Le Disciple de Pantagruel*, otherwise known as *La Navigation du compaignon à la bouteille* (p. 39 of the 1867 reprint).

To the same tune are sung:

- a. C'est a grand tort que moy, Messe, tant dure,

Et que je sois pour si bonne tenue.

Chansons spirit. à l'hon. de Dieu, 1596, p. 238.

- b. Id. (11 couplets of 4 verses), *Chans. hug.*, I, pp. 134-136.

Cf. Picot, *Chants historiques français*, 1903, p. 149.

C'est assez dict, (ie vous entendz ma Dame) (114).—*C'est assez dict, ie vous entendz ma Dame.*

1. Eustorg de Beaulieu, *Divers Rapports*, 1537, f. 63v°.

C'est boucaner d'avoir femme plus d'une (69).—*C'est boucaner de ce tenir à une.*

1. Attaignant, 42 chansons, f. 5v°.

2. Fleur des Chansons (1530), f. 21 (3 coupl. of 4 verses).

3. Sensuyent/VIII. belles chansons nouuelles dont les noms sensuiuent./Et premierement/Cest boucane de se tenir a une/Ma bien acquise ie suis venu icy/Le cueur est bien qui conques (sic) ne fut prins. . . . (1521), 8vo, goth., *Bibl. Nat. Rés.*, Y. 4457 (3 coupl., 4 verses of 10 syl.); *Bibl. de Chantilly*, 407.

4. Sensuient/plusieurs belles Chansons nou/uelles et fort ioyeuses avec plu/sieurs autres retirees des an/ciennes impressions comme pourrez veoir a la table/en laquelle sont com-/prinses les premie/res lignes des/Chan-sons./Mil cinq cens xxxvii (1537)/On les vend a Paris en la rue neuf/ue Notre Dame a lescu de France. 8vo, goth. *Catal. Chantilly*, 409.

To the same tune is sung:

C'est boucane den auoir plus dune.

Plus. belles ch., 1537, f. lxi.

C'est la Prestraille et Moynerie (153).—*Dictes que c'est du mal, m'amy.*

1. Plus. belles chansons, 1543, f. 32r°.

2. Chansons/nouvellement composees sur plusieurs/ chants, tant de Musique que Rus/tique: Nouuellement Impri-/mees: dont les noms sen/suyuent cy apres./Mil cinq cents xlviii (1548):/On les vend a Paris en la rue/Neufue Notre Dame a len-/seigne Sainot Nicolas:/par lehan Bon-/fons. 8vo, goth. f. no. 39, v° (reprinted in 1869).

3. Le/Recueil de toutes sor/tes de Chansons/nouvelles, tant musicales que ru-/stiques, recueillies des plus/belles et plus facecieu-/ses qu'on a sceu/choisir. . . . A Paris,/chez la veufue Nicolas Buffet, pres le College de Reims./1557, 16mo, f. 54r°. Municipal Library of Frankfort-am-Main and Imperial Library of Vienna.

4. Chans. huguenot, I, 169 (Beaulieu).

5. Picot, *Chants historiques fr.*, p. 153 (Beaulieu).

C'est tout pour vous (Dieu Magnifique) (122).—*C'est tout pour vous: Dame Musique.*

1. E. de Beaulieu, *Div. Rap.*, 1537, f. 62v°.

C'est une dure despartie (21).—*C'est une dure despartie
De celle ou j'ai mis mon cuer.*

1. S'ensuyuent plusieurs/belles Chansons nouuelles/Avec plusieurs aultres/ retirees des anciennes/impressions, comme/pourrez veoir a la/table en laquel/le sont les pre-/mieres lignes/des Chansons/et le feuillet/la ou se com/mencent les/dictes chan/sons/Mil cinq cens xxxv (1535). Cy finissent plusieurs chansons/nouvellement imprimees a/Paris. 8vo, goth., *Bibliothèque de Wolfenbüttel*, fol. xxiv.

2. (C'est une dure departie

De celuy où j'ay mis mon coeur)

Trente et une chansons musicales à 4 parties nouvellement imprimees, At-taignant, Paris, 1529, fol. 10v°. Music by Claudin.

3. Plus. belles chansons nouvelles, Paris 1537, *Chantilly*.

4. Sensuyt plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles, Lotrian, 1543, fol. 10v°.

5. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, music by Claudin le Jeune, fol. 71v°.

To the same tune are sung:

a. C'est une dure departie

Barthélemy Aneau, *Noel*, De l'ame et du corps forfaitteur. Chant

Natal contenant sept Noelz, ung chant Pastoural, et ung chant Royal, auec ung Mystere de la Natiuité, par personnages. . . . Seb. Gryphe, Lyons, 1539, small 4to, f. Br°, *Bibl. Nat. Rés.* Ye, 782.

- b. A toy, Seigneur, sans cesse crie
Et du plus profond de mon coeur.

Psalm cxxx, (anonymous translation), *Psalmes de David*, 1541.
Cat. Rothsch., iv, no. 2736.

Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'amours (1).—*Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'amours.*

1. Marot, Jannet, II, 191.
2. Trente et sept chansons musicales/a quatre parties nouvellement et correstement reimprimees a Parsi/par Pierre Attaingnant. . . . 1531, small 4to, Royal library of Munich, fol. 12, r°, *Bibl. Nat. Rés.*, Vm^r 178.
3. Sensuyvent plus. belles ch., Paris, 1537, fol. xvi, *Chantilly*.
4. Sensuyt plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles, Lotrian, 1543, fol. 8.
5. Malingre, *Noëls nouveaux*, Neufchâtel, 1533, no. 20. Cf. *Chans. hug.*, II, p. 424.

To the same tune is sung:

- a. Changeons propos, c'est
trop chanté d'amours,
Ce sont clamours, chantons.

De la Fidelité Nuptiale par Gerard de Vivre, *Trois Comédies*, 1589,
p. 73, dix. 72.

Content desir, qui cause mon bon heur (32).—*Content desir, qui cause ma dolleur.*

1. Sensuyvent plus. belles chansons, 1537 (by Marot), *Bibl. de Chantilly*.
2. Plus. belles chansons, 1543, fol. xxviii. (This folio is missing in the copy at the *Bibl. Nat.*)
3. Recueil de plus. chansons divisé en trois parties. Lyon, Rigaud et Saugrain, 1557, 16mo, p. 32. It is cited in the *Dialogue Nouveau Fort Joyeux*, Picot et Nyrop, *Farces et Sotties*, 1880, p. 91.

To the same tune are sung:

- a. Content desir, qui cause tout bonheur. . . .
Aneau, *Noels*, A, 4r°.

- b. Content desir qui cause ma douleur.
Chans. spirit. à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596, p. 282.

Contre raison, toy Pape, es fort estrange (109).—*Contre raison vous, m'estes fort estrange.*

1. Attaingnant, 34 chansons, fol. 10r°.
2. S'ensuyent plus. belles chansons, Paris, 1537, *Chantilly*, f. xxxv.

D'amours ne me va au rebours (5).—*D'amours me ua tout au rebours.*

De bien aymer les Dames je ne blasme (6).—*De bien aymer les Dames ie ne blasme.*

De mon tres triste desplaisir (54).—*De mon tres triste desplaisir.*

1. Fleur des chansons, (1530 ?), f. 40.
2. Navigation du Compaignon à la Bouteille, p. 39 of the reprint.
3. Fleur des chansons, 1537, f. G. iii.
4. Eitner, 1540 a, Music by Berchem.
5. (De mon triste et desplaisir) Attaignant, 34 chans., f. 3v°.
6. Sensuyuent/seize belles chansons nouvelles/dont les noms sensuyuent/
Et premierement/Rymez moy belle margot . . . (1521), goth, 8vo, no. 13,
Bibl. Nat. Rés., Y. 4457.
7. Plus. belles chansons, Lotrian, 1543, f. lii.
8. Plus. belles chans., Viviant, no. 38.

To the same tune is sung:

Des assaulx que Satan me faict.

De retourner, Iesus Christ, ie te prie (25).—*De retourner mon amy ie te prie.*

1. Attaignant, 34 chansons, f. 12r°.
2. Recueil de plusieurs/Chansons diuisé/en trois parties en la première
sont les/chansons musicales: en la seconde les Chansons amoureuses &
rusti-/ques; & en la tierce les/chansons de la/guerre./Reueu & amplifié de
nouveau./A lyon./Par Benoist Rigaud & Ian Saugrain/1557. 16mo, 202 pp.,
Municipal library of Frankfort on the Main, *Auct. Gall. Coll.*, 502, and Im-
perial and royal library of Vienna.

De retourner Iesus Christ ie te prie (25).—*De retourner mon amy ie te prie.*

1. Recueil et Eslite de plusieurs belles chansons joyeuses . . . colligées des
plus excellents poètes françois par J. W(alcourt); Anvers, chez Jean
Waesberge, 1576, 12mo, f. 93v°.
2. Attaignant, 34 chansons, f. 12r°.
3. Recueil, Rigaud et Saugrain, 1557, 29, no. 27.
4. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 58v°, music by Ad. Vuillard.

D'estre amoureux iamais ne seray las (4).—*D'estre amoureux iamais ie ne fus las.*

1. Attaignant, Trente et quatre chansons, f. 11v°.
2. Sensuyuent plus. belles chansons, 1537, f. 32.
3. Plus. belles chansons nouvelles, Lotrian, 1543, f. 32v°.

To the same tune is sung:

Charité est de Dieu le vrai lien.

Chans, spirit, à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596, p. 177.

De tant aymer mon coeur s'abuseroit (7).—*De tant aymer mon coeur s'abuseroit.*

1. Attaignant, Vingt neuf chansons, 1530, f. 9v°.

Dieu gard l'Escripture excellente (23).—*Dieu gard ma maistresse et regente.*

1. Marot, Jannet-Picard, II, p. 176.
2. Fleur des Chansons (Chantilly), 1537, no. 9.
Dieu gard de mon coeur la tres gente.
3. Recueil et Eslite, Waesberge, 1576, 260.

Dormoys tu?

Dormoys tu dy, grosse beste? (135).—*Te remues tu?*

Te remues tu gentil fillete?

(The song began: A Paris a troys fillettes.

Te remu tu gentil garsette?

1. Attaignant, Trente huyt Chansons musicales a quatre parties, Paris, 1529, 4to, f. 7. The music is by Jacques Godebrie, called Jacotin. (Cf. Eitner, *Bibl.*, p. 639.)
2. A Paris a trois fillettes
Gendarme, Alarme.
Ms. Utrecht Library, Varia, 202.
3. *Chans. hug.*, I, pp. 127 et seq. (Beaulieu.)
4. Picot, *Chants historiques fr.*, p. 153.

D'ou vient cella, monde d'abus remply (88).—*Dou vient celle, belle ie vous supply?*

1. Marot, Jannet, II, 182 (1525).
2. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. xi r°.
3. Attaignant, 37 chans., 4.
4. S'ensuyuent plus. belles chans., 1537 (Chantilly), fol. xi.
5. Dou vient cela je vous supply.
Ms. *Catal. Rothschild*, I, p. 220, f. 3v° (No. 7).

D'un nouveau dard ie suis frappé (51).—*D'un nouveau dard ie suis frappé.*

1. (Second verse: Par auesin trop cruelle) Attaignant, Trente chansons musicales, 3v° (Tenor).
2. (Second verse: Par amour trop cruelle) Plus belles chansons, Lotrian, 1543, fol. 27r°.
3. (Second verse: Par Cupido, cruel de soy) Marot, II, 185 (1527).
4. Recueil et Eslite, Waesberge, 246v°.

En attendant le languir me tourmente (27).—*En attendant le languir me tourmente.*

(Not found as given by Beaulieu. The following begin with same two words:

1. En attendant d'amours la jouyssance,
Pour tout confort je n'en en esperance.

Attaignant, Trente chansons musicales a quatre parties nouvellement et tres correctement imprimees a Paris, fol. 5v°.

2. (En attendant d'amours la jouissance
Mon bien m'amour et ma seule fiance.)
A rondeau inserted by Heroyn de Lettenhove among the works attributed to Chastellain, 1863-66, Vol. VIII, p. 517.
3. En attendant la vraye jouissance
De mon salut, j'ai eu en Dieu esperance.
Chans. spirit. à l'hon. de Dieu, 1596, p. 271.
4. Picot, *Chants. histor.*, pp. 147, 148.
5. Chans. hug., p. 347.

En contemplant la grande ydolatrie (59).—*En contemplant la beauté de m'amy.*

1. Cf. Eitner, 1549 n.

En entrant en un iardrin(sic) (78).—*En entrant en un iardrin.*

1. En entrant en un jardin
Je trouvoy Guillot Martin.
Marot, II, p. 188.
2. (Second verse: J'ay trouvé Guillot Martin)
Attaignant, 31 chansons, f. 6v° (melody by Claudin).
3. En entrant en un jardin(et)
Je trouvoy Guillot Martin
De la fidelité nuptiale, Trois Comédies, by Gerard de Vivre, 1589, p. 72 (7).

En esprit iusqu'au ciel ie vole (86).—*Je vais ie vien mon coeur s'en vole.*

1. Plus. belles chansons, 1543, xciiii, v°.

En faict d'amours tu aimeras ton Dieu (2).—*En faict d'amours beau parler n'a plus lieu.*

1. (Second verse: Car sans argent vous parlez en ebrieu). Rondeau by Jehan Marot, in Collerye, *Œuvres* (reprint), p. 190. Cf. Gasté, *Chansons normandes du xv^e s.*, Caen, 1869, no. 78.

En recordant De coeur ardent (93).—*Ein ougenblik
Bringt offt das Gluk.*

Entre nous tous pellerins (120).—*Entre nous bons pelerins.*

- (Chefz enclins,
Tenant de Dieu le partie. . .)
Dix setieme Livre de Chansons à 4 & 5 parties, Paris, Adr. Le Roy et Rob. Ballard, 1500, 8vo, fol. 6v°. Library of the *Institut de France*, Q. 645 A. Cf. *Catal. Rothschild*, I, 628. Cf. Eitner, p. 460.

Est il conclud par le conseil des lourdz (50).—*Est il conclud par un arrest d'amours.*

(Est-il conclus par ung arrest d'amours

Que désormais je vive en desespoir)

1. Fleur des Chans. (1528), *Chantilly*, no. 406, C, 4v°.

2. Fleur des Chansons (1530?), f. 16.

Et d'en bon iour (49).—*Et d'en bon iour*

Et d'ou venez vous?

1. (Second verse: Et dont venez vous?)

Attaignant, *Trente chansons*, 1529, f. 6v°. (Eitner, p. 318.)

Faict ou failly ou du tout rien qui vaille (68).—*Faict ou failly, ou du tout rien qui vaille.*

1. Plus. belles chans., 1537, f. 30.

2. Attaignant, 30 Chans., f. 14v°. *Bibl. Nat.*

3. Melody by Bridam. Cf. Eitner, 1533a.

4. Plus. belles chansons, Lotrian, 1543, f. 30v°.

Faulte de foy, c'est erreur non pareille (91).—*Faulte d'argent c'est dolleur non pareille.*

1. Plus. belles chans., 1537, f. lxxxvi.

2. Beaulieu's song was published in 1533 in *Noels nouveaux*, publ. by Mathieu Malingre at Neuchâtel. Cf. *Chans. hug.*, II, p. 42 et seq.

3. Cf. also Pierre Fabri, *Le grand et vray Art de pleine rhétorique*, ed. by Héron, 1890, II, p. 85.

4. Rabelais, Book II, chap. XVI, mentions the song.

5. *Farce joyeuse du savetier*, Le Roux de Lincy et Michel, *Recueil de Farces*, 1837, iv, no. 73, p. 5.

6. Ballad in the *Amoureux Passetemps*, Lyons, Rigaud, 1582, f. E, 5.

7. Roger de Collerye (Ch. d'Héricault edition, p. 223) composed to the same refrain a rondeau which was in part reproduced by M. Gonin. (Fournier, *Variétés hist. et litt.*, V, p. 223.)

8. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 32v°, Melody by Josquin, fol. 53v°. Also with a melody by Ad. Vuillard.

9. Fleur des Chansons à trois parties, Louvain, Pierre Phalèse, and Antwerp, Jean Bellère. 1574.

Femme qui tant souvent babille (67).—*Femme qui tant souvent babille.*

Fortune ne donne à nul vie (66).—*Fortune, laisse moy la vie.*

1. Plus. belles chansons, 1537, f. lv.

2. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. lx.

3. Chansons nouvelles, Vve Buffet, II and III, 1559, f. 47r°, no. 40.

4. (Second verse: Puis que tu veulx avoir les biens.)

Attaignant, 42 chansons, f. 6v°.

5. (Second verse: Puisque tu as prins tous mes biens) (3 couplets of 4

verses). *Fleur des Chansons* (1530?), 19. The melody, written by Rousée, is found in the *Meslange* of 1572, f. 9, but the words are different (the second verse is: Tu me tourmente rudement).

6. Cf. Eitner, p. 320. Rhaw, no. 90.

7. (Second verse: *Puis que tu mas oste les biens.*) (Version imitated by Beaulieu.)

Fy de Venus et de son passetemps (105).—*Fy de Venus et de son passetemps.*

1. Cf. Beaulieu, *Divers Rapports*, ch. vi.

Gris ne bureau ne fault porter (15).—*Gris et taré me fault porter.*

1. Gris et tenné me fault porter.

Attaignant, 29 chansons, Tenor, f. 5v°.

2. Attaignant, Trente huyt Chansons musicales a quatre parties, 1529, 4to, f. 5v°, melody by Gombert.

3. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 52 (mel. by Leschenet), taken from the song: En plains et pleurs je prends congé, G. Paris, *Chansons du xve siècle*, 1875.

4. Chans. hug., I, 173-174. (Beaulieu.)

Hellas Iesus mon Redempteur (52).—*Hellas que vous a fait mon coeur.*

(Second verse: Ma dame, que le hayez tant)

1. Plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles, 1535, no. 20.

2. Plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles, 1543, fol. 19v°.

3. Recueil de plusieurs chansons, Rigaud et Saugrain, 1557, p. 75.

4. La Fleur des chansons, 1580, no. 39.

5. The same song is to be found, with the melody by Locquenez, in Le Recueil des plus belles et excellentes chansons en forme de voix de ville, Jean Chardavoine, 1588, f. 222.

6. As early as 1520 Antoine de Arena cites the air: *Helas! que vous a fait mon coeur* as a "basse danse a 19." (Cf. Brunet.)

7. (Second verse: Madame qui le gardez tant.) Plus. belles chansons, 1543, f. 1.

8. Ibid. Sensuyt plu-/sieurs belles chansons nouvelles, 1542, no. 41, f. Lij v° (p. 73 of the reprint of 1867, by Percheron, Geneva, 16mo).

To the same tune are sung:

a. A Dieu, ma dame par amours,
Sans oublier le temps passé.

1°. Chans. nouv. composées, 1548, no. 39.

2°. Recueil, Rigaud et Saugrain, 1557, p. 117.

3°. Le Recueil de toutes sortes de chans., Paris, Buffet, 1557, fo. 43v°.

b. François, Espagnols et Flamands.

c. Pauvre pecheur, vil entaché.

d. Peuple, par dure affection.

Montaiglon et Rothschild, *Recueil*, X, p. 58. (Cf. Picot, *Chants hist.*, p. 111.)

Hellas que i'auray d'ennuy (157).—*Hellas que i'auray d'ennuy,
Si le temps que ie uoy me dure,
dure.*

Il est huy bon iour de feste (150).—*Il est iour dict l'alouette.*

1. Attaignant, 37 chans., f. 6.

Il est certain que Dieu de là sus (146).—*Il m'est aduis que les
amoureux.*

Il me souffit de tous mes maulx (53).—*Il me souffit de tous mes maulx.*

1. Attaignant, 34 chans., f. 16v°.
 2. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. lxiii.
- To the same tune is sung:
O combien sont jolis et beaux. (Cf. Eitner.)

J'ai contenté	<i>J'ai contenté</i>
Ma volonté	<i>Ma volonté.</i>

Souffisament (49).

1. Attaignant, 37 chansons, f. 15v°.
2. Marot, II, 183 (1525).
3. Plus. belles chans., 1535, no. xxvii.
4. S'ensuyvent plus. belles chans., 1537 (Chantilly), f. xviii.
5. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. 23r°.
6. Recueil et Eslite, 286v°.
7. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 65r°. (Melody by Nicolas.)

J'ai demouré seulle esgarée (65).—*J'ai demouré seulle esgarée.*

1. La fleur des chansons, Chantilly (1530 ?), no. 11. (Ie demeure seulle.)

J'ai faict en vain cent mille pas (36).—*J'ai faict pour vous cent mille
pas.*

1. Chansons spirit. à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596, p. 285.

J'aime le coeur de Marie (10).—*J'aime le coeur de m'amie.*

1. Marot, II, 190 (1527).
2. Attaignant, Trente six chansons, 1530, f. 4r°. Melody by Claudin. (Cf. Eitner, no. 1535b.)
3. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 245v°.
4. Chansons nouvelles, Vve. Buffet, 1557, II and III, f. 20v°, no. 16, bis.

J'ai trop chanté l'abominable messe (35).—*J'ai trop aimé, vraiment je
le confesse.*

1. (Second verse: A ce me passe et quitte le mestier.)
Attaignant, 42 chans., f. 7r°.
2. (Second verse: A tant j'en quitte marchandise et mestier.)
Attaignant, Trente chans., f. 13v°. (Cf. Eitner, p. 329.)

There is another song, beginning: J'ai trop aimé le temps de ma jeunesse.
It does not seem to be the one imitated by Beaulieu.)

J'ai un mari qui m'exhorte (97).—*J'ai un Cyron sur la mothe.*

1. Plus. belles chansons, 1535, no. xi.
2. Op. cit., 17 couplets nouvellement composés, no. 60.
3. S'ensuyvent plus. belles chans., 1537 (Chantilly), f. xii.
4. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. 12r°.
5. Chansons nouvelles, Vve. Buffet, 1557, f. 54v°.
6. Recueil, Rigaud et Saugrain, 1557, p. 125, no. 86.

Jamais n'aymeray pardon (159).—*Jamais n'aymeray maçon.*

Cf. Eitner p. 155, (1559b).

J'attendz secours de ma seulle pensée (22).—*J'attendz secours de ma seulle pensée.*

1. Marot, ed. Jannet-Picard, II, 177 (1525).
2. Attaignant, 37 Chansons, f. 12v°.
3. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 73v°.
4. S'ensuyvent plus. belles chan., 1537 (Chantilly), xliii.
5. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. xliii.

To the same tune is sung:

Le juste ira haut au saint tabernacle.

Je me plaintz fort. Satan m'a rué ius (43).—*Je me plainctz fort, amours m'ont rué jus.*

1. Fleur des chans. (1528), 31.
2. Sensuyuent/seize belles chansons nouvelles/done les noms sensuyuent/
Et premierement/Aymez moy belle margot, (1521), goth., 8vo, *Bibl. Nat. Rés.*, Y. 4457, no. 14.
3. Sensuyuent dixsept belles Chansons nouvelles dont les noms sensuyuent,
goth., reprinted by Durand brothers at Chartres in 1874, no. 6.
4. (Je m'y plein fort qu'Amours m'ont rué jus.)
Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 59r°. Canon in dyatessarium. Music by
Leschenet.
5. Je ne plains fort qu'on me vueille ruer jus. 2 couplets, 1525. Cf. Chans.
hug., I, pp. xviii *et seq.*
6. Beaulieu's song in: Chans. spirit. à l'hon. de Dieu, 1596, p. 287.

Je n'ay desir *J'ay grand desir*

De plus choisir (13). *D'avoir plaisir.*

1. Marot, II, 189 (1525).
2. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 261r°.
3. Attaignant, 36 chansons, f. 12r°.
4. Attaignant, 38 chansons, f. 12r°. (Eitner, p. 19.)

Je n'avois pas à bien choisir failly (60).—*Je n'avois pas à bien choisir failly.*

Je ne fais rien que requerir (50).—*Je ne fais rien que requerir.*

1. Attaignant, 30 chans., Tenor, f. 2r°.

2. Marot, II, 184.
3. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 47r°, melody by Wildre.
4. Recueil et Eslite, 1596, 210r°.

Je ne me puis tenir (61).—*Je ne me puis tenir pour chose que lon die.*

1. Plus. belles chans., 1535, f. 36v°.
2. Chansons nouvellement assemblees/oultre les anciennes/Lmpressions./MDXXXVIII (1538), 16mo, Royal Library of Stuttgart.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. 1. (Eitner, p. 3; 1503a.)

Je ne scay pas comment (90).—*Je ne scap pas comment.*

1. (2d verse) *A mon entendement.*
Attaignant, 42 chans., f. 5 v°.
2. Ancien Théâtre fr., II, p. 150.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1537 (Chantilly), f. xl v°.
4. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. xliii v°.
5. La fleur des chansons/Les grans chansons nouuelles/qui sont au nombre Cent et dix/ou est comprise la chanson du Roy/la chanson que/le roy fist en espaigne, la chanson de Rome./la chanson des Brunettes et Teremutu et/plusieurs aultres nouuelles chansons les quel/les trouueres par la table ensuyuant . . . Paris, about 1530, small 8vo, 32 folios, Library of the Château of Chantilly, no. 406. (Reprinted in the *Joyesetes*, published by Teche-ner in 1837. Cf. Brunet.)
6. Ronsard, *Meslange de Chansons*, tant des vieux auteurs que des modernes, a ung, six, sept et huit parties, 1572, f. 76r°, music by Wildre, *Bibl. Nat. Rés.*, p. Ye, 123.

To the same tune are sung:

- a. Pecheurs, souffrez que Dieu vous ayme.
Noelz nou/veaux, et deuots Can-/tiques à l'honneur de nostre Seig-neur Iesus Christ, faictz/& composez par Christophle de Bordeaux/Parisien, pour l'année mil cinq cens quatre/vingts/& un./A Paris/Par Nicolas Bonfons. . . f. 54v°. Cf. *Cat. Rothschild*, IV, p. 340.
- b. Si vous craignez de Dieu la traine.
Chansons/spiritueles/à l'honneur de Dieu, & à l'edifi/cation du pro-chain./Reveues & corrigées de nou-/ueau: avec une Table/mise à la fin./M.D.XCVI (1596)/Pour la vefue de Iean Durant. (Geneva), 16mo, 439 pp., *Bibl. Chantilly*, *Cat.*, vol. II, no. 1371, p. 184.
- c. L'amour de moy (si est enclose):
De ceste abysme tant profonde
A toy je crie, mon Seigneur.
Psalmes de David, 1541. (*Cat. Rothschild*, IV, no. 2736.)

Je ne scay comment ie pourrois avoir marrisson (143).—*Je ne scay comment il pourrois avoir marrisson.*

Je te feray misericorde (148).—*Io te faro portar le corne.* (Ital.)

Jouyssance vous donneray (62).—*Jouyssance vous donneray.*

1. (2d verse: Mon amy, et si meneray.)
Marot, II, p. 177 (1525).
2. Plus. belles chans., 1537 (Chantilly), f. xl.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. xl.
4. (Mon amy, et vous meneray)
Attaignant, 37 chans., f. 5 r°.
5. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 1 r°. Melody by Vuillart.

L'amitié fut bien commencée (73).—*L'amitié fut bien commencée.*

L'Amour de Dieu me point (74).—*Amour au cueur me point.*

1. Marot, ed. Jannet-Picard, II, 186 (1524).
2. Sensuiuent/plusieurs belles Chansons nou/uelles et fort ioyeuses avec plu/sieurs autres retirees des an/ciennes impressions comme pourrez veoir a la table/en laquelle sont com-/prinse les premie/res lignes des/Chansons./Mil cinq cens xxxvii (1537)./On les vend a Paris en la rue neuf/ue Nostre Dame a lescu de France. Finis. goth, 8vo. *Musée Condé, Chantilly*, VI, E, 43.
3. Sensuyt plusieurs belles chansons nouuelles, 1543, f. 25 v°.
4. (Clemens non papa à huit.) Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 76 v°, 77 r°.
5. Recueil et Eslite de plusieurs belles chansons joyeuses . . . colliges des plus excellents poètes françois par J. W(aesberge); Anvers, chez Jean Waesberge, 1576, 12mo, fol. 16.

Languir me faict la reigle mal dressée (38).—*Languir me fais sans t'auoir offencée.*

1. Marot, II, p. 182.
2. Attaignant, 37 chans., f. 13 r°.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. xxxvii.
4. Manuscript, *Catalogue Rothschild*, f. 2 (no. 4), p. 220.
5. (Beaulieu's song) Chans. spirit. à l'hon. de Dieu, 1596.
6. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 73 v°.
7. Cf. Eitner, 1559, melody by Josquin Baston; also p. 331.
8. Cf. Picot et Nyrop, *Nouveau Recueil de Farces fr., du xv^e et du xvi^e s.*, 1881, p. 91. The song is cited in the *Dialogue Nouveau fort joyeux*.

To the same tune are sung:

- a. Languir me faict la regle maldressée.
- b. Le vieil serpent par venimeux sibile.

La rosée au moys de May (125).—*La rosée du moys de May.*

1. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, melody by Mouton, f. 86.
 2. *Op. cit.*, by Rousée, f. 63 v°.
 3. *Op. cit.*, melody by Moulu, 63 v°.
- (Another song, beginning with the same verse is to be found in Attaignant, 36 chans., and in another collection, but the second verse proves that it is not the one imitated by Beaulieu.)

Las ie me plains, maulgré de la pecune (16).—*Las ie me plains, mauldicte soit fortune.*

1. Attaignant, 36 chansons, f. 16 r°.

Las, voulez-vous qu'une personne chante (34).—*Las voulez vous qu'une personne chante.*

1. (2d verse: A qui te ne fait que souspirer.)
Attaignant, 37 chans., f. 8 v°. (Eitner, p. 332.)
2. (2d verse: A qui le coeur ne fait que souspirer.)
Manuscript, Rothschild Library, Cat., I, p. 225, art. 73. (Melody by Orlande de Lassus.)
3. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 296, melody by Nicolas Gombert. (Cf. Eitner, p. 500.)
4. Dousiesme Livre de Chansons à quatre et cinq parties, Paris, Adr. Le Roy et Rob. Ballard, 1572, 8vo, f. 1 v°. Library of the Institut, Q. 645 A. (Not in Eitner.)
5. Chans. spirit. à l'hon. de Dieu, 1596, p. 283. (Beaulieu.)
6. Cf. Chans. hug., I, pp. lxxxi et seq. (Beaulieu.)

Laudate dominum, mes amis (160).—*Laudate dominum, mes amys, Laudate dominum de coelis.*

L'autre iour m'alloye esbatre (127).—*L'autre iour m'alloye esbatre.*

1. Attaignant, 29 chans., f. xiii. (Eitner, p. 532.)

Le coeur est bon et le vouloir aussi (55).—*Le coeur est bon et le vouloir aussi.*

1. Attaignant, 37 chans., f. 13 r°. (Eitner, p. 333.)

Le coeur est mien qui oncques ne fut prins (42).—*Le coeur est mien qui oncques ne fut prins.*

1. Attaignant, 42 chans., f. 4 v°.
2. Fleur des chans. (1530 ?), f. 15. (Chantilly.)
3. Sensuyvent plus. belles chans., 1537 (Chantilly), f. lix.
4. Huit belles chans., nouv. (1521). *Bibl. Nat. Rés.*, Y. 4457, no. 3.
5. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 61 v°. Melody by Leschenet (canon in subdyapason).
6. Chans. spirit. à l'hon. de Dieu, p. 286. (Beaulieu.)

Le content est riche en ce monde (17).—*Le content est riche en ce monde.*

1. Attaignant, 37 chans., f. 6 v°. (Cf. Eitner, p. 854.) Melody by Claudin de Sermisy.
2. Primo libro de la canzoni francese, Venezia, Octavianus Scotus, 1535, 8vo, no. 6. (Eitner, pp. 34, 333.)

Le iaulne et bleu sont les colleurs (14).—*Le iaulne et bleu sont les colleurs.*

1. Attaignant, 35 chans., f. 11 v°. (Eitner, p. 333.)
2. Sensuyvent plus. belles chans., 1537 (Chantilly), fol. xliiii.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. xliiii.

Le Saint Esprit mon paouure coeur desire (56).—*Le coeur de uous ma presence desire.*

1. Trente et une chansons musicales (Attaignant), fol. 2. (Eitner, p. 333.)
2. Le Paragon des Chansons, 1530, f. 28.

Les enuieux par leure propos nuysans (108).—*Les enuieux ne leurs motz cuisans.*

(Melody by Beaulieu) *Div. Rap.*, 1537, f. 63 v°.

Les Moynes n'ont plus que faire (82).—*Mon amy n'a plus que faire.*

Le temps n'est plus tel comme il souloit estre (102).—*Le temps n'est plus comme il souloit estre.*

(Melody by Beaulieu) *Div. Rap.*, 1537, f. 65 r°.

Longtemps y a que ie vy en espoir (24).—*Longtemps y a que ie vy en espoir.*

1. Marot, II, p. 187.
2. Attaignant, 35 chansons, f. 8 v°.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1535, no. 28.
4. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. 23 v°.
5. Attaignant, 36 chansons, f. 13 v°.
6. Rigaud et Saugrain, Recueil, 1557, f. 24, no. 18.
7. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 93 v°.
8. Le Recueil des plus belles et excellentes chansons en forme de voix de ville, Paris, 1588. Marc Locqueneur, published by Jean de Chardavoine, f. 108 v°. (With music.)
9. Chans. hug., vol. I, p. 104. (Beaulieu.)

Maint grand assault la chair si me donna (8).—*Un grand plaisir Cupido me donna.*

1. Attaignant, 35 chansons, 1529, f. 4 r°.
2. Plus. belles chans., 1535, no. xxv.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. 22 v°.
4. Rigaud et Saugrain, Recueil, 1557, p. 23, no. 17.
5. Chardavoine, Recueil, 1588, 106 v°.

Martin Luther a esté bien fasché (123).—*Martin menoit son porceau au marché.*

(This is epigram no. 32 by Marot.)

1. Plus. belles chans., 1535, no. 5.

2. Attaignant, *Trente et une chans.*, 1534, with melody by Alaire. Cf. Eitner, 1534.

3. Manuscript, *Cat. Rothschild*, IV, no. 2945 (f. 39).

Mauldicte soit la mondaine finesse (18).—*Mauldicte soit la mondaine richesse.*

1. Marot, II, 135.

2. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 93 r°.

3. Second verse: Qui m'a osté ma dame (instead of m'amy) et ma maistresse.

Attaignant, 31 chans., f. 8 v°, melody by Claudin.

Mauldict soit le faulx chrestien (85).—*Mauldict soit le petit chien.*

1. Farce du joyeux savetier, Techener, IV.

2. Farce d'un vendeur de livres, *op. cit.*, II, p. 14.

3. Ancien théâtre français, II, p. 54, *La Farce de Calbain*.

To the same tune is sung:

En Provenso ha uno villo.

(The text bears the phrase: Baudisso, le petit chien.) Cf. *Chansons nouvelles en lengaige prouensal*, reprinted by Emile Picot, 1909, p. 42.

Maulgré Satan (le Prince des Iniques) (141).—*Sur le chant des Allemandes communes (qu'on appelle) comme on les ioue en France, sur les instrumens de musique.*

Mon Createur ayez de moy mercy (79).—*Ma chere Dame, ayez de moy mercy.*

Mondain seiour i'ay perdu ta presence (103).—*Mondain seiour i'ay perdu ta presence.*

1. *Div. rap.*, 1535, f. 64 r°. (Eitner, 1538 m.)

2. Paragon des chansons, Second Livre, 1538, f. 15. (Transcribed by Becker in his article on Beaulieu. Cf. Appendix.)

Mon Dieu ne m'a son filz vendu (19).—*Madame ne m'a pas uendu.*

1. Marot, ed. 1702, I, p. 306.

2. Attaignant, 35 chans., f. 3.

3. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 210 v°.

Mon pere m'a donné son filz (80).—*Mon pere m'a donné mary.*

1. Balade en chronison, Jardin de Plaisance, Lyons, Arnoullet, n. d. (1525), f. 55 c. Cf. *Cat. Rothschild*, IV, 104.

2. To the same tune is sung: Venus a toy je me complains: G. Alione, *Opera iocunda metro macharronico materno et gallico composita*, 1521, reprinted in 1865, p. 116.

(Eitner, p. 338.)

Mort ou mercy en ce monde i'attendz (39).—*Mort ou mercy en languissant i'attendz.*

1°. Recueil de poésies du XVI^e Siècle. Ms. in 4°. *Cat. Rothschild*, IV, p. 288

Mourir convient *Mourir conuient*
 Souuent aduient (118). *Souuent aduient.*

(Melody by Beaulieu.)

N'aurez vous pas de moy pitié (64).—*N'aurez vous pas de moy pitié?*

N'aymez iamais ces Caphardz lourdz (84).—*N'aymez iamais ces gens de court.*

1. Cf. Eitner, p. 339.

N'aymez iamais la loy humayne (83).—*N'aymez iamais une uillayne.*

Nous auons faict grand feste (145).—*Nous uieinsmes à al feste.*

Nous seruiron le Roy (96).—*Nous seruiron le Roy.*

O Dieu, prens moy à mercy (132).—*Miserere mei: Diu.*

(So many songs begin with the same verse that it is impossible to trace it.)

O grand beaulté qui loges cruauté (20).—*O cruaulté logée en grand beaulté.*

1. Marot, Jannet-Picard, II, p. 189.

2. Attaignant, Trente et sept chansons, 1532, f. 3 v°, with melody by Ser-misy.

3. Cinquiesme Livre contenant xxv chansons, Paris, Attaignant and Juliet, 1540, f. 14. Cf. Eitner, *Bibliographie*, pp. 855 and 645. Cf. also Picot, *Chants historiques*, p. 146.

O Hermite chattemite (130).—*O Hermitte saint Hermite.*

(Melody by Beaulieu.)

To the same tune are sung:

a. Gardez vous des faulx prophetes.

b. Chantons trestous a ce Noël, O Noël.

On dict que c'est un grand sollas (116).—*On dict que c'est un grand sollas.*

(Melody by Beaulieu.)

1. Cf. *Divers Rapportz*, 1537, Chanson iv.

Or vien ça vien: toy Pape et ta secte (144).—*Or vien ça uien, m'amyne Perrette.*

O saint Esprit, vien enflammer noz cœurs (57).—*Allez souspirs, enflammez au froigt cœur.*

1. Attaignant, 29 chans., 1530, f. 10 v°.

O seul vray Dieu (qui point ne mens) (95).—*Les Bourguignons meirent le camp, deuant la ville de Peronne.*

1. Cf. Eitner, 666. Music by Fr. de Layolle, 1538.

To the same tune are sung:

- a. La veille de la saint Martin (1567).
- b. Le mardi devant le Toussaint (1552).
- c. Quand j'ay bien à mon cas pensé (1590).
- d. Resjouissez vous laboureurs.
- e. Dieu gard de mal le roy François.

(Cf. Picot, *Chants historiques*, p. 162.)

O vray Dieu nostre bon Pere (147).—*Piscatore* (Italian).

Paix là, sus ho là: paix là (133).—*Paix là, sus ho là: paix là.*

Par ton regard tu voidz ciel, terre et mer (28).—*Par ton regard tu me fais esperer.*

1. Attaignant, 36 chans., 1530, f. 3 r°. Melody by Claudin.
2. (Par ton regard tu m'y fais esperer.)
Plus. belles chans. (1535), no. viii.
3. S'ensuyvent plus. belles chansons, 1537, f. xl.
4. Chans., nouv., Lotrian, 1543, f. 11 r°.
5. Chans. hug., II, p. 441, mentions a volume entitled: Cinquante pseumes de David, translated by Marot, Paris, Bogard, 1545, in which is to be found a song with the same first verse. (no. 7.)
6. Chans., nouv., Rigaud et Saugrain, 1557, p. 22, no. 15.
7. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 93 v°.
8. Chans, spirit. à l'honneur de Dieu, p. 145.
9. (Par ton Regard tu me faitz esperer
En mon salut, Vierge qui procurer.)
Noël sur la chanson que se chante: Par ton regard, Noëlz, Bonfons, fol. 10 v. (*Rothsch. Cat.*, IV, 340.)
10. Par ton regard tu me fais espérer,
En espérant me convient endurer.
Cf. Bordier, *Chans. hug.*, I, p. 36. (Beaulieu.)

Plaisant Bordeaux, noble et Royal domaine (112).—*Plaisant Bordeaux, noble et Royal domaine.*

Beaulieu, *Divers Rapports*, chans. ix.

Plaisir n'ay plus fors quand pense à la mort (41).—*Plaisir n'ay plus, mais uy en desconfort.*

1. Attaignant, 36 chansons, 1530, f. 5 v°.
2. Attaignant, 32 chansons, 1530, f. 16.
3. Marot, Jannet, II, p. 175.
4. (Plaisir n'ay plus que vivre en desconfort,
Confortez vous gens de noble valleur.)

Signed: Grace et Amour. Jo. Daniellus, organista, Noëlz, Bonfons, Chardon, No. V, p. 13.

5. (Plaisir n'ay plus mais vi en desconfort;
Fortune m'a remis en grand douleur.)
Recueil et Esélite, 1576, 12mo, fol. 67 v°.

Pour auoir faict au gré de l'ennemy (44).—*Pour auoir faict au gré de mon amy.*

1. Plus. belles chansons, 1521 Viviant, no. 19.
2. Fleur des Chansons (1530 ?), 6.
3. (Second verse: Esse raison d'en estre diffamée?)
Gasté, *Chansons normandes*, 1869, no. 36.
4. Basse danse à 24. Antoine de Arena transcribed a notation for this danse. (Cf. Brunet.) It was a popular danse at the time.
5. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. B1.

Prisonnier suis pour l'Euangile (92).—*M'amyé m'a cousté cent liures.*

Preschez leur rien qui vaille (100).—*Touchez nous l'Antiquaille,
Et nous la danserons.*

1. Cf. Navigation du Compaignon à la bouteille, 1538, p. 40 of the reprint. Jannet edition, II, p. 117. Rabelais refers to it.
2. Chans. hug., I, 124-126. (Beaulieu.)

To the same tune is sung:

Le Pape et les sieurs tous.

Chans. hug., I, p. 129. Cf. Picot, *Chants historiques*, p. 149.

Puis qu'en amours a si beau passetemps (3).—*Puis qu'en amours a si beau passetemps.*

1. Fleur des chansons (1530 ?), 18.
2. (Second verse: Puisqu'en amours a si grant passé (temps)
Je vueil aymer, dancier et rire.)
Attaignant, 31 chans., f. 14 r°. Music by Claudin.
3. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. xxxiv.
4. Sensuyuent plus. ch. belles, 1537, f. xxxix.
5. Chans. hug., I, 32. (Beaulieu.)

To the same tune is sung: Du bon cuer chantons en ce saint temps.

Noelz nouveaulx, Bonfons, f. 43 v°. (*Cat. Rothsck.*, IV, p. 340.)

Puis que t'en uas (paouure Loy Papistique) (107).—*Puis que t'en uas: ne scay ou ie m'applique.*

1. Beaulieu, *Divers Rapports*, Chans., viii.

Quand i'ay pensé en vous Bible sacrée (46).—*Quand i'ay pensé en vous ma bien amyée.*

1. Attaignant, 38 chans., xiii r°.
2. Marot, II, 179.
3. Chansons spirit. à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596, p. 288.

Quand j'estois en ma jeunesse (156).—*Sansonnet, Buissonnet, Las que devint mon cotillonnet.*

Quand tu voudras ton courage renger (110).—*Quand tu uouldras ton humble serf renger.*

Quand vous voudrez faire une amye (12).—*Quand vous voudrez faire une amye.*

1. Marot, II, 187 (1527).
2. Recueil et Eslite, 1576, 282 v°.
3. Attaignant, 38 chansons, f. xi v°.
4. Chans. hug., I, p. 33. (Beaulieu.)

Qui la dira la peine de mon coeur (81).—*Qui la dira la peine de mon coeur
Et la douleur que pour mon amy porte.*

1. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 83 v° and 85. *Canon à l'unison à huict*, music by Verdelot.
 2. The same, music by Ad. Vuillart, f. 2 r°.
 3. (Second verse: Et la langueur que pour son amy porte.)
Song cited by Noel du Fail, *Propos rustiques*, 1547, No. IV, La Borderie, f. 33. Cf. also p. 249. Cf. Eitner, p. 16; p. 349.
 4. Sensuyent viii belles chansons nouuelles (1521), goth. 4 fols., *Bibl. Nat. Rés. Y. 4457*.
 5. *Fleur des Chansons* (1530 ?), 28.
 6. Seize belles chansons nouvelles, No. 3. *Bibl. Nat. Rés. Y. 4457*. (In second verse we read *son amy*).
- To the same tune are sung:

- a. Qui la dira, la douleur de mon coeur
Et le souci que pour mon peché porte.

Qui la voudra, la Messe, si l'endure (37).—*Qui la voudra, souhaite que ie meurs.*

- Cf. Eitner, p. 143.
- a. Chans, spirit. à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596, p. 111.
 - b. Qui chantera Noël du bon du cueur.

Qui veult auoir liesse (47).—*Qui veult auoir liesse.*

1. Marot, II, 181 (1524).
2. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. lxxxii.
3. Recueil et Eslite, 23 v°.
4. Rigaud et Saugrain, 1557, 80, no. 62.
5. (Second verse: Et avecques Dieu part; sung to the tune of: Monsieur de Bourbon.)
Plus. belles chans. nouvelles, 1542, no. 36.

6. Ibid., Chansons/nouvellement composees sur plusieurs/chants, tant de Musique que Rus/tique: Nouvellement Impri-/mees: dont les noms sen/suyuent cy apres./Mil cinq cents xlviii (1548)/On les vend a Paris en la rue/Neufue Notre Dame a len-/seigne Saint Nicolas:/par Iehan Bon-/fons. 8vo, goth. no. 52.

7. To the tune of: Quand parti de Rivolte.

Chans. spirit. à l'hon. de Dieu, 1596, p. 120.

8. To the same tune is sung: Il est un homme au monde.

Qui veult entrer en grace (63).—*Qui ueult entrer en grace.*

1. Marot, II, 186 (1525).

2. Attaignant, 35 chansons, f. 6 r°.

3. Recueil et Eslite, 267.

4. *De la Fidelité nuptiale* par Gerard de Vivre, *Trois comédies*, 1589, p. 73 (74).

Qu'en dictes vous: ferez vous rien (115).—*Qu'en dictes uous: ferez uous rien.*

Resiouyssez vous mesdames (99).—*Resiouyessez uous bourgeoises, Belles filles de Lyon.*

Resueillez vous Dame nature (117).—*Resueillez uous Dame nature.*

1. Beaulieu, *Divers Rapports*, 1537, chanson xii.

There are endless songs beginning with Resueillez-vous. Cf. Eitner, *Bibl.*, pp. 644, 646; Picot, *Chants historiques*, pp. 8, 9. In the *Bulletin du protestantisme français*, 1906 (vol. LV), p. 240, there is a song beginning: Reveilles toy, malheureux heretique. Cf. also *Chans. hug.*, I, 20.

Ribon ribaine (155).—*Ribon ribaine,*

Tout en despit de moy.

This is really a refrain, not a song. The song begins:

Mon pere et ma mere

N'auoyent enfant que moy.

1. Plus. belles chans., 1536, no. vii.

2. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. 10 r°.

3. (Second verse: N'out. . .)

Chardavoine, Recueil, 1588, f. 27 r° (with music).

4. La Fleur des chansons, 1600, p. 296.

Secourez moy mon Dieu, mon seul recours (11).—*Secourez moy ma dame par amours.*

1. Marot, II, p. 175.

2. Recueil et Eslite, 213 r°.

3. Fleur des chansons (1530 ?), 44.

4. Fleur des chansons, 1537 (Chantilly), H. i v°.

5. Plus. belles chans., Lotrian, 1543, f. lxxxii.

6. Attaignant, 37 chansons, f. i v°.

7. Ronsard, *Meslange*, 1572, f. 7 r°, music by P. de Monté.

8. Chansons nouvellement composées, Vve Buffet, 1557, f. 53 v°, no. 50.

To the same tune is sung:

Au bon Jesus ayons tres tous recours.

Seigneur Jesus i'ay trop meffaict (94).—*Hertz lieb uas han ich dier gethan* (Allemande).

Seulle suis demeurée (128).—*Seulle suis demourée*.

Si en mon coeur i'ay désiré vengeance (104).—*Si de mon coeur malheur a la regeance*.

Si i'ay eu du mal ou du bien (72).—*Si i'ay eu du mal ou du bien*.

Cf. Eitner, p. 354.

Si i'ayme Iesus Christ (76).—*Si i'ayme mon amy*.

1. (Second verse: Trop plus que mon mary)

Gaston Paris, *Chansons françaises du x^ve siècle*, no. 118.

2. Plus. belles chansons nouvelles, about 1520, no. 36, f. cviiij, Rothschild Library Catalogue, IV, 322.

(Second verse: Trop mieulx que mon mery.)

3. Plus. belles chansons, 1537, f. xc.

4. Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. xcviij, v°.

Si ie vy en peigne et langueur (26).—*Si je vy en peine et langueur*.

1. Marot, II, 190 (1528).

2. Recueil et Eslite de plus. belles chans., 1576, 248 r°.

Si ma dolleur me continue (113).—*Si mon malheur me continue*.

Si par souffrir grand penitence et ieusne (45).—*Si par souffrir on peult uaincre fortune*.

1. Attaignant, 42 chansons, f. 8 v°. Cf. Eitner, p. 354.

S'on m'a donné le bruit et renommée (142).—*S'on m'a donné le bruit et renommée*.

Sortez, Sortez (infidelles) (152).—*Dancez, saultez, Damoysselles*.

Sus debout: ne musons tant (129).—*Sus debout beuons d'autant*.

1. *Chans. hug.*, I, p. 35. (Beaulieu.)

Ta bonne grace, o mon Dieu glorieux (85).—*Ta bonne grace et maintien gracieux*.

Tant dure la Papisterie (109).—*Trop endurer me faict m'amy*.

Tant que vivray en eage flourissant (89).—*Tant que viuray en eage flourissant.*

1. Marot, II, 181.

2. Attaignant, 37 chansons, f. 16 v°.

To the same tune are sung:

a. Mon Dieu, mon roy, mon pere.

b. (Second verse: Je servirai le Seigneur tout puissant.) Chans. spirit., 1596, p. 72.

c. Chans. hug., I, p. 22. (Beaulieu.) (Cf. Eitner, p. 356.)

Tristes pensers, ie vous donne la tresue (40).—*Tristes pensers à mes yeulx donnez tresues.*

Vella bon,

Faictes ailleurs ce sermon (134).—*Vella bon,
Faictes ailleurs ce sermon.*

Venez, venez y tous et toutes (151).—*Venez, venez, venez y toutes.*

Vire vire Iehan: vers Dieu ta pensée (136).—*Vire vire Iehan, vire Iehan iehannete.*

1. Attaignant, 31 chansons, f. 15 v°. Music by Courtoys.

To the same tune is sung:

N'allez plus en Bethléem.

Vivray ie tousiours en soucy (121).—*Vivray ie tousiours en soucy.*

1. Attaignant, 37 chans., (1531), f. 5 r°.

Music by Claudin Sermisy. Cf. Eitner, p. 856. (Second verse: Pour vous ma tres loyalle amye.)

2. Fleur des chans. (1530 ?), 17.

3. Cf. *Farce de Calbain*, Viollet-le-Duc, *Anc. Th., fr.*, II.

4. S'ensuyent plus. belles chans., 1537, f. xli.

5. (Second verse: Pour vous, ma tres loyalle maistresse; probably not the song imitated by Beaulieu, Plus. belles chans., 1543, f. xli.)

Vivre ne puis content sans la presence (33).—*Vivre ne puis content sans la presence.*

Cf. Eitner, p. 361.

1. Chansons spirituelles à l'honneur de Dieu, 1596, p. 283.

Voicy le bon temps (124).—*Voicy le bon temps.*

1. Beaulieu, *Divers Rapports*, 1537, Chanson vii.

2. Paragon des chansons, 1538, f. 9. Transcribed by Becker in his article on Beaulieu. Cf. Bibliography. Cf. also Eitner, 1538, 1.

Vous mocquez vous, moyne de moy (139).—*Vous moquez vous, monsieur de moy?*

1. Chansonnier hug., I, 175. (Beaulieu.)

Vos abus sont tous descouuertz (77).—*Vostre cul verd couuert de uerd.*

Vous n'aurez plus de Carolus (139).—*Vous me rendrez mon Carolus.*

Vray Dieu que ton filz eut de peine (9).—*Vray Dieu qu'amoureux ont de peine.*

1. Plasse des Noeux, III 5A. *Bibl. Nat.*, Ms. fr. 22561. Thomas Sibilet cites this triolet in his *Art Poétique*.

1. (Second verse: Certes j'aymeroyz mieux la mort, the version which judging from the rime of Beaulieu's songs he must have imitated.) Ron-sard, *Meslange*, 1572, music by Mouton, f. 60 r°.

2. (Second verse: Par Dieu! j'aymase mieux la mort) *Farce du Vieil amoureux et du Jeune amoureux*, *Recueil de Farces*, Le Roux de Lincy et F. Michel, Paris, Techener, 1880, I, vii, p. 5.

3. (Second verse: Je sçay bien à quoy m'en tenir; apparently not the one used by Beaulieu as a model.) G. Paris, *Chansons du XV^e siècle*, no. 122.

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REVIEWS

Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory and its Sources. By Vida Scudder.
New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1917. 8vo, pp. ix, 430.

Professor Scudder in her *Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory and its Sources* presents what is professedly a popular introduction to, and comment on, the finest early example of modern English prose. So one is surprised on opening the book to find that in Part I (1-173) she has undertaken a task of greater magnitude than the title of the book would imply, nothing less than an exposition of the whole "matière de Bretagne" anterior to the work of Malory. Her review of this important subject is bound to be both instructive and suggestive to the lay mind. But one wonders whether the time has arrived for the specialist in medieval literature to synthesize the detailed work done in the last twenty-five years, an engaging undertaking which calls for a well-balanced discrimination in the selection of the results of the two conflicting schools of Celticists, and a ready hand to prick the inflated balloons of non-Celticists and of amateurs in anthropological studies. Professor Scudder, whose primary interests are in English literature, has shown a misplaced faith in the conclusions of certain investigators in other subjects. To attack their theories, based largely, as they appear in her book, on distorted facts and lapses in information is to make a battlefield of neutral territory—a characteristic of German scholarship as well as of German militarism. But one notes other errors of statement and interpretation, which reveal that sense of unfamiliarity we all feel when garnering in strange fields of erudition. Thus, there is only one instance of the knights of Arthur's court furnishing a theme to sculptors of the twelfth century, and the bas-relief on the northern portal of the cathedral of Modena can not be rightly called Lombard (2). If the statement is correct (167-8) that "in the first half of the twelfth century babies were named after Gawain," most popular of Arthurian heroes in Italy, who were the other Arthurian knights who "gave names to Italian babies in the eleventh century" (2)? With what we know to-day of the music and poetical conceptions of the troubadours, is it well to make a statement which seems to rehabilitate the obsolete idea that "from across the Pyrenees there stole into southern France strains of the soft music dear to the Arabian, and with them the conscious cult of beauty?" (35). It has not been necessary to wait for the publication of Sommer's edition of the *Lancelot* (78) to read in the original text the account of the first kiss which passed between Lancelot and Guenevere, alluded to by Dante (cf. p. 131), but omitted in the printed *Lancelot* and in Malory (214), as the pertinent passage has been traced down, and printed, more than once, in the last fifty years. It is hard to see what authority there is for the statement that the suppression of the "enfances" of Lancelot in Malory is responsible for the common erroneous notion that "literature treating of the child is a modern invention" (125). The real question at issue is missed, namely the fact that the "enfances" of epic and romantic heroes, Achilles, Roland, Guillaume d'Orange,

have been the inventions of the epigoniasts of literature. Professor Scudder insists (36, 51) on finding an identity of sentiment—in its intensity and its spirituality—in the service of love, manifested by the heroes of the narrative French poems of the twelfth century and by the poets of the *dolce stil novo*, while they only have in common the conventionalities of the same artificial love code—but interpreted in ways so diverse by the two groups,—and while in the French creations one finds nothing of the spontaneity and the philosophic background of the Italian group. And one can only wonder at the interpretation and illustration, twice given, of one of the best known episodes in the *Ywain*: “Ywain finds in the forest a golden basin on a tree and striking it evokes a magic storm, as savages still claim to do by beating metal vessels” (43-4, cf. 149-150). Ywain evokes the storm by pouring water on a stone, a rite of imitative magic on which the evidence is overwhelming in savage cult and primitive survival. Beating vessels is one method used to frighten away storm-demons, but for the purpose of inciting storms can any but the magic drums, like those of the Lapps, be cited, which in the hands of wizards are believed to have the power of inflicting almost any type of Schrecklichkeit on one's enemies?

In Part II of her book (77-362) Professor Scudder has not needed to trust to the judgment of others on matters outside of her own field of interest. Her summary of *Le Morte Darthur* is generous enough in outline, in quotation, and in praise to tempt the reader who is a novice in literature to want to know more of the original. One can only commend heartily the way in which she analyses the style of Malory, rich and varying, symbolic and realistic, now grandiloquent, and again pathetic; notes his power in characterization, and originality in giving his own stamp, in a long-breathed evolution, to certain of the heroes; and reveals the unity of conception in a work which gives at the first reading the impression of being a loosely articulated compilation. She shows that the work is not an elaboration, but an intensive compression of the sources, as far as they are known to her; in some cases—as in the story of Tristram—inferior to other earlier forms. But here again a wider acquaintance with medieval literature would have elucidated themes and ideals that are characteristic neither of *Le Morte Darthur*, nor of the literary type of which it is the last worthy representative. Thus Tors, the reputed son of a cowherd, who wishes him to become a knight because he is good for nothing else, “Because always he will be shooting or casting darts, and glad for to see battles and behold knights, etc.” (201-2), is the counterpart of the heroes of the late chansons de geste, of Vivien, Aiol and Hugues Capet; the phials full of the waters of Paradise, with which Priamus, the Saracen knight, heals himself and Gawain (211), has been modelled on the wonderful balm found in late versions of *Fierabras*; and the uncouth gallantry of either Lamorak, the Arthurian knight (237-8), or of the paynim Palomides (244) is an adaptation of that of the rough and ready Renouart, the hero of the late branches of the geste de Guillaume d'Orange; and the ill-omened house of Lot (185, 223, 255) is again an adaptation of the tendency of late chansons de geste to trace the descent of trouble makers and rebels back to Doon de Mayence, which on Italian soil developed into the carefully planned genealogical charts of the traitor house of the Maganzesi.

One must take exception, also, to the more general statements in regard to medieval literature. It is not true that most medieval books are tintured

with mysticism (260). The wonder is that one can hear at all the still small voice of spiritual inspiration in that dark epoch of an unbridled raging Faustrecht—present-day events connote the German phrase with an illuminating force—and confining theological conventionalities. Least of all can hagiology be considered one of those “departments of literature set aside and controlled by mystic and ascetic passion.” A boat can not float higher than the tide which bears it, and the lives of saints were written to suit contemporary taste as much as the cheap fiction of to-day. Very exceptional is the saint’s life, in the *Legenda aurea* and in similar collections, which is anything but a repetition of over-worked *clichés*, often taken from popular tradition, attached with variations to this name or that. No doubt “to the outer world, the pilgrim was as familiar as the knight” (264) and, it may be added, had just about as much spiritual influence. The phrase “the troops who passed chanting along the roads of Kent or of Provence, bearing their staff and scrip, impressed imagination indelibly” (264) makes a pretty picture, but any one who has studied in detail the records of medieval pilgrimages knows that they were for the great majority who took part in them pleasure junkets, and reeked just as much of “business” as modern pilgrimages to Breton pardons, to Lourdes, to Lucca or to Ste. Anne de Beaupré.

In Part III (363-409), “Malory and his Sources,” Professor Scudder has worked under the disadvantage of believing that Sommer’s studies and publications on this subject were in any way conclusive, instead of being merely tentative, and often erroneous. But nonetheless, there is much that is very much to the point in what she writes of the methods by which Malory makes a whole tale of disjointed odds and ends, and in the comparisons she makes between his work and earlier Arthurian romances of a similar extended scope. There are, further, good pages on the technique of Malory’s style, his vocabulary, the charm of his rhythm, although in the discussion of the last subject the statement (395) that “the Middle Ages knew that such a thing existed” and the illustrations given in the way of confirmation, understate both the practise of, and our knowledge of, the use of rhythmical prose in the literature of that period.

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Roncesvalles. Un nuevo cantar de gesta español del siglo XIII. Published by R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Revista de filología española*, IV (1917), 105-204.

The discovery of a new Old Spanish popular epic is a great event in Hispanic letters. Heretofore only two such have been known in the poetic form given them by medieval scribes.¹ A fortunate find in the Archivo provincial of

¹ Of course, the *Poem of the Cid* and the *Mocedades* or *Crónica rimada*. It is customary to add to the list of extant Old Spanish epics the *Infantes de Lara*, as picked out of the prose chronicles by Pidal (*Inf. de Lara*, 421-432). There is no basis, however, for regarding it as anything more important than an able reconstruction of what the early epic may have been. It must be used with extreme caution for studies in hiatus or meter. The original *gesta* was converted by someone from verse to prose, and by Pidal from prose to verse again. The personal equation entered into many details during this double transfor-

Pamplona adds a third, the existence of which was prophesied by Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, XII, 367; *Orígenes de la novela*, I, cxxviii). The four-page MS. contains only a fragment of a scant hundred lines, broken off abruptly at beginning and end. With supreme technical skill (for the archivero of Pamplona, even after using reagents, considered the first and last pages indecipherable), Menéndez Pidal has recovered nearly every line of the text. A paleographic copy, photogravures of the MS. and a critical text are given. The script is of the kind used in Navarre-Aragon about 1310. The date of the poem itself the editor sets in the first third of the thirteenth century, but his reasoning is not very firmly based. The language contains Navarrese forms, but none in rime, and Menéndez Pidal believes them scribal, and the poem composed in Castile. The word Roncesvalles does not occur, but the title conferred seems the only appropriate one.

The story contained in the fragment is this: The emperor Carlos, in going over the battlefield [of Roncesvalles], finds the body of the archbishop [Turpin]. He laments over it, and orders his squires to carry it to the dead man's home, in "Flanders[?] la ciudade." He then discovers the corpse of Oliveros, and, addressing it as if it were alive, asks where he may find "Roldán." He sees the results of one of Roland's blows, and then the hero himself, dead and "acostado a un pilare." (Note the paragoric *e*, which appears more regularly than in any other Old Spanish epic.) The emperor laments at length (48 lines) over his nephew; he includes a succinct account of his own early exploits in Spain and the Holy Land, and ends by repeating the oft-expressed wish to accompany Roland in death. He gives an unusual reason for the wish: "d'aquestos muertos que aquí tengo conmigo | dizir me ias las nuevas, cada uno como fizó." The Emperor faints. The last eighteen lines relate how duc Aymón finds the body of his son "Rynalte," addresses it, and orders it removed. The fainting Emperor is then discovered by "el duc Aymon e ese duc de Breytayna | e el cauayllero Beart, el fi de Terryn d'Ardeyna," who dash cold water in his face.

As regards meter, the new poem confirms the theory that the line of the Old Spanish epic had no fixed number of syllables. The belief had been expressed before by Menéndez Pidal with ever increasing conviction (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, *Elena y María*); and now he exclaims in a note of triumph: "¡Adiós, pues, las ilusiones de los partidarios de la regularidad métrica del *Mio Cid*!" (p. 123). Probably not all the defendants will submit tamely to being read out of court for all time; the reviewer, however, concurs heartily in the statement. His reason is the general principle that a hypothesis must not be used to warp facts, unless the hypothesis itself rests on a basis of fact, not theory. If you wish to emend all the hemistichs of the *Mio Cid* into octosyllables, you must first show extremely good reason for believing that the lines were originally octosyllables. As Menéndez Pidal puts it, in another connection: "Nunca seremos bastante cautos en corregir lo que no comprendemos bien" (p. 121, n. 1).

Roncesvalles also confirms, perhaps definitively, the substitute theory which mation. The doubtful character of the result would appear self-evident, but one may clinch the argument by quoting the admission of Pidal himself (p. 127): "debo advertir que los versos de los *Siete Infantes de Lara* que publiqué en 1896, están reconstruidos con la preocupación de un metro octosilábico."

he first formulated in the study of *Elena y María*.² This theory may be called that of rhythmically alternating frequency of syllables. It applied not only to *cantares de gesta*, but also to certain juglaresque poems in shorter meters, *Elena y María*, *Sta. María Egipciaca*. If the line (or half-line) of greatest frequency has 7 syllables (as with the hemistichs of *Mío Cid* and *Roncesvalles*), the next commonest will be that of 8, the next of 6, the next of 9, the next of 5, and so on. Space is lacking for further comment on this remarkable law. It is unparalleled, so far as I know, in the metrics of any other tongue. Menéndez Pidal backs it now firmly for the first time, and brings forward figures which once more compel admiration for the scholar who combines in the highest degree concentration upon minutiae of mathematical calculation with abstract coördination. One wonders whether this towering structure of figures is bound tightly together at all the joints, but at least the main facts are indisputable. The lines, as they stand, do show a regular alternation of frequency in *Mío Cid*, in *Roncesvalles*, in the *Mocedades*, even in the *Infantes de Lara*, and the short line poems already cited.

One may well ask, certainly, what conception the juglar had of his art when he composed an ametric poem. Those who versify in lines of fixed length, by conscious effort make their lines conform to that length, whether they do it by means of rime-tags, like Berceo, or whether they contrive to have thought and words occupy the same space, like Juan Ruiz. But what was the mental process of one whose lines vary with alternating frequency? Did he also count his syllables, and see to it that hemistichs of 8 occur barely less often than those of 7, and those of 6 next in order to those of 8? Menéndez Pidal does not touch this point. He would perhaps say: "No, the juglar made no effort to follow a scheme. He did not count his syllables at all, he knew nothing of rhythmic frequency. His only guide was the genius of the language, which told him that a certain norm of length sounded well to his ear, but that he need not conform to it absolutely. Variety within limits was his aim; and the fixed relations of frequency are only results of the law of chance." If this be the case, it is no cause for wonder that the exact sequence is sometimes disturbed.³ One would not expect perfect regularity of alternation.

Menéndez Pidal finds, as previously, that the basis of hemistichs in the *gestas* changed gradually from 7 to 8, not suddenly, nor in obedience to foreign or lyric influences, but in response to "hondas tendencias rítmicas del idioma" (p. 131). A really fixed syllable-count did not invade epic poetry till 1450 (?); the *romances viejos*, as is well known, exhibit much irregularity in length of line. Pidal believes that a formula of 8, 7, 9 can be shown for them also.

A brief section is devoted to synalepha. The conclusion is reached that synalepha does exist in the *Roncesvalles*. Taking this with the recent studies of Espinosa on the *Reyes Magos* (ROM. REV., VI, 378 ff.) and of Hanssen on the *Alexandre* (REV. fil. esp., III, 345 ff.), one is convinced that both synalepha and hiatus existed in Old Spanish, but the laws which governed their use are not fully understood as yet. Espinosa and Hanssen show that synalepha and elision

² *Rev. filol. esp.*, I, 94-95, "podemos considerar esa alternativa gradual de decrecimiento y aumento como ley que rige la poesía amétrica de los juglares."

³ As in *Mío Cid* when taken by half-lines. Hemistichs of 9 syllables are less frequent than those of 5, instead of more frequent.

do not occur after a tonic vowel. Menéndez Pidal does not enter into the matter.

The most important contribution to knowledge given us by the editor in his commentary does not lie in the field of metrics, but of comparative literature. *Roncesvalles* aids little, if at all, in clearing up the origins of the native historical epic of Castile, but very much in understanding the epic relations of France and Spain in one branch, the Carolingian matter. That may lead to still more important studies later.

Menéndez Pidal claims that the *romances carolingios* depend directly on Spanish *gestas*, and were not, as Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo supposed, taken in the fifteenth century from French epics, suffering a great and deliberate change at that time. In other words, the "free and intelligent imitation" which Menéndez y Pelayo thought indicated a more highly developed literary spirit than existed in Spain prior to the fifteenth century, "una lengua ya adulta, una literatura nacional ya formada" (*Antol.*, XII, 363), must be referred back to the thirteenth at least.

This claim is proven, to my mind, for the *romance de la fuga del Rey Marsín* (Wolf, *Prim.* no. 183; *Antol.*, IX, 245). Altho it does not cover the same ground as the *Roncesvalles* fragment, the names of the personages show that it bears a close relation to the latter, and may have issued from a lost part of it.⁴ And *Roncesvalles* as well as *Rey Marsín* show a deviation from French sources which cannot be explained except by conscious elaboration. Even the later reworkings of the Roland poem,⁵ which are much more closely allied to *Roncesvalles* than is the Oxford MS., do not account for all the novelties in the fragment; nor is any one of them its exact prototype. These points the editor extorts with penetrating scrutiny. He has no equal in extracting the maximum amount of juice from an undersized orange.

After all, why should one suppose that medieval poets were incapable of originality or art? The statement refutes itself. The *Chanson de Roland* is an art-product of a highly developed type. Tho later, the *Poem of the Cid* is more naive and unconscious than the *Roland*. But, in Spain, the unknown author of the lost Siege of Zamora *gesta* yields little in point of art to any epic writer: the poet who composed the lament of Gonzalo Gustioz over the heads of his seven sons, the Infantes de Lara, was wholly capable of altering a French epic at will.

It does not follow, however, as Menéndez Pidal seems to imply, that Menéndez y Pelayo was wrong in associating the spirit of the Carolingian ballads in general with the fifteenth century (*Antol.*, XII, 362-3). When he wrote the words to which Pidal takes exception, he had in mind such poems as *Conde Claros*, *Guiomar*, the *Marquis of Mantua*, etc. His brilliant pupil does him a little less than justice in not recalling the complementary statements of *Antol.*,

⁴ While speaking of *la fuga del Rey Marsín*, I must not pass in silence over the explanation (p. 171, n. 1) of the phrase "Alcaria, moros, alcaria," which occurs in that poem. It is one of the famous cruxes of the *romances*. No one has ever made a plausible guess at it, but now D. Julián Ribera finds the Arabic etymon: "alkarr" = "attack."

⁵ The MSS. known as M (= V⁴), C, V (= V¹), P and T.

XII, 367, and of the *Orígenes*, I, cxxviii. Each *romance* must be considered by itself, as their histories may, and do, differ widely.

In searching for other ballads besides *Rey Marsín* that may be connected with *Roncesvalles*, Menéndez Pidal has little fortune; poems on that theme are scarce. He investigates *Doña Alda* (*Prim.* 184), and deems it possible that the description of her death may have formed part of *Roncesvalles*, which he considers to have been originally fully as long as the *Mío Cid*. Incidentally he demonstrates beyond peradventure that *Doña Alda* is derived directly or via a Spanish *gesta* from some of the French reworkings of the *Roland*. All previous critics, even Milá, considered *Doña Alda* a highly original product of Spanish genius, simply for want of going beyond the Oxford MS. to its rimed derivatives.

The editor closes his task with a transcript of certain prose texts dealing with the battle of *Roncesvaux*. The most important is from Lope García de Salazar's *Libro de las bienandanzas y fortunas*, 1471. The famous *Crónica de 1344* itself is conspicuously absent: why? Menéndez Pidal promises a study of the Carolingian themes in general, with especial attention to Bernardo del Carpio. That is a field of rich promise. The present article, then, remarkable as it is, may prove only a prelude to work of still greater importance.

Roncesvalles comes as an interruption and complement to the marvellous studies entitled *Poesía popular y romancero* (*Rev. filol. esp.*, I, II, III). They are all directed toward filling the gap that exists between the Old Spanish *gestas* and the fifteenth century *romances*. "La independencia de los romances respecto de las gestas es una ilusión debida a la falta de textos." These studies are the ripest, most penetrating and most original work of the greatest living Spanish medievalist. By their grasp of detail and of the whole, by their closeness of logic and independence of view, they add fresh laurels to a reputation already supreme in the field.

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NOTES AND NEWS

Professor A. Carnoy, of the University of Louvain, who has been teaching in this country for several years, has accepted a professorship in Romance philology at the University of California.

Professor L. P. Shanks has resigned his assistant-professorship of Romance languages at the University of Pennsylvania to accept a similar position at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. E. C. Hills has resigned the librarianship of the Hispanic Society to become professor of Romance languages at the University of Indiana, and Dr. Ralph House has resigned his position as Curator of Printed Books at the Hispanic Society to become assistant-professor of Romance languages at the University of Minnesota.

M. Gaston Malécot, who was teaching at Columbia when the war broke out and sailed on the first steamer for France, has returned to the United States. He has accepted the position of professor of Romance languages at the University of Arkansas. Professor Malécot received from the French Republic the Croix de guerre and the Médaille Militaire.

M. Louis Engerand, 103 rue de Rome, Paris, may be consulted for careful and most accurate work in paleography and related studies.

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE OLD FRENCH PROSE *LANCELOT*

(Continued from vol. IX, p. 268)

174–177.

The episode of Lancelot's visit to the tombs of the elder Galahad and Symeu. This is an interpolation in the *Charete* section of the *Lancelot*, which section is based on Chrétien's *Lancelot*. The cemetery in which Lancelot comes upon these tombs is, of course, the cemetery in Chrétien's poem, ll. 1868 ff., containing the tombs in which Arthur's knights are destined to be buried. The particular tomb which in Chrétien is reserved for Lancelot, as deliverer of the exiles of Gorre, becomes here the tomb of the elder Galahad, son of Joseph of Arimathea. On the other hand, the interpolator adds to Chrétien's narrative the incident of Symeu's burning grave—an adventure which Lancelot cannot achieve and which is reserved for his son, Galahad. He derives this adventure from the *Queste* and the *Estoire*.

The reference to the younger Galahad, who is to bring to an end the adventures of the Grail, shows clearly a knowledge of the *Queste*, but what is said of the elder Galahad, refers to the *Estoire*, I, 282 ff., where Symeu prophesies to this personage that only when the younger Galahad comes will the torment of his (Symeu's) burning grave cease. Just before he had implored the elder Galahad to found a house of religion nearby, in order that its inmates might pray to God to alleviate his (Symeu's) pains. It is from this house that Lancelot (p. 174) starts for the cemetery. There is a discrepancy, however, between the present passage and the *Estoire*, for in the *Estoire*, I, 282, the elder Galahad, the lid of whose tomb Lancelot here raises, did not conquer Hocelice (after

his death called "Gales" in his honor), as is here (p. 175) said. but was invested with the royal power by Joseph, whom the people of Hocelice had requested to choose a king for them.

Evidently the author of the *Estoire*, I, 282 ff., did not anticipate any such continuation of his narrative as our interpolator has given it in the present episode. No real preparation there is made for the lifting of the lid of the elder Galahad's tomb as an achievement of importance. The slight anticipatory reference to it (I, 282, ll. 17 f.) was, no doubt, inserted by an *assembleur* of the cycle, and the same thing is true of the back reference in the *Queste* (VI, 185, ll. 31 ff.) to Lancelot's visit to Symeu's burning tomb, which is related in the present passage—a visit which the *Estoire* does not mention.

Altogether, it is manifest that the passages in the *Queste* and *Estoire* are earlier than the *Lancelot* interpolation which we are now considering and that they fit into each other well, without any assistance from this interpolation. The cemetery episode of Chrétien's poem, however, gave the interpolator his opportunity, and he availed himself of it to exploit the above-mentioned episodes of the *Estoire* and *Queste* for the benefit of his hero.

We have as late as pp. 179, 181, allusions to Lancelot's achievement of the adventure of the elder Galahad's grave. Cf., too, V, 193.

194.

In the fight between Gawain and Sephar the former's strength doubles at noon:

"Et la raison pourcoi cele grace li auenoit tout dis a cel point a bien deuse cha en arriere li contes."

As Sommer has pointed out, *ibid.*, note 2, the reference is to the *Mort Artu*. For, although this idea of Gawain's increase of strength after midday is found in many Arthurian romances,⁶⁴ only the *Mort Artu* (VI, 340) endeavors to explain the phenomenon. There it is related that Gawain's baptism took place at noon and the priest prayed to God to grant the child his grace, and God

⁶⁴ See the discussion of the subject in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 287 f. (Halle, 1910). Additional instances in the Vulgate cycle are II, 196, 366 f., IV, 358.

granted it in this form, that about the hour of his baptism his strength should increase. There is no reason, however, for changing here *arriere* into *avant*, as Sommer suggests, although the *Mort Artu* does come further on in the series. Apart from a similar use of *arriere* elsewhere in such references (*e. g.*, *Estoire*, I, 135), it should be observed that the man who penned this sentence was writing from the point of view of an interpolator, or, at any rate, an *assembleur*, who knew of the whole cycle as completed.

The *Mort Artu* (*loc. cit.*) merely says that Gawain's strength increased; it does not say that it doubled. Other passages in the *Lancelot*, however, III, 293 f., 403, do say this, so that the present passage may not be entirely dependent on the *Mort Artu* for this conception.

270.

In the episode which narrates the conception of Helain le Blanc, natural son of Bohort and Brangoire's daughter, it is said that Helain was afterwards Emperor of Constantinople, "et passa les bonnes [*i. e.*, bornes] Alexandre,"⁶⁵ si com lestoire de sa vie le tesmoigne & en la queste del Saint Graal en parole il moult longement."

In the Vulgate *Queste*, however, Helain's name occurs only once, viz., in the list of Grail questers, VI, 18, and that only in a few MSS. On the other hand, he figures in an episode of the Spanish⁶⁶ *Demanda*, pp. 206-209, which represents the lost *Queste* of the so-called Robert de Borron cycle of the Arthurian prose romances.⁶⁷ The name here appears in a mutilated form, "Lain:

⁶⁵ Suggested by the Eastern Pillars of Hercules. For an illuminating discussion of the subject cf. G. L. Kittredge's article, "The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's 'Trophee'" in the *Putnam Anniversary Volume* (G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, 1909), pp. 545 ff. Alexander did set up altars as trophies marking the furthest limits of his eastern advance, imitating Hercules therein. See Kittredge, p. 556, note 2. For the "bornes Artu" (corrupted from "bornes Ercul") see R. Weeks, *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot, Membre de l'Institut, par ses amis et ses élèves*, I, 209 ff. (2 vols., Paris, 1913).

⁶⁶ It is edited by A. Bonilla y San Martín in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* in the *Libros de Caballerías, Primera Parte, Ciclo arturico = Ciclo carolingio* (Madrid, 1907).

⁶⁷ I have tried to show in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IV, 462 ff. (1913), and *Modern Philology*, XV (1918), that this cycle is altogether later than the Vulgate cycle. See, too, A. Pauphilet, *Romania*, XXXVI, 594 ff. (1907). The

(Layn)," but there is no doubt about the identity with Helain. The episode is as follows: Palomades (*i. e.*, the Palamedes of the prose *Tristan*) wounds "Lain el Blanco, fijo de Boores." Hector and Gawain find him in the forest. They take him with them and seek shelter in an old church one night. Here Helain has a vision (which we need not recount), imitated from the *Lancelot*, V, 392. It heals his wound, and the next day he and his companions separate.

The episode just analyzed, though comparatively short, is, nevertheless, the longest in the *Demanda* in which Helain figures. Before this, however, p. 167, it had been related that he had been made a knight of the Round Table at the same time as Erec, and in connection with this event the author summarizes the story of his conception from the present passage in the *Lancelot*. When Helain was received as a companion of the Round Table, his notable deeds, whatever they may have been, evidently lay all before him, for King Arthur greets him with the words:

"Fijo, soys muy fermoso, mas de vuestra bondad no se nada; e Dios, por su piedad, os faga parecer en caualleria a vuestro linaje."

Lancelot next predicts for him great achievements. The name throughout this passage is correctly spelt Helain (Helayn).⁶⁸

There is only one other mention of Helain in the *Demanda*, viz., on p. 235, but this is of particular interest, since it occurs in a reference to the same "estoire de sa vie" to which the passage before us

Lancelot, doubtless, because of its huge bulk, was apparently left out of this cycle. The *Huth-Merlin*, II, 57, explains the omission as due to considerations of symmetry, but the terms of the explanation show that the length of the *Lancelot* was the true obstacle. The rewriting of this branch for the new cycle would have required as much labor as was expended on the preparation of all the other branches put together.

⁶⁸ Heinzel, p. 158, note 1, recalls in this connection "Helins li Blanc," lord of Graies, in *Le Bel Inconnu* (*Li Biaus Descouneus*) of Renaud de Beaujeu. He had to rely, however, on C. Hippeau's incorrect edition (Paris, 1860) of that romance. According to the new edition (Oxford, 1915) by G. P. Williams (cf. pp. 16, 29), the spelling with *H* does not occur in the lines, wrongly numbered by Hippeau, which Heinzel cites. Only in l. 527 is the epithet, "li Blans" attached to the name. In l. 1115 we do have "Helin," in l. 1200 and 1219 "Heluin(s)." *Li Biaus Descouneus* was written before 1201 (cf. Williams, p. xxxviii), so, the author of IV, 270, had some confused recollection of "li Blans" as attached to a similar name.

in the *Lancelot* refers. After enumerating the twenty-one knights of the Round Table who had been slain in the quest of the Grail, the Spanish text adds:

"Mas no os dire mas agora, ca deusado lo ha el cuento como murieron, e los otros falle en frances e no lo escreui en castellano. Mas fabla la gran historia de Helain⁶⁹ de quanto yo cuento."

In connection with this passage of the *Demanda*, the question arises: Did the author of the *Demanda* (or its French original) know any separate romance on Helain le Blanc? He certainly knew the *Lancelot*, for the earlier account, p. 167, of Helain's conception is plainly based on the passage of the *Lancelot* (IV, 270) which we are considering. Now, this *Lancelot* passage refers to an "estoire" of Helain's life. Did the author of the *Demanda* know of such a romance, or was he simply using this mention of such a book in the *Lancelot* passage to hoax his readers and render his own narrative more impressive by this reference to a mysterious source? He might have drawn the inference that the "estoire" in question told of the Grail quest, from its being coupled in the *Lancelot* passage with the "queste del Saint Graal." This, I think, would be an acceptable explanation of the reference in the *Demanda*, taken by itself. Nevertheless, it would not dispose of the question whether such a romance did not really exist, for the reference in the *Lancelot* to the "estoire" is quite definite, and its further statement about the "queste" ("& en la queste del Saint Graal en parole il moult longement"), at least, has some justification in the passages of the *Demanda* which I have outlined above. To be sure, we should have to regard "moult longement" in that event as an

⁶⁹ Bonilla's text here actually reads "Clain" and Sommer's "Llayn" (*Romania*, XXXVI, 561), but "Helain" is, of course, the right reading, and I have ventured to put it into the quotation above. Sommer quotes the passage in his article "The Queste of the Holy Grail," *Romania*, XXXVI, 543 ff., in which he analyzes and compares the *Demanda* in its Spanish and Portuguese forms, respectively. He uses (cf. p. 545, note) the 1515 edition of the Spanish *Demanda*, Bonilla that of 1535. The words, "Mas habla la gran hystoria de Llayn de quanto yo cuento," do not suggest the limitation of Sommer's translation: "the gran hystoria de Llayn contains much (*sic*) of what I tell you" (p. 561). Moreover, Sommer (p. 562) calls Helain "Alain," but the text always calls him "Helain," save in the passage of the *Demanda*, where the name is mutilated, as noted above.

exaggeration. Inasmuch as I know of no other hoaxing reference to an outside romance in the *Lancelot*, I am inclined to accept the present reference as genuine and to believe that there really was a romance on the exploits of Helain le Blanc. Any romance, however, whose hero was the offspring of an *amour* related in the *Lancelot*, was, of course, later than the *Lancelot*, and this consideration would, in itself, stamp the present passage as an interpolation.⁷⁰

The whole episode of Bohort's and Brangoire's daughter is a manifest imitation of the story of Lancelot and Pelles's daughter, V, 105 ff., so must be reckoned among the later expansions of the *Lancelot*, like the accounts of Bohort's visits to Corbenic, V, 139 ff., 294 ff., which were similarly suggested by Lancelot's visit, V, 105 ff. All these adventures of Bohort which I have just named, as well, of course, as everything pertaining to Helain le Blanc in our romance, were composed by the same man.

288.

In the Tower of Merlin there are the greatest wonders in the world, "fors cheles del Graal."—This is a perfunctory scribe's interpolation.

289-290.

There were formerly plenty of vines in Great Britain, but they failed, "quant lez grans merueilles del Saint Graal furent descouvertes a tous si com chis liures deuisera cha auant."—This again is probably a brief scribal interpolation embroidered on the statement (repeated from *Lancelot*, III, 333) that there were no vines in Great Britain.

295.

Lancelot buried his friend, Galehaut, at Joyous Gard, in a rich and ancient tomb, of which it is said: "Et elle fu faite pour le roy Vrbaduc, que paien & Sarrazin auouroient a qui cils castiaus estoit ancois que Joseph d'Arimachie y uenist."—We have again here a brief scribal insertion of no significance.

⁷⁰ P. Paris, V, 375, suggests that the romance on Helain le Blanc, here referred to, is "le type du roman *Tyran le Blanc*." No doubt, the hero of this (Catalan) romance derived his name (in a corrupt form) from Bohort's son. More one cannot say. The romance, *La Belle Helaine de Constantinople* (thirteenth century), has nothing to do with Helain le Blanc, emperor of Constantinople. It offers a version of the *Manekine* story.

321.

Among the nine knights who accompanied Gawain in his quest for Lancelot was Mordred:

“Et Mordres fu li quars qui puis naura le roy Artu es plains de Salabieres, si com li contes vous deuisera cha auant.”

Here again a perfunctory interpolation, referring to the *Mort Artu*, VI, 377.

321–322.

At the beginning of their quest for Lancelot, Gawain and his companions meet at the Black Cross. We have then an interpolation from the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 244 ff., to explain how the cross came to be black. Cf. Sommer, IV, 321, note 4. The interpolation begins p. 321, l. 25, and ends p. 322, l. 41. The text of the *Estoire* is here slightly shortened.

324–328.

We have here 324, l. 34–328, l. 3, a longer similar interpolation from the *Estoire*, I, 252 ff. Cf. Sommer, IV, 324, note 2. Eliezer, Pelles's son, tells Gawain and other knights of the history of the broken sword, which, as Joseph predicted, I, 256, would never be joined, except by the achiever of the Grail adventures. Eliezer is wearing it and shows it a religious veneration. He wears another sword for ordinary use.

Just before this interpolation from the *Estoire* begins, we have an imitation of the *Queste* passage, VI, 187 f., where Galahad achieves this adventure.⁷¹ Gawain and his companions fail to mend the broken sword, just as in the *Queste*, VI, 188, Bohort and Perceval fail. The character, Eliezer, is derived from the *Queste*, too. He does not occur elsewhere in the *Lancelot*. In the passage just cited, VI, 187, it is he that brings out the broken sword.

339–349.

This entire episode of Gawain's visit to the Grail Castle, Corbenic, presupposes the *Queste*, and is, of course, an interpolation. In the *Queste* Gawain's character, as is well known, is degraded, and he is not allowed even to reach the Grail Castle. In the *Lance-*

⁷¹ It is to be noted that we have here really a duplication of the *motif* of the story of the “espee as estraignes renges.” Cf. *Queste*, VI, 149.

lot, on the other hand, he retains his traditional prestige, although he is naturally subordinated to the hero of the romance. In composing the present episode, its author may have desired to restore the balance in favor of a character who had been unjustly dealt with in the *Queste*, by admitting him, too, in some measure, to the secrets of the Grail. The requirements of the Galahad story excluded him, of course, from a full participation in these secrets, but he might, at least, be allowed to have some sight of them, such as had been granted to his old friend and fellow-sinner, Lancelot, in the *Queste*, VI, 179 ff. Perhaps considerations of symmetry, too, may have been in the interpolator's mind. The other chief heroes of the *Lancelot*—Lancelot and Bohort, to say nothing of Perceval—had visited the Grail Castle, so why not Gawain? In any case, an adjustment of the *Lancelot* to the *Queste* for cyclic purposes could not have been the writer's object. The interpolation serves no such purpose. On the contrary, the episode introduces a conflict between the two branches: (1) as to Gawain's character (just noted); (2) as to the conception of the Grail Castle and what happens there, in regard to which matters the author of the present passage is strongly influenced by Chrétien's *Perceval*. Not only is the account of what goes on in the Grail Castle widely different in the two cases,⁷² but even the situation of the castle is differently conceived. The author of the present passage in placing the Grail Castle in a great valley and surrounding it with water—"clos daigue tout environ"—was probably following Chrétien's *Perceval*, 2994 ff., where the same castle was in a valley, "pres de rivieres et de bois." Certainly he was departing from the description of the *Queste*, VI, 178, in which Corbenic is on the sea.⁷³ Lancelot

⁷² The accounts are so different in the two cases that it is needless to enumerate the details. It is particularly worth noting, however, that the author of the present passage reverts to Chrétien's *Perceval*, 3047 ff., in making an unnamed maimed king Lord of the Grail Castle, and to 3182 ff., *ibid.*, in representing the Grail as borne in by a girl, whereas in the *Queste*, VI, 13, 189, it is brought in, nobody knows how. These differences give the present episode an archaic air, but its use of the *Estoire* and *Mort Artu* show that it is relatively late. One may say in general that the chief differences between the account of Gawain's visit to Corbenic and Lancelot's, V, 105 ff., is due to the large use made in the former of Chrétien as a source.

⁷³ On the other hand, it must be confessed that Galahad, *Perceval* and Bohort a little further on, VI, 192, require four days to reach the sea from

reaches it in a ship and has to pass through a gate which faces the sea and is guarded by lions.—Apart from the more general influences of the *Queste*, it is easy to fix the sources of the various elements in the episode with which we are dealing. They are as follows:

1. *Queste*, VI, 106, where the same characters, Gawain and Hector, in like manner, come to a dilapidated chapel.

2. *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 265 ff. In the passage before us, IV, 339 f., Gawain sees the burning tomb, surrounded by twelve tombs that do not burn. On each stands a sword erect. This finds its explanation in *Estoire*, I, 265 ff., where Symeu and Chanaan are buried alive, and around Chanaan's tomb, at his request, are buried his twelve brothers, whom he had slain. On the tomb of each the sword of the dead man within was placed. In the morning all the swords stood point upwards and Chanaan's grave was ablaze. The blaze would cease only when Lancelot appeared. Just as Galahad would deliver Symeu, so Lancelot, it is said (p. 268), would deliver Chanaan. We have in both passages the same prediction touching Lancelot's achievement of the burning (Chanaan's) tomb adventure and the same slurring allusion to that hero's *luxure*.

Symeu's punishment, *Estoire*, I, 282 ff., like Chanaan's, I, 265 ff., was that he should be shut up in a burning grave. We have seen how in an earlier *Lancelot* interpolation, IV, 174 ff., Lancelot had come upon the grave of the former, but, in accordance with the prophesy of the *Estoire*, I, 268, had not been able to achieve the adventure. The author of the present *Lancelot* interpolation may also very well have had this earlier interpolation in mind.

3. *Estoire*, I, 295, where we have described the miracle of the boiling fountain into which the head of the elder Lancelot fell, as he was murdered. The fountain would never stop boiling until Galahad came, which he does in the *Queste*, VI, 185. I suspect

Corbenic. It does not mitigate the inconsistency materially when the author says that the knights did not know the shortest way. It may be that the shifting character of the Grail castle, as indicated by Chrétien, *Perceval*, 2997 ff., has influenced here the author of the *Queste*. Perhaps, however, the inconsistency is due to sheer blundering.



that this *Estoire* passage, supplemented by the one in the *Queste*, suggested the rather absurd incident (p. 342) of the damsel who is punished for her sin in the tub of hot water. Lancelot (V, 106), not Gawain, is destined to deliver her. As this adventure, however, seems to have no object save the glorification of Lancelot over Gawain, I am inclined to regard it as a later insertion by the author of the episode of Lancelot's visit to the Grail Castle. We shall see that this episode is certainly by a different hand from Gawain's visit.

4. Chrétien's *Lancelot*, 519 ff., the adventure of the Perilous Bed.—In the present interpolation, IV, 344 f., Gawain is about to lie down on a beautiful bed in the Grail Castle, when a damsel warns him to arm himself before he does so, "car chest li lis aaventureus." Gawain arms himself and sits down on the bed, but no sooner has he done so than a flaming lance is thrust by some invisible force out of a neighboring room and pierces his shoulder. He loses consciousness, and when he comes to himself, sorely wounded, he has an allegorical vision which I shall take up in a moment.

Now in Chrétien's *Perceval*, 7767 ff., Gawain has a Perilous Bed adventure, but the flaming lance is wanting in it. Closer to the present passage is the above-cited passage from Chrétien's *Lancelot*, 519 ff., where we have a similar adventure with the flaming lance included.

5. *Mort Artu*, VI, 317 ff., 349, Arthur's wars against Lancelot and Mordred, which end in the destruction of the Round Table, and his vision of Mordred as a serpent issuing "de son [Arthur's] ventre" and burning his land and attacking him. Cf., too, this same vision in the *Lancelot*, V, 284. All this is here presented to Gawain in an allegorical vision, IV, 345 f., which is later interpreted to him, 348 f., by a hermit. In this vision, as the hermit tells Gawain, Arthur is the serpent, who first wages war against the leopard (Lancelot) and then against the little serpents that had issued from his own mouth (his subjects, led by Mordred). The hermit includes in his exposition an obscure allusion to Gawain's death.

In the *Mort Artu*, VI, 319, an old lady, who meets Gawain shortly after Arthur has landed on the continent in his war against

Lancelot, reminds him of the hermit's prediction.⁷⁴ This allusion to the present passage may, possibly, be an *assembleur's* late insertion in the *Mort Artu*.

The white dove with a censer in its beak, which appears just before the Grail, is found nowhere in the cycle save here (p. 343) and V, 107. In Wolfram's *Parzival*, 470, 3 ff., as Heinzel (p. 177) points out, a dove descends every Good Friday and lays on the Grail a wafer which imparts to it the power to furnish material sustenance. After all, this is not very close to the conception of the present passage, which I believe is derived directly from *St. Matthew*, III, 16, the dove of the Holy Spirit that descends upon Christ at his baptism. The examples cited by Heinzel and by W. Hertz, *Parzival von W. von Eschenbach*, p. 523 (Stuttgart, 1898), show that the mystic dove was common in mediaeval legend.

358-359.

This characterization of Gawain and his brothers is so similar to that in the *Estoire*, I, 280 f., that evidently the one is based on the other. One might then suspect interpolation here from the *Estoire*. There can be little doubt, however, that the reverse is

⁷⁴ When one can trace every essential element in the account of Gawain's visit to Corbenic to well-known literary sources, it is a far-fetched idea, indeed, for Miss Weston to connect the twelve damsels who kneel and pray before the Grail chamber, IV, 345 f., with the Weeping Women of the ancient Adonis festivals. She does this in her *Quest of the Holy Grail*, pp. 81 ff. (London, 1913) and elsewhere. In connection with this visit of Gawain to Corbenic in the *Lancelot*, it is desirable to recall the fact that we have similar visits of this hero to Grail Castles in Wauchier de Denain's continuation to Chrétien's *Perceval*, 1999f ff. (Potvin's *Perceval li Gallois*, III, 363 ff.), and in Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Die Krône*, 29182 ff., edited by G. H. F. Scholl (Stuttgart, 1852). In some MSS. of Wauchier, indeed, Gawain visits the Grail Castle twice. Cf. Potvin, III, 369 ff. The German poet, who, in part, however, probably used lost French materials, wrote about 1220, so, it may well be, later than our interpolator. Wauchier probably wrote earlier than this interpolator. Cf. E. Brugger's very careful examination of the question of Wauchier's date in the *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXVI, 45 ff. (review section, 1910). The results, to be sure, are necessarily very indefinite. There are no distinctive points of contact between the descriptions of these visits in the three writers, however, so that the question of relative date has little importance here. The same is true of Gawain's visit to the Grail Castle in the *Perlesvaus* (Potvin, I, 83 ff.). It is possible, of course, that the author of the present episode may have known Wauchier and the *Perlesvaus*, without using them, being merely inspired by these models to try the same theme. This, however, is not likely.

true. In the first place, the five brothers were not born at the time of the action of the *Estoire*, and, consequently, play no part whatever in it, whereas they are among the prominent characters of the *Lancelot*. Moreover, the characterization in the *Estoire* is much condensed and adds a slur on Gawain that would hardly have made the passage an inspiring one to a *Lancelot* interpolator. It says of Gawain: "fu moult boins cheualiers preus & vaillans, mais trop par fu luxurieux." When it is said in the present passage (p. 359) that Mordred caused the death of Arthur and 15,000 men, this refers, of course, to the *Mort Artu*, VI, 365 ff. (the final battle on Salisbury Plain).

V, 17.

Lancelot is here said to be descended from David and Joseph of Arimathea. I have already discussed this passage sufficiently, however, in connection with III, 13, above.

59.

Lancelot was thought to be dead.

"Moult en font grant doel iouene et uiel, et dient que ore ne seuent il mie par qui les auentures del Saint Graal seront traies a fin quant cil est mors a qui sen atendoient."

The allusion to the achievement of the Holy Grail adventures here is an isolated scribal intercalation of no significance.

105-112.

Lancelot's visit to Corbenic (the Grail Castle), like Gawain's, IV, 339 ff., of course, presupposes the *Queste*. On this visit Lancelot is deceived by Brisane, nurse of Pelles's daughter. With Pelles's collusion, she drugs Lancelot and persuades him that Guinevere is at the Castel de la Casse, near Corbenic. She accordingly takes him there, and he goes to bed with Guinevere, as he thinks, but really with Pelles's daughter. Thus Galahad is begotten.

Of the motives which actuated Pelles's daughter in this affair, the writer says (p. 110):

"elle ne le fist mie tant pour la biaute de lui [*i. e.*, Lancelot] ne pour escauffement de char comme elle fist por le fruit recheuoir dont tous li pais deuoit reuenir en sa premiere biaute qui par le dolerous cop de lespee auoit este desertes et escillies. si comme li contes a deuise apertement en lystoire del Saint Graal."

Lancelot, on the other hand, thinking it was Guinevere, acted in sin and adultery.

“Et pour ce qui li sires en qui toute pities habite et qui ne iuge mie tout dis selonc les mesfais as pecheors regarda cele assamblee selonc le preu a ceuls del pais comme cil qui ne voloit mie quil fusement tous iors en escil, si lor donna tel fruit a engendrer et concevoir que pour la flor de uirginite qui illuec fu corrompue fu restoree une autre fleur dont grant biens vint al pais. Car de la douchour qui de la flour issi fu toute la terre raemplie, ensi comme lestoire del Saint Graal le nous a deuise & fait entendant. Que de ceste fleure perdue fu restores Galaad li uirgenes, li bons cheualiers, cil qui lez auentures del Saint Graal mist a fin et sassist el siege perilleus de la Table Roonde ou onques cheualiers ne sassist quil ni fust mors ne mehaignies. Et tout aussi comme li nons de Galaad auoit este perdus en Lancelot par escauffement de luxure, tout aussi fu il recoures par cestui par abstinence de char; car il fu uirgenes en volente & en oeuvre iusques a la mort ensi comme lestoire le deuise.”⁷⁶

Lancelot is full of wrath in the morning, when he discovers the deception that has been practised on him, and is about to kill Pelles's daughter, but she begs for mercy and, touched by her beauty, he spares her:

“Et il regarde sez iex & sa bouche & son vis & voit en lui tant de biautes que il deuint tous esmaris.”

He departs then from the castle, “dolans et corociés.” After Lancelot has gone, Pelles comes to the castle, and when he learns that Brisane's plot had been successful, he takes great care of his daughter and treats her with more honor than ever.

It is to be observed first that in the account of Lancelot's visit to Corbenic in the *Queste*, VI, 178 ff., nothing is said of his having previously visited the place. The only words that imply that he had been there before occur page 182, just after the description of how he had recovered from his fourteen-day trance. The people rejoice and Pelles, among others, comes to welcome him.

“Et li rois fist moult grant ioie & li dist noueles que sa fille iert morte [an event referred to nowhere else in the whole cycle] en qui Galaad fu engendres si en poise moult a Lancelot, car ele iert haute feme & estraitte de haut lignage.”

⁷⁶ How Galahad occupied the Perilous Seat is told, *Queste*, VI, 8. I have discussed Lancelot's change of name above in connection with III, 3.

This is, of course, an interpolation dependent on the *Lancelot* passage which we are discussing. It occurred to some scribe or *assembleur* that Pelles's daughter lived at Corbenic, and yet nothing had been said of her in the winding-up of the narrative of the *Queste*. Accordingly, he made good the deficiency by this insertion. On the other hand, Pelles's son, Eliezer, who was at Corbenic in the *Queste*, VI, 187 ff., is not mentioned in the present *Lancelot* episode.

The whole object of the intrigue by which Lancelot is inveigled into begetting Galahad is the desire of the Corbenic household to have a champion brought into existence who will, in some undefined way, put an end to the blight that had fallen upon the land through the Dolorous Stroke, described in the *Estoire*, I, 290, and again (by Perceval's sister to Galahad, Perceval, and Bohort) in the *Queste*, VI, 146 f. According to the story in these texts, a rich Saracen king, named Brulans (Urlains), newly converted to Christianity, slew Lambor (Lambar), one of the line of Fisher Kings who were lords of Corbenic. The weapon which Brulans used was the sword which he found in Solomon's ship and which in the *Queste*, VI, 162, is designated "lespee as estraignes renges." As to the consequence of Brulans's deed, the *Estoire*, VI, 290, says:

"Itels fu li premiers cops qui fu ferus de lespee en la Grant Bertaigne, si en auint si grans persecution en la terre de Gales por uengance del roy Lambor que Diex ama tant que de grant tans les terres as laboreurs ne furent gaaignies ne ni croissoit bles ne autre chose ne li arbre ne porterent fruit ne en aigue ne trouoit on poisson se petit non & por ce fu elle puis apelee la terre gaste."⁷⁶

We find almost the same words in the *Queste*, VI, 147.

In the paragraph that follows in the *Estoire* (I, 290 f.), as may be remarked in passing, we have the only allusion to Pelles and his

⁷⁶ The term "dolorous cop" (*Lancelot*, V, 110) is not applied to Brulans's fatal stroke in the *Estoire*. It is, apparently, in the *Queste*, VI, 147, if Sommer's "dolereus" in brackets has MS. authority. The idea of the blighted land comes, of course, ultimately from Chrétien's *Perceval*, 354 ff. and 460 ff., where the calamities, however, save that of the Maimed Fisher King, lie in the future, being consequent upon Perceval's failure to ask the question concerning the Grail. They are, besides, it would seem, the ordinary calamities of war. Wauchier, in his continuation of Chrétien, ll. 20285 ff., assumes that the calamities predicted had been fulfilled, but they are from a different cause, viz., the dolorous stroke of the mysterious sword, and are of a magical kind.

daughter in that romance. The author says that, after Lambor, his son, Pelleam, the Maimed King, reigned, and that from this Maimed King Pelles was descended. Pelles's daughter excelled in beauty all women that were ever in Great Britain. Lancelot begot upon her Galahad, who was to end the Grail adventures. Just as we have an apology for Galahad's illegitimate birth in our *Lancelot* passage, quoted above, so the *Estoire* declares:

"Et por ce sil fu engendres en pechie ni esgarda pas Nostre Sires ains garda a la haute brance dont il estoit descendus & a la boine uie & al boin proposement quil auoit."

Inasmuch as Pelles and his daughter are nowhere else mentioned in the *Estoire*, it is very likely that the allusions here to these two characters and to Galahad were, in turn, derived from the *Lancelot* passage which we are discussing.

Leaving aside this paragraph, however, and going back to the Dolorous Stroke, it is to be observed that in neither the *Queste* nor the *Estoire* is any prediction offered that a champion will arise to undo the spell which the land of the Grail King labors under on account of the Dolorous Stroke. We may reasonably infer that Galahad's achievement of the Grail adventure will have this result, but this is not said in the texts, and the matter is not mentioned in the concluding episodes of the *Queste*, where Galahad actually achieves the crowning adventure of the Grail quest. The Dolorous Stroke, then, and its consequences are of subordinate importance in the *Queste* and *Estoire*, whereas it is made the center of interest in the Grail story in the present episode. This is another sign, then, that the story of Galahad's conception is not simply a part of the *Queste* in its original form, transferred to the *Lancelot*, but the work of a different author. Still other signs, of course, are the, at bottom, wholly unascetic spirit of the present episode—despite the veneer of asceticism which the elements connecting it with the *Queste* give it—and the corresponding difference of style, which is closer to that of the *Lancelot*, in general, than to the severity of the *Queste*.⁷⁷ Last and most important of all, the author of the *Queste*

⁷⁷ It is worthy of remark that in two points the *Lancelot* episode we are considering agrees with Wauchier's continuation of Chrétien. (1) With Wauchier, too, ll. 20288 ff. (Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, IV, 5), *et passim*, the dolorous

could hardly have conceived of the Grail Winner as being born in the Grail Castle, to attain which was his supreme and distinctive achievement.

We see, therefore, that, although our episode was inserted to satisfy curiosity as to the Grail Winner's origin, the author has harmonized it very poorly with the *Queste*.⁷⁸ He has developed more clearly, however, one essential *motif* that is latent in the *Queste*, viz., the analogy of Galahad to Christ. Galahad's mother, too, is a virgin, and she sacrifices her virginity in order that she may bring forth a saviour of the people. The story of Galahad's conception is plainly modelled on the Bible narrative, as far as the fundamental *motif* is concerned. Only where the offspring is divine

stroke which causes the destruction of Logres is the centre of interest in the Grail story. (2) The Grail King can also walk in Wauchier, ll. 20100 ff. (Potvin, III, 367). The coincidence may be explained as accidental, since the development of the first matter out of the passages in the *Queste* and *Estoire* is not an unnatural one, and the latter accords with what is said elsewhere of Pelles. Nevertheless, I should not be surprised if this author were really borrowing from Wauchier in the first of these two points. Brugger's argument, cited in a previous note, makes it probable that Wauchier's continuation may have been written very shortly after Chrétien's *Perceval*. I am not sure, indeed, that the episode of the Black Hand which Gawain sees extinguishing the light in the chapel, ll. 19913 ff. (Potvin, III, 360),—cf., too, *Perceval's* adventure at the same place, ll. 34434 ff. (Potvin, V, 133 ff.)—did not suggest the bodiless hand which appears to Gawain and Hector in the dilapidated chapel, *Queste*, VI, 108. Heinzel, pp. 30 f. of his Grail treatise, in discussing the Dolorous Stroke, suggests that Wauchier is imitating the *Estoire* (*Grand St. Graal*). There is no convincing proof, however, that the reverse is not true. I believe with Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXI, 126, moreover, that Wauchier invented *Perceval's* sister. In my opinion, however, the author of the *Queste* derived her directly from Wauchier, not from the *Perlesvaus*, as is Brugger's view, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 64.

It is to be noted that all the *Lancelot* passages resemble Wauchier, as against Chrétien, in having only one king at the Grail Castle. In her *Sir Gawain at the Grail Castle*, pp. 73 f. (London, 1903), Miss J. L. Weston says that MS. 794 (Bibl. Nat.) describes Wauchier's Black Hand at the chapel as holding a bridle. Even if this is correct, however, it would be, no doubt, merely a contamination with the *Queste*, VI, 108, where this feature is in place (as it is not in Wauchier's narrative), its allegorical significance being, indeed, adequately explained, VI, 114 ff. Neither Potvin's (Mons) MS. of Wauchier nor MS. 12576 (Bibl. Nat.), followed by Miss Weston in the little book just mentioned, contain any such feature.

⁷⁸ Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, p. 141, note, takes V, 105 ff., as in its present form worked over by the author of the *Queste*, but the divergences we have pointed out are too great.

and predestined to a divine mission is such a conception possible.⁷⁹ Heroes are often the sons of heroes and oftener than not they are illegitimate, but the character and mission of the child are pre-ordained only in the case of Christ and Galahad.⁸⁰ It is not the sinful Lancelot, however, who supplies the spiritual strain in the conception of Galahad, but rather the Grail Kings of his mother's line. For the rest, of course, there are secular elements in the story. In fiction, as in actual life, a girl's nurse had already been frequently the intermediary in bringing about the cohabitation of lovers, and the deception of the hero by the substitution of one woman for another was, of course, also no new idea.⁸¹ The total result of the naïve combination of these various elements is that we have in our *Lancelot* episode an essentially profane, though seriously meant parody of the story of the conception of Christ, to which Zola's parody on the Fall of Man in his "La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret" furnishes the nearest analogue of later times that I can think of. The latter, however, shows, of course, the self-conscious art of a modern.

Essential differences between the present episode and that of Gawain's visit to Corbenic, *Lancelot*, IV, 339 ff., prove that the two were by different authors. (1) In the latter Gawain is received (p. 343) by the Maimed King, who is borne into the hall by attendants. No mention is made of Pelles, who in the Vulgate cycle is generally

⁷⁹ In the legends of all ages we have, of course, prophesies that such and such a hero will spring from a particular line—similarly, in Robert de Borron's *Joseph* the celestial voice foretells that the third Grail-keeper is to spring from Hebron's line. These cases, however, are obviously different from the present one.

⁸⁰ In a recent article in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, 129 ff. (1918), I have adduced other unmistakable evidence as to the relation of the Galahad story to that of Christ. I should add to my references there Robert de Borron's *Merlin*, which is also modelled on the story of Christ.

⁸¹ For this *motif*, cf. A. C. Lee, *The Decameron; its Sources and Analogues*, 104 ff. (London, 1909)—in these stories, it is true, combined with other *motifs*. Similar, except for the duration of the connection between the man and the woman, is the group of stories discussed by P. Arfert, *Das Motiv von der unter-schobenen Braut*, Rostock diss., 1897. The story of Galahad's conception resembles that of Arthur's, in that in each case one of the parties to the cohabitation is deceived as to the identity of the other through the exercise of magical influences on the part of a third person.

identified with the Fisher King.⁸² In the episode of Lancelot's visit conditions are just reversed: Pelles, who is not maimed, receives Gawain (p. 107), and no mention is made of the Maimed King. The conception of the Lord of the Grail Castle is thus completely at variance in the two instances. (2) The whole tone of the two passages is different. The Gawain episode retains much of the impressive solemnity of the Grail visions of the *Queste*, to say nothing of Chrétien's original description of the Grail procession.⁸³ In the *Lancelot* episode, on the contrary, we move on the plane of the secular romances, and, for the most part, are brought down to the level of the actual life of the feudal ages. In conformity with this general difference, we have in the Gawain episode description almost exclusively, whereas in the Lancelot episode the solemnity of the occasion is lowered by the frequent dialogue.

On the other hand, the author of the description of Lancelot's adventures at Corbenic evidently had before him the description of Gawain's adventures at the same place. It does not make so much difference, perhaps, that we have in the latter direct allusions to the former, p. 107, ll. 39 ff., where Lancelot is said to have seen the same dove as Gawain, and p. 108, l. 28, where Pelles says to Lancelot, after observing with gratification how he had bowed his head in the presence of the Grail, that he had feared that God's grace would fail him, as it had done Gawain the other day (*i. e.*, on his recent visit to Corbenic). Such allusions might well be scribal insertions. Furthermore, as I have already remarked, the incident of the girl who suffers torture in the strange bath and whom Lancelot delivers, though Gawain fails to do so, would seem to be a later interpolation by the author of the *Lancelot* episode, inasmuch as it has no discernible object save the exaltation of Lancelot.⁸⁴

⁸² I have discussed all these matters in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918). The omission of the allegorical vision of Arthur's war with Mordred in Lancelot's visit is another difference, but this might be explained from the fact that Lancelot is brought to Corbenic, merely to beget Galahad. Pelles's daughter, like her father, is not mentioned in the episode of Gawain's visit.

⁸³ Cf. his *Perceval*, 3182 ff. As I have already remarked above, the difference between the accounts of Gawain's and Lancelot's respective visits to the Grail castle is due largely to the use of Chrétien's *Perceval* on the part of the author of the former.

⁸⁴ In the Gawain episode the tomb adventure precedes the adventure of the girl in the tub; in the Lancelot episode it is just the reverse.

There are, however, important features which the author of the later episode (Lancelot's) must have borrowed from the former. (1) In both the Grail Castle is in a valley and surrounded by water (apparently, not merely, that of a moat).⁸⁵ (2) In the Lancelot episode, as in that of Gawain, just before the hero enters the Grail Castle, he has a tomb adventure. The author of the former, it is true, has changed completely the character of this adventure. It is the adventure of Chanaan's burning tomb (derived from the *Estoire*, I, 265 ff.) that Gawain is confronted with, whereas Lancelot has to cope with a fire-spitting serpent that haunts a tomb whose lid only Lancelot can lift.⁸⁶ (3) Both have the feature of the dove with the censer in its beak first appearing and filling the room with sweet odors and then flying into a room whence a damsel (Pelles's daughter) later issues, bearing the Grail. The author of the Lancelot episode here again alters the earlier account somewhat. In the earlier account the dove enters a room by the door, not the window, and it is not entirely clear, as in the Lancelot episode, that this room is the hall in which the hero is standing. Nevertheless, in both the people kneel when the dove flies in, and after its exit they lay the tables and remain seated in silence and prayer.

In the original form of the *Queste* there must have been some account of the circumstances under which Lancelot begot Galahad, but whatever it was, it was dropped from that branch, when the story of Galahad's conception which we have been discussing was inserted in the *Lancelot*. The same redactor was, doubtless, responsible for both the omission and the insertion.

139-142.

Bohort's first visit to Corbenic. We have already discussed in this article one adventure of Bohort's, which was a late expansion, viz., his affair with Brangoire's daughter. There is still other evidence to prove that Bohort did not originally occupy anything like

⁸⁵ The Lancelot episode speaks of the Grail Castle as "petit" (p. 105). Not so its Gawain counterpart. Like the *Estoire*, I, 289, *et passim*, both sometimes call the Grail Castle the "Palais Auentureus," a term which is not employed in the *Queste*.

⁸⁶ This adventure is not alluded to elsewhere in the cycle. Unlike Gawain's tomb adventure, IV, 339 ff., it occurs at Corbenic, not some distance away. Moreover, it is not separated from the tub adventure by any intervening material, as is the case with Gawain's tomb adventure.

so large a part in the primitive *Lancelot* as in our extant MSS. of that romance. The present episode, too, dealing, as it does, with Grail matters, is certainly a later addition, and, I believe, is from the same hand as IV, 267 ff. It is, therefore, by a different author from the visits of Gawain and Lancelot to Corbenic, which we have already considered. It is to be observed that there was no adequate reason for bringing Bohort to the Grail Castle in the *Lancelot*.⁸⁷ We have seen that there were such reasons in the case of Gawain and Lancelot. But Bohort in the *Queste*, VI, 187 ff., had been there with Galahad in the culmination of the latter's quest, and in the marks of spiritual favor which he had received on that occasion had only fallen short of Galahad himself. Yet here in the *Lancelot* he makes two earlier visits to Corbenic (the present one and, again, V, 294 ff.), which have not a trace of the mystic flavor of his crowning experience in the *Queste* passage just cited. Indeed, if taken seriously, they spoil the effect of the *Queste* passage. Nothing could be more *banal* than this episode, IV, 139 ff. Briefly, Bohort acts as champion in restoring to her estates a vassal of Pelles, the Lady of Galvoie. A knight, named Mariales, had deprived her of these estates. The incident is one of the common-places of Arthurian romance, and Pelles, who presides over the combat and feasts the victor afterwards, plays the part of an ordinary feudal overlord. There is not a particle of mystery about him or his castle, except that, retaining a sense of elementary decency, the writer had to allow the Grail procession to pass through the hall, whilst the inmates of the castle and their quest were at dinner, "si furent maintenant lez tables raemplies de toutes les bones viandes del monde." He dismisses it, however, in very few words.

The author knew the description of Lancelot's visit to Corbenic, V, 105 ff. Pelles's daughter, who acts the part of a good hostess, puts Bohort, "en une cambre deles le pauellon ou Lancelos auoit occis le serpent" (a reference to V, 106), and (p. 142) reproaches

⁸⁷ At first blush, it might appear that the object was to maintain the trinity of visitors who are admitted to the secrets of the Grail in the *Queste*. But, as a matter of fact, the trinity would not be the same, for in the *Queste* the three knights were Galahad, Perceval and Bohort, here Gawain, Lancelot, Bohort. Moreover, in the *Lancelot* Bohort is granted two visits.

her father as having been responsible for the loss of her virginity, which prevents her from acting any longer as the Grail damsel.⁸⁸

After leaving Corbenic, Bohort stops (p. 142) with a hermit who has known Bohort's father. The hermit tells (p. 144) the son of his father's exploit in slaying King Cerses,⁸⁹ when the latter ambushed him as he (the elder Bohort) was returning from Arthur's coronation. Bohort's father had a church erected on the spot and endowed it. He allowed the hermit to live there.

This episode, in its main features, is found also in the Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 246 ff. Here the slain king is called Amans, not Cerses, and Bohort is the slayer. Bohort founds an "ospital" on the spot, where services are to be held for Amans's soul. The passage in the Vulgate *Merlin*, however, is probably a mere amplification of the present one.

When it turns out later (p. 146) that Bohort was unaware that he had been at the Grail Castle, this, like the accompanying reproaches of the damsel, is taken from Chrétien's *Perceval*, II, 3540 ff.

147.

The story of Gawain's adventures broken off, IV, 349, is now resumed. Gawain leaves the hermit who had expounded to him the allegorical vision he had had at Corbenic concerning the wars which Arthur was destined to wage against Lancelot and Mordred. Here (p. 147) Gawain is sad over the prediction of his own death, which is implied in the hermit's interpretation of the vision (IV, 348 f.). The reference (p. 147), of course, is to Gawain's end, as there predicted and as related in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 365 f. The author of the present passage evidently knew the *Mort Artu*.

⁸⁸ This is the first explicit mention of the fact that the Grail attendant should be a virgin, but, of course, the whole conception of the Grail required this. When Sommer, VI, 141, note 2, identifies the successor of Pelles's daughter in this office as Perceval's sister, this is an unwarranted conception. In the *Queste*, VI, 180, when Lancelot visits Corbenic, only a priest (Christ?) is with the Grail in the Grail chamber. On the visit of Galahad, Bohort and Perceval, VI, 189, four angels attend it, and later (p. 190) Christ is seen with it. In the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 75, three men (Anacoron, Manaches, Lucans) are the bearers of the Grail. The Grail damsel of the *Lancelot* is, of course, derived from Chrétien's *Perceval*, 3182 ff.

⁸⁹ The name is taken, doubtless, from the *Roman de Troie*, II, 6854, 6857, *et passim* (edited by L. Constans, 6 vols., Paris, 1904-1912. Société des Anciens Textes Français). The spelling is there "Serses" (for "Xerxes"), as also in the *Lancelot*, V, 338 f., and he is king of Aethiopia.

148-154.

This passage takes up again Lancelot's adventure with the knights and ladies whom he found carolling around the four pines in the Forest Perdue (V, 123), in the middle of which there was a chair. He had joined the company and fallen under the enchantment of the carolling, as they all sang in Scotch a song concerning Guinevere. Here (pp. 148 f.) Lancelot delivers his companions from the spell they are under, and the origin of the enchantments is then told. A wise clerk, brother of Lancelot's father, had established the carols in order to win the favor of a girl, who, in witnessing carols on this spot not long before Arthur's wedding, had expressed the desire that they might be perpetual. As it was, only the best and handsomest knight in the world could undo the spell. The same clerk invented a set of self-playing chessmen, which no one could defeat except the most gracious and beloved of all knights. The chessmen were of silver and gold, respectively. If any one began the play on one side of the board, the other side played automatically against him. Lancelot achieves this adventure, too.

These feats of the clerk (there called Guinebaut) appear also in the Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 245 ff., and if that were the source of the present passage, we should have in this instance an interpolation, but there is no reason to doubt that the Vulgate *Merlin* is the borrower here, as it usually is.⁹⁰ In the Bohort-Amans episode, which in the Vulgate *Merlin*, as in the *Lancelot*, comes next to the present adventure, we have, as said above, a borrowing from the *Lancelot*, and the same thing is true, no doubt, of the present episode. In the carol episode in both, too, and nowhere else, save in the Dutch poem derived from the *Lancelot*, we have the combination of the two feats of the clerk, viz., the enchantment of the carols and the self-playing chess board. According to the general custom of the Vulgate *Merlin*, the unnamed clerk of the *Lancelot* receives a name, Guinebaut.

⁹⁰ Sommer's assumption, V, 149, note 2, that the *Lancelot* and *Livre d'Artus* drew the episode from a common source is not supported by any evidence. The Vulgate *Merlin*, as a whole, is universally acknowledged to be later than the *Lancelot*, but the MSS. of the latter might be, of course, interpolated from the former.

The source of the enchanted carols is, in all probability, the *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 3674 ff., 4334 ff. That of the chess-board motif is less certain and requires some discussion.

There are also self-playing chess-board incidents in the following romances:

1. Wauchier de Denain's continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*, 22442 ff. (Potvin, IV, 78 ff.).
2. *Didot-Perceval*. Cf., Miss J. L. Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 31 ff. (London, 1909).
3. The Welsh tale, *Peredur*. Cf., J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 114 ff. (Paris, 1913).
4. The Dutch poem, *Roman van Lancelot*, ll. 18391 ff. (edited by W. J. A. Jonckbloet. The Hague, 1846).

No. 4 need not detain us, for it is a mere metrical paraphrase of the passage in the *Lancelot*.

No. 3 is, no doubt, taken from number 1. So, too, is number 2, in all probability.⁹¹

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 connect *Perceval*'s chess-board adventure with a marvellous white stag incident, not included in the *Lancelot*, nor in its derivative, the Dutch poem. In her discussion of the relations of these three versions to one another Miss M. R. Williams, *Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur* (Paris, 1910), disputes the dependence of No. 3 on No. 1; but her views about the relations of the *Peredur*, in general, to the Old French *Perceval* (*Conte del Graal*) are certainly erroneous.⁹² The former

⁹¹ This results conclusively from W. Hoffmann's discussion of the incident in his *Die Quellen des Didot Perceval*, 48 ff. (Halle, 1905). Brugger expresses the same conviction, *Zs. f. frs. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXIX, 70 (1906). Miss Weston devotes Chapter IV of her *Legend of Sir Perceval*, vol. II, to the episode, and concludes, as she does in virtually all such cases, that Nos. 1 and 2 draw from a common lost source.

In the narrative of Gawain's visit to the Grail Castle in the *Perlesvaus*, p. 89, we have, also, a self-playing chessboard, the chessmen being of gold and silver, respectively. Gawain tries the game twice, but is beaten both times. Wauchier is, doubtless, here the source of the *Perlesvaus*.

⁹² On this subject see particularly R. Thurneysen's refutation of her argument in the *Zs. f. celtische Philologie*, VIII, 185 ff. (1912). Cf., also, E. Brugger, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXV, 450 ff. (1910), W. A. Nitze, *Modern Language Notes*, XXV, 246 ff. (1910), and W. Golther, *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, August-September, 1910, cols. 286 f.

is undoubtedly dependent on the latter, in this episode as in the story as a whole. Miss Williams does not seem to be aware of the version in the *Lancelot* (and Dutch poem).

What is the relation here of the *Lancelot* (V, 151 ff.) to Nos. 1 and 2? There is no such close resemblance of the *Lancelot* to either as exists between the two versions themselves, which differ only in detail. Apart from the fact that Lancelot is in the passage under discussion the hero, and not Perceval, as in Nos. 1 and 2, the whole setting and connections of the story are totally different. They have virtually nothing in common save the central *motif* of the self-playing chessmen, so that it is impossible to decide positively which borrowed from which, or whether the versions descend from a common source. Only it is to be remarked that Perceval loses the match with the automatic chessmen, whereas Lancelot wins. Now, it does not seem likely that Wauchier and the author of the *Didot-Perceval* would have made their hero fail where a previous hero had won, and this would point to the priority of the Perceval version. Considering this circumstance together with the more original effect of the adventures in the Perceval versions, it is probable that V, 151 ff., is secondary.⁹³

The sequel to the chess-board incident (*i. e.*, the account of how the board is delivered to Guinevere) is to be found, V, 188 ff.

156.

Calles's nephew throws Lancelot into a well full of serpents and vermin. In his lament over his misfortune, Lancelot says that Bohort would lose by his death, for he (Lancelot) had intended to crown him.

This is probably a reminiscence of the *Mort Artu*, VI, 315 f., where Lancelot actually has Bohort crowned king of Benoit. The same thing is doubtless true of V, 377, where Lancelot offers to make Bohort king of Gannes, but he declines.

191.

Lancelot's adventures (which include the visit to Corbenic), it

⁹³ The relative date of Wauchier and the *Lancelot* is hard to settle. See, however, what I have said on the subject above, p. 367, note 77. My conclusion in the present instance accords with the conclusion to which I was inclined in the previous case. These slight bits of evidence tend to show that Wauchier was the earlier of the two.

is said here, were recorded in a separate book, which was found in Arthur's chest, after he was wounded at the battle of Salisbury, "si comme cils contes le deuisera cha auant." This is a clear reference to Arthur's last battle in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 365 ff.

192.

On Lancelot's return to court after a long series of adventures, when he had been the object of a quest on the part of Gawain and other knights, Arthur inquires how many knights of the Round Table Lancelot had struck down with his own hand in the tourney that was the final incident of the quest. This is doubtless imitated from the inquiry to the same effect which Arthur addresses to Gawain in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 204 (beginning of that branch), at the end of the quest for the Holy Grail. Lancelot answers, sixty-four, Gawain eighteen.

On hearing of Lancelot's exploits, Arthur declares that he (Lancelot) had added more honor to the Round Table than all the other knights put together. This praise excited the ill-will of the knights towards Lancelot, but they were afraid to display it openly, "deuant ce que li mesfais de lui & de la royne fu proues, quant il furent trouue ensemble nu a nu par Agravain."—This refers to the *Mort Artu*, VI, 274 f., where Agravain catches Lancelot and Guinevere in bed together.

193.

Guinevere deplores the fact that Lancelot, owing to his sin with her, could not achieve the quest of the Holy Grail. This, of course, pre-supposes the *Queste*.

217-218.

With the aid of one of her damsels Morgan Le Fay lures Lancelot into her power and imprisons him. One day, looking out of his prison window, he observed a man painting on a wall the history of Aeneas. Lancelot thought that it would be a solace to him in his captivity if he should depict on his prison walls in a similar manner the incidents of his own career, including, of course, his love affair with the Queen. He does this. Morgan says that she will manage to get Arthur there, so that he may see these pictures and know the truth about Lancelot's relations with Guinevere.

This is fulfilled in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 236 ff. The passage, as we shall see later, is, no doubt, by the author of the *Mort Artu*. It was probably suggested by IV, 140 f., where for the first time in our romance Arthur's attention is called to Guinevere's infidelity (with Lancelot). This is done through a trick of one of Morgan's damsels.

231-235.

The story of the Abbaye de la Petite Aumosne.

Lancelot had rescued Lionel from imprisonment—the consequence of a Potiphar's wife incident, in which the latter had played the part of Joseph. Then it is said:

“Si cheuacha Lancelot atout Lyonel tant quil uindrent a la nuit obscure en vne abbaye qui seoit en vne ualee & estoit cele abbaye apelee Celique, si estoit en la marche d'Escoche par deuers soleil couchant. Et dist li conte que cele abbaye auoit en sornon la petite aumosne, et le raison pourcoi elle fu ensi apelee vous dirai, quar bien fait a amenteuoir en conte” (p. 231).

The story of how the abbey got its nickname is told then (in substance) as follows:

The name was given it by Heliser,⁹⁴ a Scotch King. Heliser had been converted to Christianity by “Joseph d'Arimachie, qui uint en la Grant Bertaigne par le commandement Nostre Seignor” (p. 232). He was so pious, in fact, that he gave up his kingdom and became a beggar. From this abbey he received such small alms that he gave it the above-mentioned nickname.

We do not hear of this abbey in the other branches of the cycle, and only the mention of Joseph of Arimathea and his conversion of Great Britain, as quoted above, connects the passage, as I have outlined it, with the *Estoire del Saint Graal*. But we have besides, as a part of the story, a description, in the style of the Saints' Lives, of the wanderings of King Heliser in the guise of a beggar, and of how he and his son, Lenuarlet, after the latter had discovered him at Celique, came upon a beautiful ship in a river, on their journey homewards.

⁹⁴ The name, Heliser, in this episode was probably adopted from the son of Pelles in the *Queste*, VI, 102, *et passim*, whose name appears in the MSS. as Helyser, Eliezer, etc. On the source of this name in the *Queste*, cf. my article in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, 133 (1918).

"Et quant il [= Heliser] fu uenus iusques la [where the ship had come to the bank], si regarde au bort de la nef lettres qui estoient embrieuees, mez del brief et des grans meruelles qui en la nef estoient ne parole mie yci endroit li contes deuant ce que li liures sera atornes a conter les grans auentures du Saint Graal" (p. 234).

This is, of course, Solomon's ship, which is described in the *Estoire*, I, 120 ff., and, also, in a closely related passage of the *Queste*, VI, 144 ff. The author of the Petite Aumosne episode, doubtless, knew both descriptions, but he alludes here to a future description, which must, accordingly, be the one in the *Queste*. There Galahad, Perceval and Bohort, coming to Solomon's ship, which is drawn up to the shore of a desert island in the sea, "regardent al bort de la nef si i voient lettres escrites qui disoient vne moult espoentable parole & douteuse a ceus qui i voloient entrer" (p. 144). The inscription is then recited and, pp. 145 ff., the beauty of the ship and the remarkable objects it contained are described.

237.

Bohort is said to be "estrais de la haute lignie au roy David." He was Lancelot's double first cousin and so had the same ancestry. I will, therefore, refer the reader to my remarks on Lancelot's ancestry above, in connection with III, 13.

243-248.

Gawain, Lionel and Bohort have finally discovered Lancelot after a long quest, but the same night Lancelot's grandfather—also, named Lancelot—warned him in a dream to seek an adventure in the Perilous Forest. He rises early and steals away from his companions on this errand. The adventure then follows. He comes upon the tomb of his grandfather, whom a cousin, unjustly jealous, has slain. The whole story, with the marvels of the boiling fountain (into which the slain man's head had fallen) and the bleeding tomb (in which his headless body lay), is found in the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 294 ff., just as here. The marvel of the boiling fountain, it is said there (I, 295), will last until Galahad arrives (V, 245, "until the best knight in the world arrives"), and so we find in the *Queste*, VI, 185, Galahad achieving the adventure. On the other hand, the adventure of the bleeding tomb and its guardian lions, says the *Estoire*, I, 296, will be accomplished by Lancelot, and

we find this prediction fulfilled in the present passage, V, 244 f., where Lancelot kills the lions. It should be explained that, according to the *Estoire*, I, 295 f., two lions who had wounded each other in fighting had been accidentally cured by drops of blood from the bleeding tomb, and, after that, took it upon themselves to keep watch over the tomb, alternately, without cessation and allow no one to approach it. In the *Queste* (VI, 97) there is only one brief reference to the present passage (Lancelot's adventure with the boiling fountain and the lions), and that is very likely an interpolation.

The two passages, *Estoire*, I, 294 ff., and *Lancelot*, V, 243 ff., are so mutually dependent that the conclusion that they are from the same pen seems inevitable. The only discrepancy is in the statement of the *Lancelot*, V, 246, that the elder Lancelot was king of the "Terre Blance, qui marchist a la Terre Foraine," and lived in the "Blance Garde." There is nothing of this in the *Estoire*, I, 293, where it is merely said that he came to Great Britain from Gaul (his father's kingdom) and "prinst a feme la fille au roy d'Irlande si ot la terre qui ot este a son pere & en fu rois"—furthermore (p. 294), that the lady with whom he was wrongfully suspected of being intimate lived near his city in a "chastel de Bele Garde." The name "Bele Garde" (which is the same as that of the Dolerouse Tour, after Lancelot conquered it, IV, 139) may have given rise to the "Blance Garde" and "Blance Terre" of the *Lancelot*. Such a discrepancy is not entirely incompatible with common authorship, however, as the writer may have added new details in the later (*Lancelot*) passage.

The story of the grave of the elder Lancelot seems modelled on that of Symeu's grave. I believe that the author of the present passage added to the account of the boiling fountain, near the end of the *Estoire*, the account of the tomb of the elder Lancelot which concludes that branch. His purpose in introducing into the *Estoire* and *Lancelot* the new adventure was, of course, to add fresh laurels to Lancelot's wreath.

249.

Just after the above adventure a squire whom Lancelot had saved from a bear is conducting him to two tents in the forest for

shelter. On the way thither they see in the moonlight a white stag conducted peacefully by four lions. Lancelot says that he will never leave the forest until he knows the truth of the miracle. Lancelot sees the same animals again, p. 277, and so does Mordred, who is with him. Later (pp. 279 f.), he asks a hermit for an explanation of the miracle, but the hermit replies that only "li boins cheualiers qui de bonte at de cheualerie passera tous lez terriens cheualiers" (p. 280), *i. e.*, Galahad, will be able to comprehend and achieve this adventure.

Here again we have an adventure which is known to both the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (I, 257 ff.), and the *Queste* (VI, 166 ff.). The expression just quoted, however, refers to the future, and hence to the *Queste*, VI, 166 ff., where Galahad, Perceval and Bohort come upon the stag and the four lions in the forest. These animals there undergo transformations in the chapel of a hermitage in the forest. As it turns out, the stag represents Christ and the four lions represent the four evangelists.

The *Estoire*, I, 260, refers directly to V, 249, 277. Joseph, having explained to Alain and Peter why the stag symbolizes Christ, adds:

"& encore vous dirai ie vne autre cose moult meruelleuse dont vous uous deues moult esioir. Car tout ausi comme Nostre Sires nous est par uostre boineurte aparue en tel fourme, tout ausi sapara il par tans a vn roy qui serra apeles Artus & a .ij. chaitis dont li vns aura non Mordret & li autres Lancelos."

As a matter of fact, however, it is nowhere related that Arthur saw these mystic animals.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ In the *Queste*, VI, 166, it is said that Perceval had seen the stag (which here and in the *Estoire* is white) and lions "autres fois." Sommer, *ibid.*, note 9, calls attention to the *Lancelot* passage where Lancelot and Mordred saw them, but remarks, "as far as I can remember neither there nor in *La Queste*, etc., has any mention been made that Perceval saw the miracle." I think it very likely that the author of the *Queste* had in mind the white stag incident in Wauchier's continuation to Chrétien's *Perceval*, ll. 22560 ff., Potvin, IV, 82 ff. The similar incident of the *Didot-Perceval* (cf. Miss J. L. Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 33 ff.) is, I believe, adopted from Wauchier. There is nothing allegorical, however, about the stag either in Wauchier or in the *Didot-Perceval*.

I have already suggested above, p. 368, note 77, that the bodiless hand which is thrust into the chapel, *Queste*, VI, 108, is imitated from the Black Hand and chapel episode of Wauchier, 19913 ff. (Potvin, III, 360 f.).

277-279.

The repetition of the incident of the stag and lions, with the hermit's interpretation of the vision, has just been discussed in connection with V, 249.

284-285.

Lancelot and Mordred come to a rich tomb in the woods and an extremely old, though still active, priest is praying before it. The priest salutes them as the most unfortunate knights he had ever heard of. Mordred, of all men, is destined to do most harm:

"quar par toi sera mis a destruction la grant hautesce de la Table Roonde, et par toi morra li plus preudoms que on sache, qui tes peres est, et tu morras par sa main. Ensi sera mors li peres par le fil & li fils par le pere" (p. 284).

He goes on to tell Mordred that his true father is not Loth, King of Orcanie, as he thought, but another and more powerful king (i. e., Arthur). Arthur, though not explicitly named here in the priest's address to Mordred, is so named in the scroll (p. 285) which Mordred found in his hand after his death. According to the priest, the night Mordred was begotten, his (Mordred's) father dreamed that there issued from him (the father) a serpent that burned all his land and killed all his men. He killed this serpent, but was himself mortally poisoned by it. (Cf. Gawain's similar allegorical vision of these events, IV, 345—essentially the same as the present, but more elaborate). Mordred's father had an image of this serpent painted in the church of St. Stephen in Camelot, in order to keep him in mind of his dream. This image is also spoken of, V, 319, 334, in references to the present passage (Lancelot observed it there and recalled the priest's prophecy about the evil Mordred would work). This invention suggests the same hand as that of Lancelot's painting on the walls his intrigue with the Queen. Cf. *Lancelot*, V, 217 ff., and *Mort Artu*, VI, 236 ff.

We find this conception that Mordred was the offspring of incest, of course, in the *Mort Artu*, viz., in three passages, VI, 325, 349, 377.—In VI, 325, Guinevere, being urged by the barons to marry Mordred, who has spread the false news that Arthur is dead, tells Labor, a lord who is faithful to her, that Mordred is really

Arthur's son.—In VI, 349, when Arthur hears of Mordred's perfidy in trying to seize his kingdom and his queen, he exclaims:

“Ha! Mordret, ore me fais tu connoistre que tu es le serpent que iou vi iadis issir de mon cors qui ma terre ardoit & a moi se prenoit. Mais onques peres ne fist tant dun fil comme iou ferai de toi. Car iou tochirai a mes [ij] mains, ce sache tos li siecles. . . . Ceste parole oient plusor haut home dont il sesmerueilloient moult. Car il sorent vraiment par la parole que li rois auoit dite que Mordret estoit ses fiex.”

This passage refers directly to V, 284 (the priest's prophetic dream).—In VI, 377, when Arthur and Mordred slay each other, the words of the priest quoted above are repeated almost exactly: “Ensi ochist le pere le fil. Et li fils naura le peire a mort.” Some MSS. add here: “Ensi fu la professie Merlin auerree.” But this conflicts with V, 284 f., and, I have no doubt, is a late insertion, based on the Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 385, where Merlin is made to foretell that Arthur and Mordred—father and son—will kill each other. The *Merlin* passage, in turn, is plainly based on the *Mort Artu*, VI, 377 (just quoted), as is shown by its accompanying allegorical prophecy (*ibid.*) that Lancelot will overcome Mordred's sons. This sequel to the fatal conflict between Arthur and Mordred is related in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 383 ff.

In the scroll (p. 285), left by the hermit who predicted that Arthur and Mordred would kill each other, the hermit says that in the fight between the two,

“il [Arthur] te [Mordred] ferra parmi le cors si durement que apres le cop passera li rais du soleill. Et ceste meruelle moustera Diex en toi seulement. Et lors abaissera moult li grans orguels de la cheualerie de la Table Roonde, quar apres cel iour ne sera nus qui le roy Artu uoie se ce nest en songe.”

Similarly, in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 377, it is said of the last combat that Arthur

“li [Mordred] met parmi le cors le fer de son glaive, si dist lestoire quapres lestors de glaive passa parmi la plaie vns rais de soleil si apertement que Giflet le vit. Dont cil del pais distrent que ce auoit fait Nostres Sires par coros quil auoit a lui.”

In the Introduction to the Huth *Merlin*, I, p. xli, Gaston Paris

speaks of the present passage as the earliest in which the idea that Mordred was Arthur's son occurs. It is very questionable, however, whether this invention did not in the first instance belong to the *Mort Artu*⁹⁶ and, consequently, whether the present passage is not based on the *Mort Artu*. Such a detail as the last one, just given, would suggest itself more or less naturally to a writer who was describing the combat. It would hardly have occurred to an interpolator, whose aim was merely to introduce the incest *motif* into the story of Arthur and Mordred. The very boldness of this conception of the incestuous birth of Mordred, which deepens so strikingly the tragedy of Arthur's end, seems characteristic of the genius of the author of the *Mort Artu*. Moreover, as remarked above, the painting of Arthur's allegorical vision of the serpent on the walls of St. Stephen's church, which constitutes a feature of the present passage, seems to be the conception of the same author as the episode of the *Lancelot*, V, 217 ff., in which Lancelot depicts on the walls of his chamber the incidents of his *amour* with Guinevere. But that passage is indissolubly connected with the *Mort Artu*—more specifically with the passage, VI, 236 ff., in that branch, where Arthur learns definitely through these pictures of the *amour* in question. The former passage has no meaning without the latter,⁹⁷ and they must be from the same pen.

It should be said, in conclusion, that the dialogue between Mordred and the hermit ends with the former becoming enraged with the latter at the prediction of the evil that he (Mordred) was to do and slaying him.

“Si mait Diex, fait Mordres, vous y aues menti, dans viellars, en aucunes coses, mais en ce que tu dis que iou tocirrai de ma main ne mentes vous mie.”

⁹⁶ I shall return later in this article to the discussion of V, 284 ff., and V, 217 ff.

⁹⁷ The incestuous birth of Mordred was doubtless suggested by the legend of Pope Gregory. See the discussion of the subject in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. 294. For another important contamination of the legend of Gregory with Arthurian romance see my edition of the *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii*, pp. xli ff. (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913).

Both the Vulgate *Merlin*, II, 129 ff., and the Huth *Merlin*, I, 147 f., relate how Arthur begot Mordred upon his sister. Both passages, however, were suggested by the *Mort Artu*. The allusion to the subject in the *Estoire*, I, 280 f., is also from that source.

Mordred commits this crime before the hermit can utter a similar prophecy with respect to Lancelot's future.

294-303.

Just after the episode of the tournament of Peningue had been concluded, Bohort has an adventure (pp. 292-294), in which he rescues the son and daughter of the King of the Hundred Knights—a participant, it will be remembered, in the tournament, just mentioned. Then he comes to Corbenic for the second time. Pelles here plays the part of an ordinary feudal lord, as he did in Bohort's previous visit to Corbenic, V, 139 ff., and he is no longer exclusively bound to the Grail Castle. He goes frequently to Arthur's court to inquire concerning Lancelot (p. 296).

The whole episode, in general, presupposes, of course, the *Queste*, but we have large specific use of that branch, and in some degree, of the *Estoire del Saint Graal*. Bohort sees in the Grail procession (p. 301) at Corbenic the bleeding lance or "lance uengeresse," which had not so appeared on the occasion of Gawain's and Lancelot's visits. The writer has in mind here the *Queste*, VI, 189 ff., where Galahad, Perceval and Bohort see the bleeding lance on their visit to Corbenic (especially p. 189). The rich chair and the old man (here bearer of the lance) are drawn from the same source. When this old man, in answer to Bohort's question about the lance, says "ne saues que ce est a dire ne ne saures deuant chou que li perilleus sieges de la Table Roonde auera trouue son maitre," he is referring, of course, to the *Queste*, VI, 8, where Galahad accomplishes that adventure.⁹⁸

The description (p. 302) of how Bohort sees at Corbenic the Grail Table with the four spindles on it and the Grail covered with samite, whilst a man in the garb of a bishop kneels before it, is also based primarily on the *Queste*, VI, 189 ff., the man in bishop's robes in the latter being Joseph, whom four angels had brought down from heaven to act as priest at the Grail Table. The spindles, it is true, are not found on the Grail Table either in the *Queste* or the *Estoire*, but the idea of these spindles is, of course, taken from the description of the three spindles of Solomon's ship in the *Estoire*, I, 124 ff., or, possibly, from the shortened description of the same

⁹⁸ He probably knew, also, the passages in the *Estoire*, I, 33 ff., 79 ff., about the bleeding lance.

articles in the *Queste*, VI, 151 ff., which is, itself, derived from the *Estoire*, I, 124 ff. Their number is changed here, so as to correspond to the number of the angels in the *Queste*, VI, 189.

Among Bohort's visions at Corbenic is one of a man with two snakes around his neck, who is seated in the chair of gold, mentioned above, and, weeping, plays on a bejewelled harp the "lai de plors" (p. 300):

"Et en estoit li dis de Joseph d'Arimachie ensi comme il uint en la Grant Bretaigne que Nostre Sires fist ariuer par son uoloir. Et Bohort y met moult sentente, quar ce li est auis que cest vne desputisons que iadis auoit este entre Joseph d'Arimachie & Orfeu lencanteour⁹⁹ qui le Castel des Encanteors fonda en la marce d'Escoce."¹⁰⁰

The reference to Joseph's arrival in Great Britain is, no doubt, to the *Estoire*, I, 211 f. (Joseph's miraculous crossing of the sea).

Besides the *Queste* and the *Estoire*, however, the author of Bohort's second visit to Corbenic used for this episode the preceding narratives of Gawain's visit, IV, 339 ff., and Lancelot's, V, 106 ff. We see here for the first time in Galahad, now about two years old, the fruits of Brisane's successful plot (V, 109 ff.) to bring Lancelot and Pelles's daughter together, and Bohort's allegorical vision of Arthur's wars with Lancelot and Mordred (the leopard and the big serpent fighting the little ones), V, 299 f., is a close repetition of Gawain's, IV, 345, and so, too, his receiving a wound from the flaming lance (*ibid.*). At the end of the episode we have, indeed, a curious effort to harmonize the conflicting conceptions (noted above) as to the Lord of the Grail Castle. As we have seen, in the account of Gawain's visit only the (unnamed) Maimed King receives the visitor, in that of Lancelot's visit, only Pelles. Here Pelles asks Bohort, after the latter's adventures at the castle are over, whether he has seen his (Pelles's) father, "li

⁹⁹ This is to be added to the references to the "lay of Orpheus" in Old French literature which G. L. Kittredge gives in the *American Journal of Philology*, VII, 180 ff. (1886). It is not mentioned, either, by Wilhelm Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch* (2d edition, Stuttgart, 1900), pp. 356 ff., in his discussion of the theme.

¹⁰⁰ The man with the snakes about his neck, in speaking to Bohort (pp. 300 f.), implies that he will be delivered by Galahad, but, as a matter of fact, nothing more is heard of him.

roys mahaigñies que on apele le roy pescheor." The term, "roy pescheor," had not been employed of the Lord of the Grail Castle in either of the previous episodes and is due to an unfortunate¹⁰¹ recollection of Chrétien's *Perceval* on the part of the author of the present passage. This author, moreover, had to outbid his predecessors in the description of the new visit to Corbenic, and he has consequently made his narrative more complicated than the previous ones—really to its detriment. For example, before entering the Palais Aventureus, Bohort has to fight Brunout who has been rejected by Pelles's daughter, and is jealous of Lancelot. (This incident, of course, in harmony with the general spirit of the episode, reduces her to the level of ordinary life.) Similarly, the allegorical vision of Arthur's wars is both preceded and followed by new incidents—the slaying of a lion and the "lai des plors" feature, respectively. Furthermore, the mystery of the Grail Castle is diminished by the circumstance that Bohort spends two nights in succession there. There is no parallel to this in any of the other Grail romances, either metrical or prose.

There is no reason to doubt that we have in Bohort's second visit to Corbenic another of the adventures of this hero which are modelled on those of Lancelot. Cf. such passages, already remarked on, as his affair with Brangoire's daughter, IV, 267 ff., his first visit to Corbenic, V, 139 ff. They are all, no doubt, late additions to the *Lancelot*, and from the same pen.

318.

Lancelot returned to court, after his long absence, on Whitsunday, 435, A. D.—This is imitated either from the *Estoire*, I, 4 ff., where it is said that the writer came into possession of the *Estoire* in 717, A. D., or, much more likely, from the *Queste*, VI, 5, where it is said that Galahad occupied the Perilous Seat in the year 454. The trick of dating precisely events in Arthurian romance was probably in the first instance derived from Wace, who, of course, got it from Geoffrey of Monmouth. For example, according to Wace's *Brut*, l. 13699, Arthur was translated to Avalon in 642, A. D.

¹⁰¹ Unfortunate, because the *Queste* and *Lancelot* generally keep Maimed King and Fisher King separate. I have discussed these matters in *Modern Philology*, XV (1918).

319-321.

During the great Whitsunday celebration in honor of Lancelot's return to Camelot, in the church of St. Stephen, he looks at the image of the serpent which Arthur had painted there to keep him in mind of the dream that foreshadowed Mordred's destruction of the Round Table. This refers back to V, 284, which we have already considered, and like that passage, implies, necessarily, knowledge of the *Mort Artu*.

Brumant, Claudas's nephew, tries to sit in the Perilous Seat of the Round Table, and is immediately burned up. Merlin prophesied that this would happen (p. 319). Lancelot was sitting next to him. A scroll which Brumant left explains the circumstances of his own fate and declares that Lancelot (p. 320) will not achieve the adventure. Arthur says (p. 321) that as soon as the destined knight arrives, his name will appear on the Perilous Seat.

The author of this passage manifestly had before him the passage in the *Queste*, VI, 8 ff., where Galahad occupies the Perilous Seat. His name, then, appears on the seat (pp. 9 f.). Our author also had before him here the *Estoire*, I, 248, where flaming hands carry off the burning Moys, when he endeavors to occupy the Perilous Seat. Observe, too, that Moys, who was being tortured by flames, though relieved in part by the prayers of Joseph and Alain, says in the *Estoire*, I, 262, that the flames will cease, when Galahad comes. The promise, however, it seems, is not redeemed, for he is, apparently, not mentioned in the *Queste*, Sommer's references in his Index being erroneous. The deliverance of Moys is also foreshadowed in the *Lancelot* interpolation, IV, 176 f. Here Symeu, speaking from the grave, tells Lancelot that his deliverance and that of his son, Moys, is near at hand—will come in less than thirty years.

332-333.

Gawain declares that on the "isle des merueilles" he had found the "espee aaventureuse," which no man could grasp by the hilt, however big his hand might be, "& de cele espee me dist uns hermites que io en murroie & que li hum del mund estranges cui io plus eim men ocirra & en serroit acheson Mordret mun frere."

Gawain's visit to the "isle des merueilles" is not related in any

known MS. of the *Lancelot*. For the rest, however, we have here a clear reference to the *Mort Artu*. In that romance Gawain was wounded by Lancelot (VI, 341) in their duel and dies from the blows on this same wound which he receives in the Roman wars (VI, 347 ff.). Lancelot, then, is the friend who is destined to slay him, but there is nothing in the *Mort Artu* about his using the "espee auentureuse," and the blame for Gawain's death, according to the narrative of that branch, cannot be laid at Mordred's door.

333.

Arthur offers the throne of Orcanie to Gaheries, but he declares that he will not accept it until the Grail quest has been achieved. This refers, of course, to the *Queste*. As a matter of fact, Gaheries is never crowned King of Orcanie.

334.

Bohort tells Lancelot of having seen Galahad at Pelles's castle (during his second visit, V, 294 ff.), and says that hermits and holy men testify that this child will achieve the adventures of the Holy Grail. Again, a reference to the *Queste*. Bohort keeps secret from the Queen, however, Lancelot's affair with Pelles's daughter. He says, too, that he likes the Queen only for Lancelot's sake. These relations of Bohort to Guinevere remind one of the *Mort Artu*, VI, 244 f., and 263 f.

The Queen here asks Lancelot why he had acted so strangely on Whitsunday (cf. V, 319 ff.) in the cathedral, and Lancelot explains that he was looking at the image of the serpent on the wall and how the hermit had predicted (cf. V, 284) that Mordred would cause the destruction of Arthur and his men. Lancelot, however, does not tell her that Mordred was Arthur's son, because he did not wish Arthur's shame to be revealed. Thus the passage refers back to both V, 284, and V, 319. It conflicts, however, with the *Mort Artu*, VI, 325, where Guinevere is aware of Mordred's true paternity.

The present passage goes on to say that Guinevere, not believing the hermit's prediction, did not mention it to Arthur, whence great evil came, for, by expelling Mordred from his court, Arthur might have averted the fatal conflict. All of this refers, of course, to the *Mort Artu*.

335.

Arthur's expedition to the continent against Claudas and the Romans may possibly owe to Wace's *Roman de Brut*, ll. 10146 ff., the detail (p. 337) that the fighting begins in Flanders, but, in general, it was probably suggested, above all, by his expedition against Lancelot and its sequel of the Roman war,¹⁰² in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 317 ff. In the passage before us we have Arthur's war against Claudas substituted for his war against Lancelot in the *Mort Artu*. After this came the Roman battle, as in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 345 ff., and the war with Frolle (V, 370 ff.), ending in Arthur's duel with that character (V, 373 f.). In the *Mort Artu*, VI, 346, the Emperor of Rome avers that one of the chief objects of his conflict with Arthur was to avenge Frolle, "quil ochist iadis de sa main." The war between Arthur and Frolle, to be sure, is not told in the *Mort Artu*, but the author of that branch did not have to learn about it from the *Lancelot*, for Wace, ll. 10341 ff., had already given an account of Frolle's death at Arthur's hands.

In the passage before us, the war with Claudas and the war with the Romans are so closely united that evidently the author of the one is the author of the other, and if we can prove, as I believe, is possible, that the Roman war here is derived from the *Mort Artu*, we shall be compelled to draw the same conclusion as to the war with Claudas. Now, in the *Lancelot* the description of the Roman war is much more elaborate than in the *Mort Artu*. In the latter, VI, 345 ff., the episode covers only three pages, in the former, V, 356 ff., six pages, exclusively, besides being carried on into the continuation of the war with Claudas that follows, the leader of the Romans, Pantelion, still figuring in that conflict as late as p. 369. In a rather curious manner the Roman war then tacitly drops out of the narrative. This expansion of the theme in the *Lancelot* is, of course, more likely to be secondary, and the version in the *Mort Artu* is, doubtless, the original, as far as these two versions are concerned. The fact that the *Lancelot* closely interweaves the episode with the wars of Claudas points in the same direction. I have, besides, shown in THE ROMANIC REVIEW, IV, 452 ff., how the Roman

¹⁰² For the debt of this part of the *Mort Artu* to Wace (in an expanded form) see my article "The Development of the Mort Arthur Theme in Mediæval Romance," the ROMANIC REVIEW, IV, 452 ff. (1913).

war of the *Mort Artu*, like the whole of the portion of that romance in which they occur, is derived directly from Wace's *Roman de Brut* in the (lost) expanded form which existed beyond dispute at the time the *Mort Artu* was composed. The episode of these wars in the *Mort Artu*, then, is plainly based on that lost verse chronicle and not on the present *Lancelot* passage.

In the present passage, moreover (p. 335), Arthur hears at Taneborc¹⁰³ of Claudas's preparations for war. This is the first mention of Taneborc in the *Lancelot* and the only one. The author of the passage took it, no doubt, from the *Mort Artu*, VI, 215 ff., where it is the scene of an important tournament; for, apart from this single passage, V, 335, the name occurs nowhere in the cycle, except in the *Mort Artu*.

377.

When Arthur wishes to give Lancelot a crown, the latter declines, but says that he will make Hector, Lionel and Bohort kings. Bohort says that he and Hector desire to pursue chivalry. Consequently, Lancelot gives up his plan of bestowing kingdoms on his companions in arms.

This is, most probably, imitated from the *Mort Artu*, VI, 315 f., where Lancelot, on All Saints' Day, bestows the crown of Benoyc on Bohort and of Gannes on Lionel.

380.

When the Queen discovers that Lancelot has lain with Pelles's daughter, he is compelled to leave Camelot and utters a lament over his departure. Compare with this his farewell to Logres in the *Mort Artu*, VI, 314 f., when he retires to his own country, after having surrendered Guinevere to Arthur on the intercession of the Pope.—The latter lament is, doubtless, the original of the former.

381.

Bohort blames the Queen for driving Lancelot from court. Very similar is the *Mort Artu*, VI, 263, where Bohort bitterly reproaches her for having driven Lancelot from the court. Again, the *Mort Artu* is, no doubt, the original.

¹⁰³ On Tanebroc (Taneborc) in the Arthurian romances see my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 271 f.

383.

Perceval goes to Arthur's court with his brother Agloval and is knighted (p. 385) by Arthur. One of the queen's damsels, hitherto a mute, miraculously speaks and bids Perceval take a seat on the left of the Seat Perilous. Bohort, she says, will occupy a seat on the right and the Good Knight (*i. e.*, Galahad) will occupy the Seat Perilous, itself. She begs Perceval to remember her, when he is before the Holy Grail. She then foretells her own death.

The incident of the mute damsel, who is so suddenly endowed with the power of utterance, is imitated from Chrétien's *Perceval*, 1015 ff., where we have a girl laughing on Perceval's first appearance at court, although she had not laughed before for six years.¹⁰⁴ The author, however, has altered Chrétien, either under the influence of the parallel common folk-tale *motif* of the girl mute who suddenly breaks silence, or, possibly, of *St. Luke*, I, 64 ff., where Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, having been stricken dumb for his disbelief in the divine message concerning his son, who is still in the womb, suddenly recovers his speech and prophesies the coming of the Messiah.

For the rest, what is said of the Grail and the Seat Perilous refers, of course, to the *Queste*. The statement that Perceval's mother died the day he went to court, p. 384, is probably also taken from the *Queste* (VI, 53).

391.

Hector, believing himself mortally wounded, laments that the Queen had driven Lancelot from court. Like Bohort's similar lament, V, 381, this is probably imitated from the *Mort Artu*, VI, 263 ff.

392-393.

Perceval asks what is the Holy Grail. Hector replies (p. 393):

"Li Sainz Graus est vns vaissiaus ou Nostre Sires, Jhesu Crist,

¹⁰⁴ In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, 152, ll. 120 ff. (E. Martin's edition, I, 53, Halle, 1900), Antenor, a mute, breaks silence at the same time that the girl (Cunneware) laughs. She was struck by Kai for her conduct. Wolfram remarks:

sin rede unde ir lachen
was gezilt mit einen sachen:
ern wolde nimmer wort gesagn
sine lachte diu da wart geslagn.

manga laignel le iour de pasques auec ses disciples a le maison Symon le liepreus. Et lors li conte comment Joseph d'Arimachie lauoit aporte ou royaume de Logres. si en a on puis veu teuls miracles que de la grace de lui sont repeu si hoir iusques chi. Et en est encore li roys Pelles repeus et toute sa maisnie. Et sera tant comme il seiournera en cest pais."

This account of the Grail and Joseph's taking it to England (Logres) is derived from the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 13, where the same things are more fully related.

408-409.

Galahad was brought up in a convent near Camelot until he was eighteen years old. When he had attained that age, a hermit nearby predicted to Galahad that at Whitsuntide he would be knighted, and, accordingly, exhorted the young man to keep himself pure for that occasion. The hermit tells Arthur, also, the next day that at Whitsuntide the person who is to end the Grail adventures will be knighted and will come to Arthur's court and occupy the Perilous Seat. He bids Arthur summon all his barons to witness these marvels and Arthur heeds his advice.

This is the end of the *Lancelot*. At the beginning of the *Queste*, which follows immediately after, these predictions are fulfilled. Lancelot (VI, 4), though ignorant of Galahad's identity, dubs him knight at the convent the following day, and he and the rest proceed to the court, where Galahad, after other wonders, occupies the Perilous Seat (p. 8).

TABULATION OF THE REFERENCES

In order to illustrate the distribution of the references in the *Lancelot*, just discussed, it seems advisable, still further, to tabulate them under the headings of the individual romances concerned. I will name first the particular romance and then indicate the passage or passages of the *Lancelot* in connection with which I have noted and discussed above the allusion or allusions.

Let us first take the romances outside of the cycle:

1. *Perlesvaus*: IV, 19 ff. (the description of Galahad which I derive from that of Perceval in the *Perlesvaus*).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ As noted above, most MSS. have *Pelesvaus* (and variants), instead of *Galahad*, in the passage, III, 28 f., and this form of the name would indicate a

2. *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337: III, 140 (incident from which the Queen's Ford got its name), 381 (Sagremor nicknamed on the day that he slew the King of the Saxons and the King of Ireland).

Next come the various members of the cycle in the order of our MSS.

1. *Estoire del Saint Graal*:

III, 3, 13, 88 (all three dealing with Lancelot's genealogy), 112 ff. (inclusion of Joseph of Arimathea, the elder Galahad, etc., among the perfect knights), 140 (Lancelot stops at a house of religion, where Leucan, nephew of Joseph of Arimathea and one of the Grail bearers, is buried), 199 f. (Arthur's allegorical dreams concerning his sins, with mention of Joseph of Arimathea), 215 ff. (interpretation of Arthur's dreams).

IV, 174 ff. (Lancelot's adventures at the tombs of the elder Galahad and Symeu), 295 (allusion to the coming of Joseph of Arimathea to Great Britain for its conversion), 321 (slightly shortened reproduction of the narrative in the *Estoire* of how the Black Cross became black), 324 ff. (repetition from the *Estoire* of the story of the broken sword, which, as Joseph foretold, only Galahad could mend), 339 ff. (Gawain's visit to Corbenic).

V, 17 (Lancelot was descended from Joseph of Arimathea and David), 231 (how the abbey of the Petite Aumosne received its name, and the incident of Heliser's coming upon Solomon's ship), 237 (Bohort was of David's line), 243 (Lancelot at the tomb of his grandfather, Lancelot), 249 (Lancelot's allegorical vision of the stag conducted by four lions), 277 (interpretation of the vision of the stag and lions), 294 (Bohort's second visit to Corbenic), 319 (Brumant perishes in trying to occupy the Perilous Seat), 393 (describes the origin of the Holy Grail).

2. *Vulgate Merlin*:

III, 28 f. (description of Galahad's mother), 112 ff. (reference to Pelles's brother, Alain, at p. 117).

knowledge of the romance, *Perlesvaus*, on the part of the interpolator. In three *Lancelot* MSS. there are isolated references to Perceval (and apparently to the *Perlesvaus*). I have discussed these references in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IV, 468 ff. (1913).

3. *Queste del Saint Graal*:

III, 226 (bare mention of the Grail quest).

IV, 19 ff. (the bodiless arm in Galehaut's chapel—also Galahad under image of a lion), 174 ff. (Lancelot at the tombs of the elder Galahad and of Symeu), 270 (Helain le Blanc, a knight of the Grail quest), 334 (Eliezer gives the broken sword to Gawain), 339 ff. (Galahad's visit to Corbenic).

V, 59 (a bare allusion to the Grail quest), 105 (Lancelot's visit to Corbenic), 139 f. (Bohort's first visit to Corbenic), 193 (Guinevere deplores the fact that Lancelot's sin prevents him from achieving the Grail quest), 231 (incident of Solomon's ship in the Petite Aumosne episode), 249 (Lancelot's allegorical vision of the stag and lions), 294 (Bohort's second visit to Corbenic), 318 (Lancelot's return to court exactly dated, like Galahad's occupation of the Perilous Seat), 333 (bare allusion to the Grail quest), 334 (Bohort sees the child, Galahad), 383 (Galahad will occupy the Perilous Seat), 408 (hermit's prophecy respecting Galahad at the end of the *Lancelot*, connecting it with the beginning of the *Queste*).

4. *Mort Artu*:

IV, 194 (why Gawain's strength increased after midday), 321 (brief allusion to Mordred's slaying Arthur on Salisbury Plains), 339 ff. (Gawain's visit to Corbenic).

V, 139 f. (Bohort's first visit to Corbenic), 147 (brief allusion to Gawain's death), 156 (Lancelot intended to crown Bohort), 191 (brief reference to Arthur's being wounded in the final battle at Salisbury), 192 (Lancelot slays sixty-four knights in a tourney, as Gawain had slain eighteen in the Grail quest), 217 ff. (Lancelot in Morgan's prison), 284 f. (Mordred's incestuous birth), 294 ff. (Bohort's second visit to Corbenic), 319 (serpent, allegorizing Mordred, on walls of St. Stephen's church), 332 (Lancelot will slay Gawain), 334 (Bohort in his relations to Guinevere, Mordred's incestuous birth, and slaying of Arthur), 335 ff. (Arthur's wars against Claudas and the Romans), 377 (Bohort is to be crowned), 380 (Lancelot's lament on leaving Camelot), 381 (Bohort reproaches Guinevere for driving Lancelot from court), 391 (Hector's similar reproaches).

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(To be continued)

NOTES ON THE *CHANÇUN DE WILLAME*

THE discovery of the unique manuscript of the *Chançon de Willame* makes the year 1903 a date of great import for the study of Old French literature. It seems as if the age of miracles were not yet past when one may discover, hidden away in an English library, the text of a medieval epic which, for historical and literary importance, rivals the *Chanson de Roland*. There were those who doubted the authenticity of the manuscript, but suspicions such as those of M. Tron are now proved unfounded.¹ The poem was immediately the subject of criticism, here and in France.² The articles of Paul Meyer and of Mr. Raymond Weeks, and the description of the poem given in the first volume of M. Bédier's *Légendes Épiques*, have made it well-known to Old French students. According to the critics the oldest part of the poem was written about 1080. In the preface to his edition of the first half of the poem, Suchier says: "Die Sprache des Dichters ist im Wesentlichen die Normannische Literatursprache, wie sie uns in Waces Werken entgegentritt, nur in manchen Zügen etwas altertümlicher. Die

¹ Emilio Tron, *Trouvaille ou pastiche? Doutes exprimés au sujet de la "Chançon de Willame."* Bari, Laterza (1909). Cf. Acher, *A propos d'un doute sur le livre de Chiswick. Revue des Langues Romanes*, VI^e Série, tome V, pp. 60-76; and Cf. Weeks, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, I, pp. 453-4.

² The reader is particularly referred to the following works:

Paul Meyer, *Compte rendu of the Chiswick edition, Romania*, xxxii, pp. 597-618 (1903).

Raymond Weeks, *The newly discovered Chançon de Willame, Modern Philology*, ii, No. 1, pp. 1-16 (June, 1904); No. 2, pp. 231-248 (October, 1904); iii, No. 2, pp. 211-234 (October, 1905).—*The "Chançon de Willame," The Library*, vi, pp. 113-136 (1905). *Études sur Aliscans, Romania*, xxxiv, pp. 237-277 (1905); xxxviii, pp. 1-43 (1909).

F. Lot, *Vivien et Larchamp, Romania*, xxxv, pp. 258-275 (1906). *Encore Vivien et Larchamp, Romania*, xxxviii, pp. 599-602 (1909).

Hugh A. Smith, *The Composition of the "Chanson de Willame," ROMANIC REVIEW*, IV (1913), pp. 84-111, 149-165.

T. E. Hamilton, *The Cyclic Relations of the Chanson de Willame. University of Missouri Studies, Literary and Linguistic Series*, vol. II (1911).

J. Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques, I. Le cycle de Guillaume d'Orange*, Paris, 1908.

Chanson wird Wace voraus liegen: sie mag um 1080 verfasst sein."³ One may accept the date assigned by Suchier, since the *Chançon de Willame* certainly gives the impression, in style and in language, of being older than the *Roland*. As to the dialect, one cannot be so sure. In a manuscript as corrupt as that of the *Willame*, evidently copied and recopied in England, it is difficult to tell to what extent the Norman and Anglo-Norman traits are the work of scribes, rather than of the author. It may be decided later that the original was written, as Gaston Paris said of the present redaction of the *Chanson de Roland*, by "un Français de France" or by a Picard, and not originally in the Norman dialect at all. The question is still open to discussion.

The poem as we have it is evidently composite. Mr. Raymond Weeks stated in one of his first articles that the poem should probably be divided at line 1982 into two *chansons*.⁴ This division must be taken into account in any study of the poem. The second half, both in language and in substance appears to be some thirty or forty years later than the first. The second part of the *chanson*, extending from line 1983 to the end, closely parallels events in *Aliscans* and so provides a redaction of that epic at least thirty or forty years older than the version so well-known. As a whole, this poem so lately discovered offers the oldest account known of the central events of the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange. Moreover, it throws light on the language and spirit of the earliest epics, of the epics in their best primitive strength. One must read the poem to appreciate the rugged beauty of Vivien's character, and the high pathos of his death. There is the greatest art in the sympathetic treatment which the poet gives him. To offer just one example: nothing could be more appealing than the bewilderment of his question as, giddy with the agony of his wounds, he turns from his prayer to fight single-handed against the overwhelming numbers of the Saracens: "Que me demande iceste gent adverse?"⁵ One thinks of Oreste in the last scene of *Andromaque*.

Leaving aside aesthetic pleasure, the poem opens up wide fields

³ Suchier, *La Chançon de Guillelme*, Halle, 1911, p. xxix.

⁴ Raymond Weeks, *The newly discovered Chançon de Willame*, *Modern Philology*, vol. III, no. 11, October, 1905, p. 233.

⁵ *The Chançon de Willame*, l. 838.

of critical study; first, of textual criticism, devoted to the study of the poem as an example of the best age of the French epic; second, of literary criticism, the study of its relations to other poems of the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange and of its influence on theories of the formation of the cycle. This second subject would form material for volumes, and cannot be touched upon here. Some points of textual criticism, however, have been suggested to the writer through the preparation, from facsimile, of an edition of the manuscript of the *Chançon de Willame*.⁶ In comparison with all the questions which the poem arouses these notes can be only suggestions, but they may help towards the solution of certain problems. This article will be devoted to a brief consideration of the following points: (1) The Manuscript; (2) Text-Establishment; (3) Lexique; (4) Versification; (5) Refrain.

I.—THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS EDITIONS

The poem is preserved in a unique manuscript now in the possession of the British Museum. On first seeing the photographs of this manuscript, one is impressed with its clarity. It is well-written and has an artistic illuminated letter at the head of each *laisse*. It is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and each column measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ or $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. There are twenty-five folios of four columns each, each column having 40 or 41 lines. The parchment must be rather thin, because, in photographing, the letters on the other side of the sheet showed through. Until one notices that the letters are inverted and are the same as those on the reverse side of the sheet the facsimile gives the effect of a palimpsest. The scribe uses abbreviations, or writes out a word, at will. There is nothing remarkable about the abbreviations used: they are those common to Old French manuscripts in general. Mr. J. A. Herbert, curator of manuscripts at the British Museum, has described the manuscript in two articles in *Romania*.⁷ Our poem is the fourth in a series of

⁶ *The Chançon de Willame*, an edition of the unique manuscript of the poem, with vocabulary and a table of proper names, by Elizabeth S. Tyler. Oxford University Press, New York, 1918.

⁷ J. A. Herbert, *An Early Manuscript of Gui de Warwick, Romania*, xxxv, pp. 68-73 (1906); *Two newly-found portions of the Edwardes manuscript, Romania*, xxxvi, pp. 87-91 (1907).

ten which, bound together, made up the now famous Hope Edwardes manuscript. Parts 1 and 2 have disappeared, Parts 3, 4 and 5 are written in the same hand. They are: 3, *Gui de Warwick*; 4, *The Chançon de Willame*; 5, *Histoire de Charlemagne*, a translation of the Pseudo-Turpin. These three manuscripts were written about the middle of the thirteenth century. For a description of the other poems, the reader is referred to Mr. Herbert's articles.

In 1901, at the sale of the Hope Edwardes Collection, the manuscript of the *Chançon de Willame* passed into the possession of Mr. George Dunn. He recognized its value and printed at the Chiswick Press a private edition of two hundred copies. Since then the following editions or partial editions have appeared:

1904 and 1908, *L'Archanz*, a pirated reprint of the *editio princeps* published by Baist;

1909, Franz Rechnitz, *Prolegomena und erster Teil einer kritischen Ausgabe der chançon de Guillelme*, Bonn, a critical text of the first one thousand lines;

1911, Hermann Suchier, *La Chançon de Guillelme*, Halle, a critical text of the first half of the poem, lines 1-1982;

1918, Elizabeth S. Tyler, *The Chançon de Willame*, New York, 1918. Suchier's elaborate critical text of the first part of the poem has already been described in the pages of this review in a notice written by Mr. Weeks.⁸ The German scholar shows the wide acquaintance with other French, particularly Norman, texts which we had learned to expect from him. The defect of Suchier's edition is that he changed too frequently the reading of the manuscript and often lost the force of its crude, abrupt *leçon* under a characterless smoothness. The manuscript begins, for example:

Plaist vus oïr de granz batailles e de forz esturs,
De Deramed, uns reis Sarazinurs,
Cum il prist guere pere Lowis nostre empereür? . . .

One may well read:

Plaist vus oïr de granz e forz esturs,
De Deramed, un rei Sarazinur,
Cum il prist guere vers nostre empereür?

⁸ ROMANIC REVIEW, V, pp. 276-284.

Suchier, however, makes two lines of the first :

Plaist vus oïr, barun, bone chançun
de granz batailles, de forz esturs feluns,
de Deramed, un rei Sarazinur, . . .

Does this not seem an unnecessary change, one which retards most regrettably the first *élan* of the introduction? Suchier cites the beginning of the *Chevalerie Vivien* in support of his reading but, on the other hand, the first lines of the *Roland* and of *Aliscans* show the power of beginning *in mediis rebus*.⁹ Other cases occur of the same lack of sympathetic feeling for the spirit of the poem. In line 254 (the numbering of the line is according to the Oxford Press edition), the *enjambement* entirely spoils the dramatic effect of Vivien's valiant answer. In lines 414, 415, the manuscript reading moves quickly in a sharp counterplay of dialogue; Suchier,—one can hardly see why,—adds a line which is unnecessary. Other infelicitous readings, in lines 485, 635, 1175, 1799, present apparently unnecessary departures from the manuscript reading. One need hardly dwell, however, on this criticism, for it seems carping in the face of all Suchier did for the establishment of the meaning of the text.¹⁰

Following the critical text, Suchier published what may be called a conjectural diplomatic reproduction of the manuscript in which a certain number of changes from the *editio princeps* are noted, in italics. It is unfortunate that Suchier never saw the original manuscript of the poem, for this would-be diplomatic text has many errors that might have been eliminated. The second part of the *chanson*, following line 1982, has not until now been re-edited

⁹ By the addition of this extra line, Suchier changes the numbering of the whole *chanson*. Any editor must change from the *editio princeps*, however much one may regret to do so. The manuscript writes lines 60 and 61 as one, as also lines 1920 and 1921. Line 544 was omitted entirely in the first edition. Such changes can not be helped but this further addition seems unnecessary. In referring to lines of the poem I have used this new numbering just described, which is that of the Oxford Press edition.

¹⁰ In the Introduction Suchier gives a series of extravagant theories as to the historical and geographical basis of the poem. M. Lot in his articles in the *Romania* (see note 2) has sufficiently shown that these theories are unacceptable. The best work on the geography of the poem has been done by Mr. Weeks in his articles in *Romania* referred to in note 2.

from the manuscript since the publication of the *editio princeps*. In transcribing the manuscript for the most recent edition of the poem, the present writer has corrected some 150 errors in existing editions. Most of these errors, however, are of slight importance, but it seems well to list them for reference, as a means of controlling the text of previous editions. Only the manuscript reading is given with the number of the line. (As to the numbering of the lines, the reader is referred to note 9.) The errors already corrected in the diplomatic text of Suchier's edition are not here listed. In the following lines these corrections may be said to affect the meaning: 136, 248, 1123, 1823, 2022, 2024, 2030, 2068, 2077, 2141, 2168, 2218, 2263, 2558, 2563, 2572, 2584, 2601, 2714, 2833, 3044, 3123, 3192, 3226, 3262, 3371, 3430, 3543.¹¹

¹¹ 37 vn, 44 en meine, 113 dolentes le marchez, 136 sespee, 154, 164 uiuien, 161 serueez, 248 ne ni pot, 253 dvnc, 257 sen fuit, 294 que (q̄), 339 as, 365 que, (q̄), 372 targe runde duble, 379 targe duble, 384 la mure, 459 dvnc, 486 atendrums (ūs), 516 aual, 545 sumes, 560 uiuien, 657 turlen lerei, 671 vinc, 678 del archamp, 737 la mure, 742 la mure . . . apoiant, 798 uirgine, 802 uirgne, 892 la mure . . . apuiant, 927 lenportent, 957 aual, 980 turleis le rei, 1026 a iceste, 1071 auespre, 1094 escheis, 1123 quele na laschat, (q̄le) 1198 nen crerreie, 1219 detres, 1310 home, 1357 deiz, 1359 al digner, 1362 contremunt, 1368 falfs, 1433 par lui (p), 1463 parfund, 1499 dvnc, 1565 desur, 1571 uealtrez, 1625 malgre, 1636 devom (ō), 1647 itant . . . gaignerai, 1707 dampnedev, 1723 guelin, 1823 le tertre, 1833 suz, 1845 la mure, 1866 des liez, 1933 si uit, 2000 prouesce, 2005 paleis, 2022 tu pleuis, 2024 uois, 2030 demeine, 2039 belleem, 2041 longis, 2068 ne la purrad, 2077 chet, 2092 nuls ne pout, 2098 li vint, 2114 crestien, 2135 cunte curt, 2136 prouz, 2141 denfern, 2164 vint, 2168 nule guise, 2177 sen turt, 2179 prouz, 2199 moinun, 2204 destrer . . . tele, 2207 quisse, 2218 lainz, 2263 preier, 2264 turoine, 2272 preie, 2288 premer, 2290 per el, 2302 vait ferir corberan, 2312 le nes, 2334 premer, 2342 larchamps, 2365 prouz, 2370 vn dromunz, 2407 de hanches, 2412 gviburc, 2431 prouende, 2471 tresqua, 2478 despaigne, 2496 home, 2500 le nus vnt, 2511 co, 2530 le see, 2536 lempereee, 2558 laissium, 2563 Boeues quons de somarchiz, 2570 prodome, 2572 socurst, 2577 tvz, 2584 surie, 2601 iure, 2609 viuier, 2614 teust, 2619 acuietee, 2682 nurri, 2705 vnques, 2706 pernent, 2709 premers, 2714 fenil, 2735 moussez, 2739 ester, 2758 tresqua . . . vnques, 2760 vnques, 2780 comparunt, 2786 da alfrike, 2790 so fichouent, 2807 ne releue, 2815 guburc, 2833 que si se fist, 2838 io ia, 2845 esquasser, 2850 li, 2852 ne nel, 2879 ma menad, 2883 pernent, 2886 entrastes, 2904 ester, 2924 proue, 2991 premer, 3044 cleies, 3053, 3084 desprisone, 3067 fait, 3081 desprisones, 3110 pernez, 3123 ad il ben, 3143 vn Willame, 3150 en ad mort, 3153 aturner, 3164 espant, 3182 prouz, 3192 nul home, 3194 vne cumbe, 3226 si sen fui, 3233 v es, 3234 ni uiens, 3262 quant, 3268 ariere, 3280 curb nies, 3347 conquese, 3369 desqua, 3371 ne pris, 3376 puisse io, 3380 guibur, 3384 curb nies, 3385 sen vait, 3390 nentrat, 3393 tresqua, 3404 frans, 3422 le mal, 3425 guinebald . . . alealme, 3429 oscistes, 3430 ullad, 3446 consuist, 3450 men escientre, 3455 ore i irrai, 3456 oueke, 3461 premer, 3481 gviburc, 3504 premer, 3514 niant, 3543 crienst. In lines 1198 and 1933 the manuscript supports the reading of the *editio princeps* against the changes made by the manuscript text of Suchier's edition.

II.—THE DIFFICULTIES OF TEXT-ESTABLISHMENT

As we have seen, the manuscript which we have been describing is well-written and clear. When one comes to decipher not the characters but the significance of what is written one finds that some predecessor of the last scribe produced a text far from exact, for the result is a badly garbled redaction. In the first half of the poem, forty-three per cent. of the lines are incorrect in metre or form. The second part is a little better: here the percentage of incorrect lines reaches only twenty-six. Such figures show immediately the lamentable corruption that has crept in during the two hundred and fifty years that separate the original from the extant manuscript. I think it is safe to say that no other poem, certainly no other poem of equal importance, has so suffered at the hands of ignorant or careless copyists. The corrupt character of the manuscript affects all questions of textual criticism. It makes the task of editing the poem particularly trying. Because the manuscript is so corrupt every scholar should have the exact manuscript reading at his disposal and not be limited to the interpretation of a critical text with the manuscript hidden away in blind variants. On the other hand spoken poetry, such as an epic, depends so much for its effect on the metrical cadence that one is particularly hampered by the awkward, stumbling halt of these broken lines. A reading of the manuscript version does not at all do justice to the beauties of the original poem. Between the two extremes of this dilemma every editor must choose some position and no one edition, probably, can satisfy completely the difficulties of the situation.¹²

Again, it is this corruptness of the manuscript that makes the determination of the original dialect difficult. One feels bewildered in the midst of so many evidences of careless copying, and it seems impossible to arrive with any certainty at a correct rendering of the original. It is significant that Suchier, one of the recognized authorities on Old French dialects, expressed himself only reservedly on this question of dialect and date. It would be only after patient,

¹² In the introduction to the edition of the *Chanson de Willame* just published, I have discussed this question more at length, in order to establish the system to be followed there. In that edition the manuscript reading is given invariably, with suggestions through the means of italics, parentheses, and notes for a smooth, comprehensible reading.

careful study that one could determine the sure indications of the author's dialect, and such a study would be too long to be undertaken here. Meanwhile let us be content with a few notes as to the *Lexique*—to avoid the ponderous English synonym—and the Versification.

III.—LEXIQUE

The unexpected discovery of a primitive monument in Old French could not fail to throw new light on the vocabulary of the period. As a most obvious contribution, many words for which Littré gives first examples in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may now be pushed back to the eleventh or early twelfth, since they appear in this poem.¹³ Suchier gives some consideration to interesting words that appear in the first part of the poem;¹⁴ but others may be added to his list.

The poem shows several interesting double forms besides those noted by Suchier. Both *fanc* and the Norman-Picard form *fange* probably occurred in the original poem, although the manuscript has only the former. The manuscript gives twice the line: *Puis la folad enz el fanc a ses pez* (at 270 and in the *recommencement* at line 275). In line 270 it occurs at the end of a *laisse* assonant in *an-e*, so it seems probable that this line read originally: *Puis la folad a ses piez en la fange*. The same sort of *doublet* is given in the case of the words *fest* and *feste*, which both occurred in the

¹³ For example: *acoster*, XII^o; *acosteier* (?), XIII^o, Joinville; *aguait*, XII^o, Wace; *almosniere*, XIII^o (aumône, XII^o); *assener*, XII^o; *chalce*, XII^o; *clavel*, XII^o; *cleie*, XIII^o (cf. *Aliscans*, 5358, *cloier*); *frontel*, XIV^o; *desserrer*, XII^o, Benoît; *duit*, XII^o, Couci; *moinun*, XII^o, *Aliscans*; *mollé*, XIV^o; *pignun*, XV^o, Villon; *poün*, XIII^o.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. xxviii. Suchier speaks of the double forms: *jeüner-juner*, *milie-mil*, *niënt-nient*, *ore-or*, *baldré* in *é* assonance and *baldré* in *ié*, which must have been written by the poet *baldrier*, *aiue-aie*; *hanste*, *halberc* and *helme* with or without the aspirate *h*. He records also the following interesting words: *descunorter* (cf. Paul Meyer's article, *Romania*, XXXII, 602, note to line 15); *di*; *envolumé*, a conjectural reading for the manuscript form, *envolupé*; *escalberc*; *esse*; *fedeil* in *ei* assonance; *giens*, a conjectural reading indicated by the sense of the line in which the manuscript reads *gent*; *maneuele*; *parjure*, for which Littré gives a first example from Calvin; *sambuier*, which Suchier translates *palfrey* because of the word *sambue*, meaning a ladies' saddle; *tuēnart*; *païenisme*, masculine gender; *trei deie*. For these words the reader is referred to Suchier's notes.

chanson although Suchier lists the two words as one.¹⁵ There is also the frequent doublet, *boels* and *bouele*.

Ost seems to be used, as in the Oxford manuscript of the *Roland*, as masculine or feminine. At lines 2634 and 2852 it is proven unmistakably feminine by the assonance of the accompanying adjective. In line 2931 it is again feminine: *Willame en a l'ost de France menée* occurs in an *é-e laisse*. But in a *recommencement*, twelve lines below, at 2943, the line is repeated in an *é laisse*, in which the participle *mené* must be masculine. The poet might have felt he could make the participle agree or not at will in the second line, but it seems as if he would hardly have placed two such lines so near together if he had not felt there was some latitude concerning the gender of the word.

The poet shows the same freedom in the use of the two forms *iré* and *irié*, one assonant in *é*, the other in *ié*. *Irié* is the only form to appear in the first part of the poem but in the second half both occur in the assonance. *Raoul de Cambrai* also shows this double assonance.

The use of case-forms of the class *sire-seigneur, quons-cunt*, etc., derived from Latin imparisyllabic nouns, would form an interesting study. Of course the manuscript shows many confusions, usually substitutions of accusative for nominative, and in this reflects the usage of the scribes. As for the original, the poem seems in general to use the two cases accurately, with however an occasional inversion of forms, notably, as one would expect, in the assonance. In the following cases such an incorrect use of the forms seems to go back to the author, although perhaps a consistent editor might feel justified in correcting them all for a critical text. Perhaps it will be well to cite the lines and let the reader judge for himself:

Ber, 208: *Combat t'en ber, sis ueintrum, iol (te) pleuis!*
Suchier reads: *Combat tei, ber!* In the light of the following examples, however, the manuscript seems correct:

1480, 1638, 1979: *Cors as d'enfant e raisun as de ber.*

2984: *Puis furent cels en mi l'Archamp cum bers.*

Nies, 1032: *Mun niefs Guischarde te uoldrai comander.*

¹⁵ *Le fest*, 343, 3415, 3444; *la feste*, 157, 3441, 3453, 3466, 3470, 3474.

Ancestre, 1672: Si fut tis pere e tis altres ancestre. (Probably: e si ti altre ancestre.)

3167: E moiller gente qui ert de bons ancestres.

Mieldre, 546-7: Car saint Estephne ne les altres martirs,
Ne furent mieldres que serrunt tut icil.

1602: Ne pout l'om unques mieldre uassal trouer. (Probably: *meillur*, cf. *Roland*, 231.)

2183: Mieldre de vus ne poei unques touer. (Probably: *meillur* . . . *puis*.)

Quons. 3182: Ia le socurad Willame le prouz cunte. The original may have read: *Ia socurad Guillelmes le prot cunte*; or *Le socurad Guillelmes, li prouz cunte*.

Sire, 1272: Preuz est mult e (pur ço) l'aime mun seignur. (Probably: *prodom est mult*.) Suchier reads: *chiers est a mun seignur*.

Emperere, 564-5: Qu'il me tramette Willame, mun seignur
V (que) Loowis (i) uienge l'empereür!

Suchier reads 565: *u Loowis le fort empereür*, and his reading is supported by the parallel passage:

896-7: Qu'il li tramette W., le bon Franc,
V Loowis, le fort rei combatant.

2427, 2536: *A l'emperere* forms the first hemistich. (Was it originally written *L'empereür*, dative without preposition?)

2941: L'enseigne Charles, de France l'emperere.

In the following instances the manuscript gives an incorrect form for which it is difficult to substitute anything except accusative for nominative or *vice versa*.

Ber, 1245: Dunc li souint de Viuien l'alosé. The second hemistich has one syllable too many, and the only possible reading seems the one Suchier suggests: *de Viviën le ber*.

Nies, 1131-2: Li vns fu Girard, li uaillant fereür,
Li altres Guischard, le nevou dame Guiburc. (Probably *le nies*, or perhaps *li nies*, an example of the nominative used as complement of *estre*.)

1177: Plaist vus oïr del neuov dame Guiburc. (Probably: *del nies dame G.*)

2072-3: (Que) par uife force *si* unt fait deseurer

L'uncle del neuov qu'il poeit tant amer. (Probably: *del nies.*)

Sire, 1670: Dreit a sun seignur dresçat *Guiot* sa resne. *Dreit a sun sire* (?). Suchier reads: *Dreit a sun uncle*.

These investigations bring out the indecisive nature of any testimony from the manuscript more than they do anything definite as to the use of the nouns mentioned. All we can say in conclusion is this: it seems probable that at least ten examples of the incorrect usage go back to the poet, 1480, 1638, 1979, 2984, 1032, 1672, 3167, 547, 2941, 1177. Twelve more examples may perhaps be due to him. Of these twenty-two examples, three probable mistakes and five possible ones belong to the poet of the second part of the *chanson*.

In commenting on the use in the Oxford MS. of the *Roland*, line 1440, of *dous*, accusative, for *dui*, nominative, Gaston Paris says:

"Avant 1150, dit M. Suchier, on ne trouve un pareil usage que chez les Normands; donc le poème est ou normand ou écrit après 1150. Ni les prémisses ni la conclusion ne sont fort rigoureuses. Quels textes avons-nous donc entre 1050 et 1150 qui ne soient pas normands? et dans quels textes normands (non pas anglo-normands) antérieurs à 1150 trouve-t-on l'emploi de l'accusatif pour le nominatif? Sans prendre ces paroles trop à la lettre, nous reconnaitrons volontiers que si le poète a réellement employé *dous*, accusatif, pour *doi*, nominatif, il sera difficile de l'assigner au XI^e siècle." (In what follows Paris shows that the correct form *dui* originally stood in this line.¹⁶)

The *Chançon de Willame* is certainly older than 1150: hence even so slight a confusion of declension as we have found,—which does not occur in the *Roland*,—would point towards a Norman origin of our poem. On the other hand almost all evidence shows that the second part of the *chanson* could not possibly be Norman and the percentage of mistakes of declension in proportion to the number of lines is almost as great. In the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, undoubtedly forty years older than the *Roland* or the *Willame*, manu-

¹⁶ Gaston Paris, *Sur la Date et la Patrie de la Chanson de Roland, Romania*, XI (1882), pp. 400-409.

script A at line 31e reads: *Tu pur tun sire*, and no scholar has ever been able to suggest a grammatical reading that seems as likely to render the poet's meaning. Professor Henry Alfred Todd suggests that the frequent use as vocatives of all these nouns that we have been discussing, may probably account for their general substitution of the nominative for the accusative form and hence for the general breaking-down of the declension.

The name of the hero, *Willame*, presents an equally puzzling confusion of nominative and accusative forms. In the original poem it probably read *Guillelme*, an earlier form of the French *Guillaume*, of which the last syllable is assonant in *è-e*. In our MS. the name is everywhere given in the Anglo-Norman form, *Willame*, usually abbreviated to *Wille*. As would be expected, the Anglo-Norman scribe who changed the name to *Willame* was at no pains to keep the correct declension. The MS. shows the nominative form, *Willames*, only three times, at lines 123, 454, 2100 (two of these where it should be accusative). It seems probable, however, that the original poem had, for the most part, the correct declension. The remembrance of the final *-s* of the nominative is retained, for instance, at line 1226, where the nominative, *Willame*, stands in hiatus with a vowel following. There are, it must be said, many more cases of elision of the *-e* of the nominative, but the elision seems to be due to one of two causes. First, it may be due to the addition of a superfluous word or syllable, added by an Anglo-Norman scribe who had no longer any feeling for the declension:

1144: Dune *i* suruint Willame (i)cele part:

1259: Ainz ad mun seignur Willame (un) iugleür:

Mun seignur should read *mis sire*. Suchier reads the line: *Ainz at Guillelmes, mis sire, un juleür*.

1871: Guiot descent, (e) Willame (i) est munté.

2597: Willame ert (dunc) reis a Guibvrc reïne.

Perhaps, on account of the cesura, the original read: *Cil ert dunc reis e Guiburc ert reïne*. The queen is speaking in the presence of Willame.

2931: Uillame (en) ad l'ost de France menee.

2943: Uillame (en) ad l'ost de France mené.

The elision may be due to the substitution of the name for some two-syllable title, *li quons* or *li ber*:

2498: Li reis demande: "V est Willame allé?"

2637: "Vostre merci," fait Willame, "emperere!"

One line alone shows the elision firmly based on the sense of the line: 751-2 (Vivien says to his soldiers):

Ia ueez vus (que) io(e)n ai Girard tramis,
Aincui uendrat Willame v Loowis

In this case I should be inclined to believe that the mistake in declension is to be traced to the author. Suchier, however, reads the line: *aïnc ui verrez Guillelme u Loowis*, a rather bold, but possible, correction. For the accusative of the name elision is naturally the rule. It seems probable, therefore, if one accepts the suggestions for the lines quoted above, that in the name Willame the poet followed, with one exception, the usual rules of declension.

The case of the famous epithet, *Willame al curb nes*, is different, for, whether nominative or accusative, this term often forms the second hemistich of the verse. In the nominative one would expect the phrase to count for six syllables, the hiatus of the *Willame*, as written, being due to the fact that the poet wrote *Guillelmes*. This is true in eleven cases of its occurrence (at lines 1085, 1367, 1507, 2219, 2228, 2246, 2270, 2283, 2495, 2986, 3145). In lines 946, 2251, 2946 the phrase counts for five syllables. Probably the original read in these lines as in the parallel lines (such as 2384 or 2981) *Guillelmes li ber*, and the similarity of assonance led some scribe to introduce the more famous *sobriquet*. For the accusative we should expect elision, and the reading would count for only five syllables. Such is the case in five lines, viz., 830, 955, 2863, 2985, 3036. For a far greater number of cases, however, the phrase has, for accusative as for nominative, a six-syllable value; there is thus hiatus, which cannot be explained on any grammatical basis. This hiatus occurs in the following fourteen lines: 55, 117, 131, 180, 826, 907, 1231, 1512, 2642, 2695, 2878, 3280, 3285, 3379. In these lines *Willame* in the accusative stands in hiatus with the vowel of *al* following. It seems then that in the case of the name Willame as well as of the imparisyllabic nouns a use of the nominative for the accusative must be attributed to the author.

Two explanations might possibly be suggested which would account for an incorrect use in the MS. corrupted from the author's correct form. First: Suchier, in the eight cases (out of a total of fourteen) which occur in the first part of the poem, writes the phrase, *Guillelme od le curb nes*. This formula is found twice in the MS., at line 1539, where it stands correctly in the second hemistich of the verse, and again at line 2313, where it is incorrect since *Willame* is nominative and therefore should count for three syllables. Suchier's reading, *od le curb nes*, may be called a possible one and exonerates the poet from grammatical inexactitude. It seems, however, that this formula, had it occurred with the frequency that Suchier gives it, would have survived more frequently in our MS. Moreover, the term, *od le curb nes*, has left no trace in any later poem of the cycle. . On the testimony of our MS. and of the other poems of the cycle, I think it should be rejected. Its occurrence in this one line,—with its incorrect imitation in the second,—seems more the peculiarity of some ambitious scribe whose knowledge of declension tempted him to tamper with the original phrase *al curb nes*. Another explanation is possible, viz.: that some one-syllable word like *dant*, for instance, originally stood before *Guillelme* in the doubtful cases and provided the extra syllable needed instead of the hiatus. This explanation was suggested by an experience of mine which may have more subjective than objective value. In Jonckbloet's edition of the *Chevalerie Vivien* I discovered four several occurrences of this accusative *Guillelme al curb nes* in the second, six-syllable, hemistich (lines 882, 891, 1824, 1874). These lines might be regarded as giving valuable support to the testimony of the MS. of the *Willame*. On reading, however, the corresponding lines (937, 946, 1850 and 1905) of M. Terracher's edition, I found that this peculiarity, while it exists in MSS. 774 and 368 of the Bibliothèque Nationale which Jonckbloet followed, is not reproduced in the more authoritative manuscripts which M. Terracher gives. In MS. B. N. 1448, in three of the four occurrences normal elision is substituted for the hiatus by the introduction of the title *dant*, while in the remaining case the line is changed entirely: thus in no case does the hiatus occur with the accusative form. Must we then conclude that the manuscript of the *Willame*, since it is so corrupt, has consistently reproduced

the mistake as did the *Chevalerie Vivien* manuscript of the "famille A"? Such an explanation, on the whole, appears as unfounded as Suchier's. Both suggestions seem artificial. Is it not better to go "back to the manuscript," to trust to its evidence? We have been considering the imparisyllabic nouns and there the only possible conclusion is that the poet through a confusion of declension due to a frequent use of these imparisyllabic vocatives, felt some latitude in the use of nominative for accusative. Shall we not explain this peculiarity of *Willame al curb nes* in much the same way? The poet used the phrase so often that he felt free to introduce hiatus sometimes in the accusative in order to give the term the same six-syllable value that it had in the nominative. It would be hard to determine whether he consciously admitted the hiatus, or whether he really used the nominative form for the accusative. In either case, this phrase, *Willame al curb nes* implies a greater freedom of grammar and of versification than some scholars would allow. We have seen that Gaston Paris was not in favor of a too rigorous application of Suchier's theory that a poem which shows mistakes in declension must be either Norman or younger than 1150. This poem of *Willame* shows itself by its spirit and form to be one of the oldest of French epics, to belong to the golden age of epic poetry, and there is strong evidence against a Norman origin. Yet any attempt to make the declension rigorously correct seems impossible and is perhaps due to a sort of solicitude which the poet did not feel as keenly as do his twentieth century editors.

As a conclusion to this sketch of the *lexique* I should like to list the following words:

(1) *achaisun*, 2032, instead of the more common form, *ochaison*; Wace and Philippe de Thaon also use *achaisun*, as do many Norman-French writers.

(2) *espiét adubé*, 855, 3133. Suchier reads line 855: *lur espiez adolez*, but why depart from the manuscript since *espiez adubez* may mean, as Gautier translates the phrase, "lances decorated with pennants?" Parallel with this interpretation might be cited the phrase which recurs so frequently in the Spanish *Cid*, as at line 419:

"Notó trezientas lanças que todas tienen pendones."

(3) *les aluez*: Suchier translates the words 'a wooded region.' They occur three separate times (ll. 16, 43, 965) in the second hemistich of lines reading, with slight variations: *e les aluez vait prendre*. Suchier changes the manuscript reading each time to: *les aluez vait esprendre*. The meaning seems rather to be the usual one derived from *allod*, "estate" or "plantation."

(4) The *chanson* offers an interesting series of names of boats: *chalant, esnecke, eschief, dromunt, salandre*. Such a wide variety of appellations seems to indicate that the author was well acquainted with Norman or other maritime expeditions.

(5) *demeine*, 758, 1096, 1237, 1589, 2030. In the first of these lines the word is an adjective and means 'own,' *Ad son escv demeine*. In the next three cases the word has the usual meaning of "vassal." In line 2030 Willame tells Vivien that he has some consecrated bread, *D'icel demeine que de sa main saignat Deus*. Godefroy gives an example for *demeine* in which it means "power or treasure particular to one individual." The word occurs as adjective in a Norman charter of 1289: *nos demeines boefs ou de nos heirs*.¹⁷ So the word here seems to have the meaning, "his own:" "Of that his very own which God blessed with his hand."

(6) *encliner*, in line 1504, has the meaning common to Old French texts "to bow to, or before, some one." In lines 253 and 1924 it is used reflexively. The first examples given by Littré for the reflexive use are taken from *Berte aus grans piés* and the *Roman de la Rose*, both of the thirteenth century.

(7) *estre*, 100, 940, 2305. This perplexing word, to which so many meanings are possible, here seems to mean 'window.' In the *Lai de l'Ombre*, according to M. Bedier, it is to be translated "balcon, galerie." In line 2305, *Dame Guiburc lesgarde dunes de fenestres*, the metre seems to indicate that the original read *dunes estres*. The manuscript reading shows how the scribe understood the word. It may be interesting to mention that in the manuscript of Berne, at the corresponding point in *Aliscans* where Guiburc

¹⁷ Schwann-Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien Français* (1913), III, p. 92. Cf. an Anglo-French charter of 1276-84: F. J. Tanqueray, *Recueil de lettres anglo-françaises* (1265-1399), Paris, 1916, p. 43; also p. 126; and P. Studer, *The Oak Book of Southampton*, Southampton, 1910-1911, vol. I, p. 76; vol. II, p. 64, and especially p. 65, note 20.

interviews her husband at the gate of his château, there is a drawing representing Guillaume below on horseback with his helmet slipped back from his face as his wife has directed, and Guiborc above looking down at him from a window.¹⁸

(8) *forer*, 'to pierce,' 2041, is one of the few O. Fr. examples of Lat. *forare*. It has of course nothing to do with *fourrer*, of which Littré says that the meaning "faire pénétrer ne paraît qu'au XVI^e siècle."

(9) *forme*, 1815, 2396. This word, at line 2396, has already the meaning of "bench." Neither Littré nor Skeat gives any explanation of this development of the Latin *forma*. The Oxford Dictionary says, under *form*, "for origin of this word cf. OF *s'asseoir en forme*, sit in order." Yet here the word already means "bench." It is interesting to find the word meaning "dock for ships" in the *Oak Book of Southampton*, vol. II, p. 98.

(10) *fuc*, 396. For this form given by the manuscript Suchier writes *fulc* which accentuates its connection with the Anglo-Saxon, *flocc*.

(11) Suchier notices the use, in line 186, of the expression, *lasse de mer*, explaining it as a development of *mer lasse* similar to *proz d'ome* derived from *om proz* (cf. Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.*, i, p. 113). The original seems to have had at lines 1106, 1703, 3014, 3079, a corresponding phrase *halte de mer* which has been confused in the manuscript reading. The lines are difficult to understand on any other basis.

(12) *mangonel*. Lines 3217-8 read:

Plus en ocist que mangonel de fust,
Ne set peres ne oceissent plus.

Was not the original of *peres*, *perere* (with a "p barré"), i. e., *perriere*? If so, the poet used both these medieval terms *mangonel* and *perriere*, which are commonly attributed to the thirteenth century.

(13) *mure*. The manuscript writes five times *la mure* and once, *lamure*.

(14) *naïio*, 3487, seems an old form of *naje*.

¹⁸ Berne, Bibl. de la Ville, 296, fol. 38v°. For the use of the word *estre*, cf. *Aiol*, l. 3143, and especially the *Roman de Troie*, ll. 10591, 10592.

(15) *par mi* is written out in full as two words in line 130, after that always *p mi* (with a "p barré").

(16) *prouz d'ome*. Suchier thought that the old form of the nominative occurred twice, lines 426 and 924, alongside of the new form, *prodom*. Lines 425-6 are:

Net (a)uanteras ia a Tedbald tun uncle
Si tu t'en fuies, n'i remeint prodome.

The second hemistich of line 426, which, as given above, lacks one syllable, might have read either *n'i remaignet proz d'ome*, as Suchier interprets it, or *n'i remaignent* (possibly *remanent*) *prodome*. The original may have contained either the old form *proz d'ome* in the singular or the new form, *prodome* in the plural. Line 924 offers a more decisive support for the old form:

Ço fu damage quant si prodome chiet.

It is difficult to suggest any acceptable reading for the line unless one accepts the testimony of the manuscript that the old form *proz d'ome* is the correct one here. Perhaps the strongest proof for this form here is not touched on in Suchier's analysis. The line is copied by an Anglo-Norman scribe—*remanieur*—who thrust it into an *é laisse* at line 2077. He changed the verse to:

A Deus quel duel quant li vassal chet!

Does not this change indicate that the original line had some form that he did not understand, not the *prodom* of his time but a more ancient form, *proz d'ome*?

(17) *rain*, 3530, introduces a curious bit of folk-lore. Reneward is telling of his enslavement by the merchants.

3528: Si me menerent en une tere grant
Si mistrent sur mun chef un raim estant
Si me clamerent chaitif, venal enfant.

Line 3529 should read perhaps: Si i me mistrent sur chef un r. e. Why they should put a branch on his head is not clear. Does it have anything to do with the phrase *par rain* or *par rain et par baston*, which Godefroy explains thus: "symbole et formule d'investiture qui s'employèrent plus tard dans les actes de vente, de re-

noncement, *etc.*, pour exprimer que la vente, le renoncement, *etc.*, étaient définitifs et sans esprit de retour"? In this case did it mean that Reneward was a slave to be bought and sold outright?

(18) *Salamoneis*, 2172. Willame speaks among other pagan languages *salamoneis*. Baist suggest as interpretation, *Sarazineis*. Could it mean Hebrew, *la langue del rei Salemon*?

(19) *torche*, 2978. Reneward refers to the cowards as his "torche." The word is usually spelt *troque*, with the variants *troche*, *truche*, *etc.*, and means "troops." This *torche* is perhaps a derivative of *torquere* and goes back to the original meaning, "sheaf."

(20) *vernes*, 152, is translated by Suchier as "prow of a boat." It seems more probably to mean the "mast" or "yards," as in the *Roland* and the *Brendan*.

These examples mark some of the more interesting, or more obscure, passages in the poem. They are perhaps not momentous in their importance, but they are at least sufficient to indicate that the vocabulary contains much of interest.

IV.—VERSIFICATION

One would expect a newly discovered poem of the antiquity of the *Willame* to be significant from the point of view of versification. The poem amply justifies such expectations. It is written (or perhaps in view of the corrupt state of the manuscript one should say, was written), in the usual decasyllabic metre of the epics; but there are several perfect alexandrine lines. Of course one may say that by the mathematical law of probabilities, in a song where thirty-four per cent. of the lines are incorrect decasyllabics, a few would happen to be correct twelve-syllable lines. But aside from chance, even a passably correct manuscript would probably show a few alexandrines, as does indeed the sorely incorrect Oxford manuscript of the *Roland*. These twelve-syllable lines are the following (omitting certain lines where there is clearly an addition of two syllables by an earlier or later scribe): 6, 1504, 2083, 2154, 2628, 2650, 2651. Lines 2650 and 2651 are particularly striking since they are the first lines of the *Chanson de Reneward*, a song probably once independent which was attached to an earlier redaction

of the *Chançon de Willame*. More than in *Aliscans*, the point of connection is clearly marked, and strikingly so, by these two alexandrines:

2650: De la quisine al rei issit un bachelier
Deschalcez e en langes, si n'out point de solders.

One would almost believe that the original *Reneward*, like the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, was written in alexandrines. The lines are easily corrected to decasyllabic, however, and since no other alexandrine occurs in the rest of this part of the poem, it seems probable that the original read:

De la quisine issit uns bachelers,
Nu piés, en langes, n'out cauche ne solders.

The reading of the second line is found in a parallel description of *Reneward* given in *Aliscans*, at line 3329. The verse in *Aliscans* was evidently derived from the same source as this line in the *Willame*. For a critical text one may regret to change any of these alexandrine lines, for it seems in every case that the twelve-syllable verse reads better than the reduced ten-syllable line, but it may be doubted whether any of the alexandrines were found in the original.

Elision and hiatus are maintained about as in the *Chanson de Roland*. The most interesting points are the elision of the singular article *li* and of the *-e* of the 3rd person singular present indicative of the first conjugation. In the first part of the poem, *li* in the singular elides or not at will when a vowel follows; in the plural, never. In the second half of the poem, the hiatus of the singular articles is found only five times, viz., at lines 2107, 2201, 2293, 2460, 2644. After line 2650, as Mr. Weeks has stated, elision does not occur.¹⁹

As to the verbs, elision or hiatus at will seems to be the rule for the whole poem. Suchier maintains, against the testimony of the manuscript, that in the first part of the poem the *-e* of the third person singular present indicative always stands in hiatus when a vowel follows. He says:

“Die 3. Sg. auf *-et* behält vor vokalischem Anlaut die vollsilbige Endung in 14 korrekt überlieferten Versgliedern. . . . Für

¹⁹ *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 243.

die Apostrophierung sind 9 Fälle überliefert. . . . Ich habe diese neun Verse, meist durch Streichen von *e*, *dunc*, *li*, *que*, berichtigt. Es verdient Erwähnung, dass der Schreiber einige Male den auslautenden Dental geschrieben hat (entred v. 16 . . .) und dass er mehrfach die Präsensform mit der Perfektform vertauscht hat. . . ."²⁰

The cases of elision are found in lines 65, 795, 810, 903, 912, 1246, 1819, 1831, 1840 (Suchier omits 810). Four of these ten verses read as well in Suchier's edition as in the manuscript, eliminating, as he says, only unimportant words. The other verses support the manuscript, however, for the retention of the elision. Without overwhelming proof of the necessity of changing the manuscript reading it seems preferable to leave these verbs in elision as the manuscript shows them, in the belief that the language was in a state of transition between the consistent hiatus found in the *Alexis* and the consistent elision of later poems. The loss of the *-t* and consequent elision of the *-e* had already begun at the end of the eleventh century, hence it is not impossible in a poem of the apparent age of the first part of the *Willame*. Gaston Paris accepts for the *Roland* the theory that the hiatus is the work of the author: "l'élision serait le fait d'un copiste rajeunisseur." But both author and copyist worked before 1080, the date he assigns for the present redaction of the *Roland* in which elision is found twenty times, hiatus thirty-nine times.²¹ In the *Chançon de Willame*, it seems more probable, then, considering all the evidence, that the original of both parts of the poem used elision or hiatus at will.

When one comes to study the *laisses* of the early part of the song one feels most keenly the inadequacy of the redaction of the poem that has come down to us. The *laisses* that describe Vivien's first battle (lines 1-829) are very short, some of only two or three lines. They seem mere broken fragments, and no one can help feeling that we have lost a great deal of the original poem. Particularly in this first part, the poem shows evidences of having been taken down from spoken recitation. As Mr. Weeks has so vividly

²⁰ Suchier, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

²¹ Gaston Paris, *Compte-Rendu* of: Fr. Hill, *Über das Metrum und Sprache der Chanson de Roland*, Paris and Strasbourg, 1874, in *Romania*, III, pp. 398-401.

suggested, it seems the recital of an old *jongleur*, trying to recall the poem by repeating it to some young friend who took it at his dictation. One can feel the hesitant memory, as of an old man, in the little scraps of *laissez* in which he relates his story. Who can tell but that the *chanson* crossed the channel in the mind and memory of a *jongleur* rather than in a manuscript?

As regards the assonance, several points may be noted:

(1) *An* and *en* are kept separate in the first part of the poem, in the second they are mingled. This is Suchier's strongest argument for the Norman origin of the part that he published. Poems written as early as this, or earlier, in other parts of France, such as the *Voyage de Charlemagne* and the *Roland*, already show the intermingling of these two nasal sounds.²²

It is even possible that the poet of the first part admitted words ending in *an* in an *a* *laisse*. The manuscript shows several examples of this feature, which may, however, be entirely due to copyists.²³

(2) *Ai* is assonant with *a* or with *e*, more commonly with *a*, as in the *Alexis* and the older poems. One might repeat concerning the language of the *Chançon de Willame* what Gaston Paris says of the *Roland*. "En ce point comme en d'autres, la langue du Roland est en pleine transition."^{24 25} The most interesting features of the *ai-a* assonance are to be found in two *laissez*, the first comprising lines 474-483, the second, lines 2792-2812.

²² Mr. Weeks had already discussed the assonance of the name, *Viviën*, *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 244.

²³ In lines 318-320 three words in *an-e* seem well imbedded in the sense of the *laisse*, which is in *a-e* and any correction of the assonance to pure *a-e* is very awkward. Cf. Suchier, *Vivien*, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXIX, p. 655 n. Rechnitz, *op. cit.*, notes on lines 315, 473, 715.

²⁴ Gaston Paris, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, p. 37.

²⁵ Outside of the two *laissez*, which are considered separately, the following words are assonant in *a* in the first part of the poem: *aigue*, *suffraite*, *aguait*, *vait*; the following in *è*, *desmaille*, *aigues*, *maistre faire*, *mais*, *ait*, *repaire*. In the second half of the poem those assonant in *a* are: *aigue*, *faire*, *adoberai*, *durrai*. Out of a total of 134 lines assonant in *è* in this half of the *chanson* no one shows a form in *ai* except *desmaille* (line 2130). The last word is interesting. Words in *aille*, where the *i* is more of a consonant than a vowel, are usually assonant in *a*. This word *desmaille* appears twice, both times in *è-e* *laisse* (lines 1832 and 2130). Suchier changes the word to *desclavelet* at line 1832, but it seems better to accept the testimony of the manuscript, since the form occurs twice.

The first *laisse* begins, according to the manuscript:

474: Uiuïen garde par mi une champaigne;
 Deuant ses oilz vit la fere compaigne,
 Del mielz de France pur grant bataille faire.
 Mult en vit de els gisir a tere.
 Dunc tort ses mains, tire sun chef e sa barbe,
 Plure de ses oilz, si li moille sa face.

The *laisse* continues for four lines in *a-e*. This *laisse* (written as one in the manuscript), Suchier divides into two, making the first four lines assonant in *è-e* and leaving the last six a separate *laisse* in *a-e*. His edition reads:

LII

Viviëns guardet par mi un champ sur l'erbe.
 Devant ses oeilz vit la compaigne bele
 del mielz de France pur grant bataille faire:
 mulz en vit d'els gisir malmis a terre.

LIII

Dunc tort ses mains, tiret chevels e barbe, . . .

As is often the case, this seems to be an instance in which Suchier has not given enough weight to the testimony of his manuscript. The assonance of *aigne* in *a-e* is possible, since the vowel was not necessarily nasalized, particularly before *gn* and so would be assonant in *a-e*. Line 477 is the only strong indication of a *laisse* in *è-e* but that is evidently corrupt. Twice earlier in the *chanson* occurs the phrase, *l'abat mort en la place*, at lines 327 and 447. It seems that there we had originally: *Mulz en vit d'els gisir morz en la place*. A scribe, writing later, to whom *faire* could no longer rhyme in *a-e* but must rhyme in *è-e*, probably changed *en la place* to *a tere*, and the breaking up of the original line was begun.

The other *laisse* which shows a striking mixture of *ai-e* and *a-e* in the assonance occurs in the second part of the poem, lines 2792-2812. The *laisse* is so interesting that it may well be quoted in full:

Uillame cheualche *par* les pius e les vals
 E les muntaines, que pas ne se targat;
 Vint a Orenge que forment desirad.

- 2795: A un perun descent de sun cheual;
 Dame Guiburc les degrez deualad,
 Par grant amur la franche li baisad.
 Puis li demande: "Qu'as tu en France fait?"
 "Nent el que ben, madame, si vus plaist.
- 2800: *Car* vint mil homes en amein ben, e mais,
 Que l'emperere de France me chargeat.
 Estre la force de mi parent leal,
 Quarante mille, la merci Dev, en ai."
 "Ne vient il dunc?" "Nun dame." "Ço m'est laid."
- 2805: "Malade gist a sa chapele a Es."
 E dist Guiburc: "Cest vers auez vus fait:
 S'il ore gist, ia ne releue il mes."
 "Ne uoille Dev qui tote rien ad fait!"
 Willame munte *par* le marbrin paleis,
- 2810: A sun tinel Reneward vait apres;
 Cels qui l'esgardent le tienent pur boisnard,
 (E) as quanz le crement, que trestuz les tuast.²⁶

Of these twenty-one lines, 1-6, 10, 11, 20 and 21, end in an *a* assonance, 7-9, 12-19, in *ai*. The *laisse* reads with almost perfect metrical cadence and with the vigor and force of good narrative style. It is the only *laisse* in *a* to show such a high percentage of *ai* lines and that would seem to point to its being primitive. It is striking that this older assonance should be found precisely here, because the significance of the lines points to an older redaction of the story than the one that is represented by the rest of this part of the poem. This emperor who "malade gist a sa chapele a Es," and who according to Guiburc's prophecy will not recover from his illness, cannot be the Louis whom we left at court at Laon some fifty lines before. The emperor who had his traditional capital at Aix-la-Chapelle was Charlemagne. As Mr. Weeks has shown: "It is . . . likely that the action of the *Renoart* was placed during the lifetime of Charlemagne, and that he is the emperor referred to in this singular passage."²⁷ From the earlier poem, this well-written scene of Willame's return crept into the new *chançon* without one's

²⁶ Suggested corrections: 2792 *Li quons chevalchet*—2810 *apres vait*;—2812 *nes tuast*.—In lines 2804-8 the manuscript indicates the separation of the speeches by periods.

²⁷ *Modern Philology*, III, no. 2 (1905), p. 231.

noticing, or caring about, the contradiction as to the emperor. The old form of assonance corroborates the evidence of the sense of the passage.—M. Bédier draws a surprising inference from this passage. He says: "Le poète de la *Chanson de Guillaume* semble avoir connu un poème du *Couronnement de Louis*: . . . Surtout ses récits supposent que Louis a d'anciennes et grandes obligations à Guillaume et qu'il l'a payé d'ingratitude. . . ." In a note at this point, Bédier adds: "Voyez surtout les propos méprisants que tient Guibourc à l'égard du roi (vv. 2803-5)." Does he interpret the present indicative tense of the manuscript, *releue*, which here seems to have the force of the future, as more probably a mistake for the subjunctive, the line thus expressing a wish on Guiburc's part instead of a prophecy?²⁸

(3) Two other assonances of the poem are interesting from the point of view of dialect. The scribes have almost always written *e* for *ie* (i. e., *é* for *ié*), but in the assonances the two sounds were kept rigorously distinct by the poet. The author, however, rhymed *i* derived from *e* + *i* and *i*. Suchier gives four examples for the first part of the poem: *pris*, 68, 362, *dis*, 284, 748. In the second part, the *laisses* in *i* are rarer but we find *ivre* derived from *ebrius* assonant in *i-e* at line 2601. In the *Roland* these two *i*'s are not so combined, which is one of Gaston Paris' arguments for the Avranchin origin of the poem.¹⁶ Similarly Suchier says that this treatment of the two sounds in the *Willame* excludes West Normandy as a possible home of the poet.

V.—THE REFRAIN

In discussing the versification of the poem we have treated the metre and assonance. It now remains to speak of one of the most interesting peculiarities of the *Chançon de Willame*, the refrain. This refrain is a short verse of four syllables always introducing some day of the week. In the course of the poem it occurs forty-one times: thirty-one times we find *lunsdi al vespre*; seven times, *ioesdi al vespre*; three times, *lores fu me cresdi*.²⁹ According to the

²⁸ Bédier, *Légendes Épiques* (1914), I, p. 351.

²⁹ For some suggestions of the relation of this refrain to the *petit vers* in certain manuscripts of the cycle de Guillaume, see Raymond Weeks, *op. cit.*, *Modern Philology*, III, no. 2, p. 230, n. 1.

manuscript it is placed either at the end of a *laisse* followed by a ten-syllable line assonant with it in *è-e*, or at the beginning of a *laisse* in *è-e*. The former arrangement predominates and, according to Suchier and to Rechnitz, was the only original type: according to Rechnitz' theory, which Suchier finally accepted instead of his own for his edition, the refrain standing at the head of an *è-e* *laisse* represents a mere manuscript corruption. We shall return to this question later.

Another question is, Has the refrain any time-significance? A reading of the poem gives one the impression that by far the greatest artistic value of the *petit vers* lies, not in any chronological implication but in the note of tragic foreboding which these four syllables gather about themselves in cumulative effect by their repetition. It reminds one of like recurring phrases in the Old English ballads, of *Lord Rendal*, e. g., with the haunting pathos of its refrain, something quite apart from and beyond the mere meaning of the syllables. Yet it should be said that, besides this artistic effect, it is certainly true that at each occurrence for the first time of the two minor refrains the reference is definitely to the day mentioned. The *ioesdi al vespre* verse occurs first at line 1128. The *laisse* preceding reads:

- 1121: Cele bataille durad tut vn lundī
 E al demain e tresqu'a mecredi
 Qu'el(e) n'alaschat ne hure ne prist fin,
 Iusqu'al ioesdi deuant prime un petit,
 1125: Que li Franceis ne fin(er)ent de ferir
 Ne cil d'Arabe ne cess(er)ent de ferir.
 1127: Des homes Willame n'en i remist un vif,
 1129: Fors treis escuz qu'il out al champ tenir.
 1128: Ioesdi al uespre.⁸⁰

This refrain recurs six times after line 1128, viz., in lines 1165, 1209, 1228, 1297, 1401, 1483. Of these seven repetitions one may say: the first occurrence, line 1128, has definite reference to the last day of Willame's first defeat; three have possible reference to this same day (lines 1165, 1209, 1228); the remaining three have

⁸⁰ Suggested corrections: 1126 d'envair. 1127 Des W. homes. 1128a Ot treis escuz remest suls en la presse. Cf. 760.

only the artistic note of foreboding. The other minor refrain—*lores fu mecredî*, or rather *lors fu dimescre*, as one must read for the assonance—occurs three times (in lines 1781, 1920, 1981). Each time it seems to refer to the last day of Guillaume's second battle, which began on Monday and ended on Wednesday. Of these two minor refrains, then, it is seen that in seven out of ten occurrences, they seem to have a more or less definite time-significance, as well as artistic value.

When we come to the first refrain, however, we find the question more obscure. The first use of the *lunsdi al vespre* follows immediately the prophecy of Vivien's death in the introductory *laisse* of the poem (line 10). In the first half of the poem this refrain occurs twenty-two times (lines 10, 88, 149, 201, 211, 219, 404, 429, 449, 472, 488, 605, 695, 759, 783, 837, 932, 1041, 1064, 1586, 1679, 1762). In these twenty-two recurrences, twice (lines 1587, 1680) the refrain seems to refer to the first day of Guillaume's second battle, which according to line 1770 began on Monday. Six times it refers possibly to Vivien's death (lines 10, 605, 695, 759, 932, 1064). The other fourteen occurrences can have no possible time-significance. The question remains, however, Did the poet really represent Vivien's death as occurring "lunsdi al vespre"? Artistically that is the most dramatic explanation for the poet's choice of *lunsdi*. There is a strong tradition in the cycle that Vivien died in the late afternoon. In the *Chevalerie Vivien* (lines 1888, 1889), Vivien says:

Ne morai pas, ge sai molt bien mon estre,
Ans sera nonne, voire passee vespre.

As to *lunsdi*, very few scholars, surely, will go as far as Suchier, who identifies the battle of the poem with an actual battle that occurred on Monday.³¹ The time-sequence of the poem is so vague that it is very difficult to make any satisfactory chronology. The subject is well treated by Rechnitz, and particularly so by Mr. Hamilton in his book, *The Cyclic Relations of the Chanson de Willame*.³² Both agree that according to the evidence of the present redaction

³¹ Suchier, *op. cit.*, p. lii; also, *Vivien*, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXIX, pp. 641-682.

³² Rechnitz, *Refrain in der "Chanson de Willame."* *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXII (1908), p. 184.—Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

of the poem Vivien's battle ended in his death on Saturday. Hence the *lunsdi* refrain cannot be explained by any definite reference to the day of Vivien's death. The evidence need not be re-canvassed: the reader is referred to Mr. Hamilton's clear analysis of the question. The conclusion to be reached seems to be that the minor refrains, *ioesdi al vespre* and *lores fu me cresdi*, were employed with a time-significance, but the major refrain has no such clear reference, however much artistic feeling may point to that reason for the choice of *lunsdi*.

In considering this difference of significance between the minor refrains and the major refrain, one is confronted with the question, Are these three refrains to be traced to one and the same author? If the poet who used the *ioesdi al vespre* and *me cresdi* refrains to denote a definite time was the same poet who is responsible for the *lunsdi* refrain, then probably the principal refrain also, like the minor ones, has a time-significance. If, however, the poet who used the minor refrains was merely an imitator, amplifying a literary device of his predecessor, then his literal use of the minor refrains would prove nothing for the *lunsdi* portion. The study of the refrain leads directly to the question, Must one divide the poem not only at line 1982 into two parts, but again into still smaller fragments?

Mr. Hugh A. Smith has published in the *ROMANIC REVIEW* an analysis of the poem which, however much one may disagree in regard to details, forms *en bloc* the most original contribution to the subject since the appearance of the studies published in the first enthusiasm of discovery.³³ He bases his work upon a comparison of this newly discovered *Willame* rendering of the story with the well-known version of the *Chevalerie Vivien* and of *Aliscans*. As critics have shown, *Aliscans* is merely a later, much amplified redaction of the second part of our poem.³⁴ For the first half, which Suchier considered a unit dating from about 1080, beginning with the defeat of Vivien and ending with the victory of Guillaume and Gui over Deramé, Mr. Smith makes four divisions. He takes as

³³ Hugh A. Smith, *The Composition of the Chanson de Willame*, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, V (1913), pp. 84-111, 149-165.

³⁴ Raymond Weeks, *Études sur Aliscans*, especially *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 1-43.—A. Klapötke, *Das Verhältnis von Aliscans zur Chanson de Guillaume*, Halle, 1907.

his test of delimitation what might seem, at first thought, an indecisive element—precisely this refrain which we have been discussing. The division is as follows; the limits of each section being the first and last lines in which the respective refrain occurs:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|------------|
| (1) <i>lunsdi al vespre,</i> | vv. | 1-1064. |
| (2) <i>ioesdi al vespre,</i> | | 1128-1483. |
| (3) <i>lunsdi al vespre,</i> | | 1586-1762. |
| (4) <i>lors fu mecredi,</i> | | 1781-1981. |
| (5) <i>lunsdi al vespre,</i> | | 2093-3553. |

Section 1 describes the death of Vivien, the return of Girard to Barcelona, the delivery of the message to Guillaume, the first scene in the banquet-hall.

Section 2 describes the first departure from Guillaume's city, the first battle, the death of Guischardet and Girard, the return of Guillaume, the appearance of Guiborc's mysteriously levied army of 30,000, Guillaume's supper and arming next day, imitated from the parallel passages concerning Girard, and the first appearance of Gui.

Section 3 describes Gui's escape from Guiborc, his *adoubement* by his aunt, his return to the army, the beginning of the battle and the imprisonment of the five nephews.

Section 4 tells of Gui's miraculous victory over the Saracens and the death of Deramé.

Section 5 contains what we have called the second part of the poem, the *Aliscans* story.

The striking feature of Mr. Smith's analysis based upon the refrains, as one can see even from so brief a summary as I have here given, is that elements 1, 3, and 5, which are punctuated by the *lunsdi al vespre* refrain, give the story as told in the *Chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans*:

- (1) Vivien's first battle and Girard's mission,
- (3) Guillaume's departure from his city leaving Vivien's younger brother Gui, or Guischard, in Guiborc's care; his escape, and her consent to give him arms; the battle and imprisonment of Guillaume's nephews;
- (5) the *Aliscans* story.

If one accepts the division made by Mr. Smith,—and I think

that in general he proves his case,—the theory throws much light on our study of the refrain.

To return to the question, Did the refrains all have a time-significance? We are now in a position to say that probably the *ioesdi* and *mecresdi* portions are additions to the main lines of the story. The poet who introduced those refrains was imitating the *lundi* portion and chose the day of the week according to the chronology of the events that he was relating. But the fact that these refrains denote a definite day does not prove anything for the original *lunsdi* portion, where the refrain may or may not have had the time-significance.

The remaining question to be solved concerning the refrain is this, Did the refrain originally always follow the *laisse* accompanied by a single line assonant with it in *è-e*, or is the manuscript correct in sometimes placing the *petit vers* at the head of an *è-e* *laisse*? We may for convenience number these two types of refrain as Suchier does: I, the refrain followed by a single line in *è-e*; II, the refrain at the beginning of an *è-e* *laisse*.³⁵ Let us consider the *lunsdi al vespre* portion. In the first part of the poem, where this refrain occurs twenty-two times, in all cases except one (line 219), we have type I. At line 219, it is possible that, contrary to the testimony of the manuscript, the refrain stood originally at the end of the preceding *laisse*. When the *è-e* *laisse* with which the manuscript links the *petit vers* is repeated at line 1107, the refrain has disappeared. In other cases of repetition where a refrain is involved, the refrain is present. Thus the lack of the refrain in the second *laisse* argues for its absence from the first also,—for its relegation, in other words, to the preceding *laisse*. In the second half of the poem the *lunsdi al vespre* refrain occurs nine times. Twice we have what seems to be a misuse of type I (at lines 2328 and 3553). In all other occurrences, however (at lines 2093, 2161, 2209, 2782, 3154, 3439, 3451), the refrain stands at the head of a *laisse* in *è-e*, according to type II.

As to the *ioesdi al vespre* refrain, which occurs seven times, the two types, according to the manuscript, are divided as follows: I,

³⁵ Suchier, in analyzing the use of the refrain in *Vivien* (see note 29), considered both types original. Later he accepted Rechnitz's theory that type I was the only primitive form and his edition made all refrains conform to that type.

four times (at lines 1128, 1228, 1401, 1483); II, three times (at lines 1165, 1209, 1297). Thus type II claims three refrains out of the seven used.

Of the three *mecresdi* refrains the manuscript uses type I once (line 1982, type II twice (lines 1781, 1920). Rechnitz thinks that line 1920 in the original was written according to type I, but the sense of the passage upholds the manuscript in placing the refrain at the head of the *è-e laisse*. To sum up the results of the evidence, type I claims:

lunsdi al vespre (first part of the poem), 21 refrains, perhaps 22, out of 22.

lunsdi al vespre (second part of the poem), only 2, and these incorrectly used, out of 9.

ioesdi al vespre, 4 out of 7.

lors fu mecresdi, 1 out of 3.

Can one find an explanation for this difference between the consistent use of type I, in the first part of the *chanson* and the variable use of one or the other type after line 1062? Rechnitz believed type I to be the only one original to the poet in the whole first part of the poem, considering that part to be a unit. For all three refrains, according to his reasoning, type I is the correct form, and the evidence of the manuscript must be sacrificed to conformity. As I have said, according to his analysis type II could claim only three *ioesdi* refrains and one *mecresdi*. Because type II could be explained by the loss of the accompanying line in *è-e* of type I, before an *è-e laisse*, there seemed to him no reason for making a new class for these four refrains. He says the refrain in the first part must be explained without reference to the second part, since the *remanieur* who joined the two would be apt to continue the major refrain into the second part. As Mr. Weeks has said (in speaking not of the whole second part, to be sure, but of the *Chanson de Reneward*, which, as we have seen, begins at line 2650): "The all but total absence of the peculiar refrain of the beginning of the poem may be taken to indicate that this refrain did not close the *laissez* in the original *Renoart*. The few cases of this refrain at the very end of the poem seem placed there designedly, as if to give the whole an appearance of unity."³⁶ The refrain seems to

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, *Modern Philology*, III, no. 2, p. 230.

have an equally artificial appearance throughout the whole second part of the *chanson*.

But is there not, for the use of the refrain throughout the poem, a better explanation than that of Rechnitz, one more in line with the testimony of the manuscript as to these two types? Since type I,—the refrain accompanied by one line in *è-e*,—is so consistently used throughout the first quarter of the *chanson*, the part that described Vivien's battle, there seems no doubt that it was the form used by the primitive poet. But in the other parts of the poem this may not be the case. In the light of Mr. Smith's investigations about the *ioesdi* and *mecresdi* portions, it is significant that type II predominates precisely in those portions, and in the second part of the *chanson* where it has a manifestly imitative, artificial ring. Is not the refrain in those portions an imitation of the *lunsdi* refrain in the first part? The poet who sang of Vivien's death used a refrain, *lunsdi al vespre*, as to which we cannot be certain whether it was chosen for its time-significance or not. The poet who introduced into the *Chançon de Willame* the passage characterized by the *ioesdi* and *mecresdi* refrains, in imitation of the original which he was continuing, used a refrain for which he chose the day of the week on which began the two battles, the defeat and the victory of which he sang. Being an imitator, not the originator of the form, he was not consistent about the use of the refrain and so sometimes placed it at the head of an *è-e laisse*, which because of its assonance seemed to offer the natural place for it. Later the second part of the *chanson* was added to the first part by the obvious *soudure* which suddenly changed Guillaume's victory into defeat and shuffled the marvelous little Gui off the stage never to reappear. This redactor, not being a poet like the author of the beautiful *ioesdi* and *mecresdi* portions, but only a *remanieur* joining two already existent songs, used the refrain more carelessly. Usually he placed it with the least effort to himself at the head of an *è-e laisse*. Twice he tried to imitate the original type and affected the deformation of type I represented by lines 2328 and 3553. For the variation in the use of the refrain we venture to offer, then, this tentative explanation: the refrain is used consistently, according to type I, in the oldest part of the poem. In later parts imitators hesitated between the primitive type I and the easier type II.

Perhaps our study of the refrain should end here, but what we have been discussing points towards further conclusions which may be briefly outlined. M. Bédier inveighs against the critics who, blind to the beauties of the poems as we have them, insist on breaking them up into older forms in a pedantic effort to force the medieval poets to be consistent. But does not this study of the refrain show that behind the beautiful series of pictures presented by our poem—a series hardly equalled for its artistic appeal by any other epic—we may see other poems from which the poet-*jongleur* who transcribed this song selected the effective “bits” for his répertoire? If one looks at the present poem as “selections from the opera of Guillaume” rather than as the opera itself, if one frankly accepts the composite character of the poem, does not one find answers to questions that have perturbed students of the cycle from the beginning?

Scholars have admired, but have been suspicious of, the abrupt beginning of *Aliscans*. Here is a version of *Aliscans*, fifty years older than the one we knew, with the same abrupt beginning which is all the more conspicuous here from the contrast with Gui's victory. Let us consider for a moment another poem of the cycle, *Foucon de Candie*, a poem which, in spite of its tedious style, does not merit the disregard in which it has been held by most scholars. Its author, Herbert le Duc de Dammartin, has been a puzzling figure. He had a wide acquaintance with the tradition of the cycle of Guillaume, as numerous valuable hints of his poem prove. Writing about 1195, he must have known some version of *Aliscans*, yet he felt no compunctions about picking up the story of Vivien at the time of the hero's death and writing an entirely new *dénouement* to the honor of his hero, Foucon de Candie. Moreover, the poet of the *ioesdi* and *mecresdi* portions of our chanson writes an entirely different poem to describe the vengeance perpetrated on the Saracens for Vivien's death, a continuation which he fuses most cleverly with the old primitive tragedy.

Do not all these indications go to show that the original poem of Vivien ended with the hero's death? A tragic ending seems more primitive; it is only later that the natural desire for vengeance asserts itself. The primitive English ballads often end in tragedy. Who of us, reading Gaston Paris' *Extraits de la Chanson de*

Roland, in which appears not one word of the triumphant vengeance, desires—as M. Bédier would have it—the rest? Do we not feel that in the tragedy lies the potency of the *chanson*? In the case of the poem of Vivien it seems as if a primitive tragedy, the song of his heroic death, must have existed long enough to be recognized as a separate entity. Then, one after another, were written various accounts of vengeance for this defeat. The victory which Gui and Guillaume gain over Deramé forms one ending, perhaps by no means the first *dénouement* to be written. Guillaume and Reneward are the avengers of Vivien's death according to *Aliscans* and its tradition, which we see in an earlier form—but probably still not the first—in the second part of the *Chançon de Willame*. Finally, regardless of these various poems, Herbert le Duc, writing towards the close of the thirteenth century, again feels free to offer a still different *dénouement* to the Vivien tragedy, in the form of *Foucon de Candie*. If a brief study of the refrain in the *Chançon de Willame* may seem to lead us naturally to a tentative suggestion as to the formation of this part of the cycle, the establishment of such a theory could of course be effected only by a much more detailed investigation of the problem.

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MISCELLANEOUS

DON GARCIA DE MENDOZA IN ERCILLA'S *ARAUCANA*

ERCILLA'S *Araucana*, the first work of real literary merit written on either American continent, is generally regarded as the best epic poem written in Spanish.

The life of its author is well known. Born in Madrid on August 7, 1533, Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga belonged to one of the most illustrious Spanish families. His father, Fortunio García de Ercilla, was one of the famous juriconsults of the day. His writings were studied and commented upon in all the law schools of Europe. He had even been chosen by Emperor Charles V as preceptor for the prince of Asturias, the future Philip II, when he suddenly died in 1534, at the age of forty years.

His son, the future author of the *Araucana*, was then thirteen months old. He received his early education at the Spanish court; and, later, became attached as a page to king Philip II. In 1555, when the marriage of the king of Spain to Mary, queen of England, was agreed upon, Ercilla accompanied Philip II to Winchester. It was there, during the festivals given in honor of the royal marriage, that he heard for the first time of the Araucanian rebellion.

His love of glory was aroused at once. It was only a few years since Francisco Pizarro, with a handful of adventurers, had conquered the empire of the Incas. The young poet had heard with enthusiasm of the new-discovered land, of the luxuriant vegetation, of trees as high as mountains, of the gigantic Cordilleras, of heaps of gold filling entire palaces, of men of a new type, of fortunes, of battles; and his poetic and chivalrous mind had been excited. He also would go and conquer empires, and sing of battles. There, in that distant land which appeared to him like one of the enchanted realms of a fairy tale, he would find the glory he coveted. And thus, when an expedition for Peru was organized under Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Cañete, he asked and readily obtained the king's permission to join it.

This expedition set sail for America on the fifteenth of October, 1555. After nine months of navigation, it reached the Peruvian coast. Hurtado de Mendoza at once sent an expedition against the Araucanians. His own son, Don García, a youth of twenty-one, was appointed general, and Alonso de Ercilla accompanied him.

Our poet thus took an active part in the war he was destined to sing. He was one of the intrepid youths whom Don García sent to build a fort at Penco at the beginning of the campaign, and who there withstood the assaults of the Indians until the arrival of an additional force. He gave new proofs of his courage at the battles of Biobio and Millarapué, in November, 1557. At Puren, in January, 1558, by his coolness and courage, he saved all his men from an almost certain death. Later, learning that the garrison at Tucapel was in great danger, he boldly crossed the country of the enemy and hastened to save his companions in arms. He took an active part in other signal victories, and joined an expedition to capture the Indian chief Caupolican, who had fled to the mountains. In the expedition of Don García towards the south, abandoned by an Indian guide, he and his companions wandered for twelve days in inextricable forests, without food and without shelter, now in the midst of a marshy, pestilential ground, now in a land full of precipices. He infused new courage into the hearts of his despairing companions, and they all finally reached La Imperial in safety.

Unfortunately, at this very moment of Ercilla's career, when the star of the young poet seemed to shine with ever new splendor, there occurred an incident which completely changed the course of his life. During a joust which was given at La Imperial to commemorate the victory of the Spanish troops, Ercilla had a quarrel with one of his companions, Juan de Pineda. The cause of the quarrel was insignificant. The question had arisen which of the two knights had given the luckier thrust, and each claimed the victory. From harsh words they came to blows, until Don García, who believed the whole affair to be a challenge to his authority, condemned both rivals to be beheaded on the public square.

Ercilla and Pineda actually ascended the gallows, and would have been executed if the clamor of the crowd demanding their re-

lease had not prevailed upon the young general to revoke the sentence.

Soon afterwards, Pineda entered a monastery. As for Ercilla, after spending a few months in prison, he joined a new military expedition. He again took an active part in sieges and battles, but he was no longer the gallant soldier of former days. His ardor was forever gone. Disheartened and disgusted, he finally returned to Spain in 1562.

Seven years later, the first part of the *Araucana* was given to the public.

It has been repeatedly asserted that Ercilla, indignant at Don García's behavior and unable to forgive him, had studiously omitted his name throughout the *Araucana*. We are all familiar with Fitzmaurice-Kelly's excellent *History of Spanish Literature*. "Ercilla," he says, "never forgave what he thought the injustice of his general, García Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Cañete, and carefully omits his name throughout the *Araucana*." "The omission," he continues, "cost him dear, for he was never employed again."

The same belief is found to be prevalent among French writers. "Le souvenir de cette injustice," says Lucien Dollfus in his article on Ercilla in the "Grande Encyclopédie," "lui fit oublier à dessein le nom de son chef dans ses vers."

The Spaniards are still more emphatic in their assertions. Here are the words of Angel Salcedo y Ruiz in his "Resumen histórico-crítico de la Literatura española": "El soldado poeta no le perdonó (a D. García) su severidad. Condenó a perpetuo silencio el nombre del general, no citándole en La Araucana una vez siquiera. Y eso que la omisión perjudicaba notablemente al poema. Ahí es nada en una epopeya militar callarse el nombre del caudillo. Mas, por sacar un ojo al enemigo, aunque uno pierda los dos."

We see that, according to Salcedo, the name of Don García is not even mentioned a single time in the *Araucana*. Hence the humorous sarcasm of the author. What are we to think of an epic poet who forgets the name of his hero? What of a theatrical manager who would give us the play of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark?

If Ercilla omits Don García's name throughout the *Araucana*,

this omission is indeed a serious defect. It is all the more so because the *Araucana* is regarded by the majority of critics less as an epic poem than as a rhymed chronicle, in which the author endeavors to be faithful to historical truth, and to follow step by step the course of events. But, if such be the case, what are we to think of a historian who intentionally omits the name of the general who won the battle?

In point of fact, the assertion that Ercilla omits Don García's name from his poem seems to be one of those historical errors which we occasionally see transmitted from one text-book into another for an indefinite length of time. In the present study, I shall at first show that Don García's name, far from being omitted, is repeatedly mentioned in the *Araucana*. I shall then endeavor to prove that Don García's character is rather embellished by the light of poetry and shines with a purer and brighter luster than the young, rash general whom we know from history.

As has been repeatedly asserted, the *Araucana* is not so much an epic poem as a rhymed chronicle. It is the whole history of the Araucanian campaign written in poetical form. But this campaign was not conducted—at least in so far as the Spaniards are concerned—by a single general. Before Don García de Mendoza reached Peru, the campaign had been conducted in turn by Pedro de Valdivia and by Villagrán. And this first part of the war, which Ercilla did not see, occupies the first eleven cantos of the poem. In these eleven cantos, of course, no mention is made, nor can be made, of Don García.

Early in the year 1557, Hurtado de Mendoza, marqués de Cañete, arrived in Peru as a viceroy. The Chilean deputies then came to ask him for his son Don García, to lead them against the Indians. An account of their deputation is given in the thirteenth canto of the poem:

A tu hijo ¡oh Marqués! te demandamos,
en quien tanta virtud y gracia cabe,
porque con su persona confiamos
que nuestra desventura y mal se acabe:
de sus partes, señor, nos contentamos
pues que por natural cosa se sabe,
(y aun acá en el común es habla vieja)

que nunca del león nació la oveja.
Y pues hay tanta falta de guerreros,
haciendo esta jornada Don García,
se moverá el comun, y caballeros,
alegres de llevar tan buena guía.¹

The marquis of Cañete granted their request, and Don García de Mendoza found himself at the head of the expedition. He at once embarked for Chile, taking Ercilla with him.

Soon after his arrival, the Araucanians sent a deputation, headed by Millalauco, to beg for peace. It is to the new general, Don García, that the Indian applied:

Llegado al pabellon de don García,
hallándome con otros yo presente,
con una moderada cortesía
nos saludó a su modo, alegremente.²

Don García welcomed the ambassador and accepted with enthusiasm the proposed cessation of hostilities:

Oída la embajada, don García,
haciéndole gracioso acogimiento,
en suma respondió: que agradecía
la propuesta amistad y ofrecimiento.³

The Spaniards, however, having built a fortress at Penco, the Araucanians attacked them. A terrible battle took place. Don García fought like a brave soldier. By his words and his example, he led his men to victory. This was the battle of Penco, which took place in September, 1557:

Don García de Mendoza entre su gente;
su cuartel con esfuerzo defendía,
al gran furor y bárbara violencia
haciendo suficiente resistencia.⁴

Two months later, at Millarapué, Don García was again at the head of his men, full of energy and activity, haranguing his troops,

¹ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XIII, 13, 14.

² Ercilla, *Araucana*, XVI, 83.

³ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XVII, 14.

⁴ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XIX, 48.

and infusing courage into the hearts of his soldiers, by words and deeds:

Don García de Mendoza no paraba,
antes como animoso y diligente,
unas veces airado peleaba,
otras iba esforzando allí la gente.⁵

There is only one instance in the campaign in which Don García does not appear at the head of his troops. It is in the last battle before Caupolicán's death, when so great a slaughter of the Araucanians was made. The wily Indian chief had found out by means of spies that the Spanish general was absent, and he intentionally took advantage of his absence to engage the battle:

Que de cierto espión era avisado
como la gente que en defensa había,
demás de estar segura y descuidada,
era poca, bisoña y desarmada;
Que el capitán ausente había llevado
la plática en la guerra y escogida,
de no volver atrás determinado
hasta dejar la tierra reducida:
y en las nuevas conquistas ocupado,
sin poder ser la plaza socorrida.⁶

This battle took place at the end of January or at the beginning of February, 1558.

And yet, Ercilla does not omit Don García's name in the books destined to describe the battle. On the contrary, he seems anxious to prove that he has not forgotten his general. He presents him to us as organizing the country and establishing everywhere the reign of justice:

Mas si me dais licencia yo quería,
(para que más a tiempo esto refiera)
alcanzar, si pudiese, a Don García,
aunque es diversa y larga la carrera:
el cual en el turbado reino había
reformado los pueblos, de manera
que puso con solícito cuidado
la justicia y gobierno en buen estado.⁷

⁵ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XXV, 57.

⁶ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XXX, 40, 41.

⁷ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XXXIV, 45.

This article might well be ended here. Ercilla mentions Don García's name in every battle, and he always represents him as a brave general, leading his men to victory by his words and example. His courage appears not only when he is at the head of his troops but as a private soldier he also excites our admiration. Once an Indian messenger came to invite him to single combat with the mighty Caupolicán, the brave and terrible Indian chief whose name had been a terror to the Spaniards for so long a time. Don García accepts the challenge with intrepidity:

Don García le responde: "Soy contento
de acetar el combate, y le aseguro
que al plazo puesto y señalado asiento
podrá a su voluntad venir seguro."⁸

Soon after the publication of the poem, however, the powerful family of the Mendozas appeared dissatisfied with the secondary rôle assigned to Don García. If there existed an epic poem about the Chilean campaign, they thought that Don García ought to occupy in it the place which Aeneas occupies in Virgil's poem. And a host of flatterers did not fail to rise and encourage them in their dream. In 1613, Cristobal Suárez de Figueroa published a life of García de Mendoza. It is full of flattery for Don García and of injustice for the author of the *Araucana*. "Ercilla," says Figueroa, "wrote the wars of Arauco, carrying them on by means of a body without a head." The same spirit of flattery appears in *Españoles en Chile*, written in 1665 by Francisco González de Bustos.

Dramatists, as well as historians, seemed anxious to make up for the deficiencies of the great narrative poet.

In 1622, a play appeared, entitled: *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza*. It is a poor attempt at adulation. On its title page it professes to be the work of Luis de Belmonte, but, in a sort of table of contents, is ascribed to eight other poets, among whom are Antonio Mira de Mescua, Luis Velez de Guevara, and Guillén de Castro.

Finally, a new epic poet, Pedro de Oña, set himself the task of writing a new *Araucana*, a poem with a hero destined to supplant Ercilla's work altogether. Under the influence of this laud-

⁸ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XXV, 13.

able intention he wrote his *Arauco domado*, a long epic poem, published in 1596,—the most wearisome book I ever read.

In point of flattery, Oña's poem surpasses everything else that has been written in honor of Don García. And yet I confess that, so far as I am concerned, I prefer the Don García of the *Araucana* to the embellished hero of the *Arauco domado*, and, for the matter of that, of all the other more recent writers.

It is true, in the *Arauco domado* flattering epithets are found at every page. Don García becomes a wise youth, a new Achilles, the great legislator of the New World, etc., "el joven sabio, el nuevo Aquiles, el gran legislador del nuevo mundo, el joven milagroso, el médico tan sabio;" but a few details, perhaps historical, present him as violent and fanatical. In one instance, in which he found a sentinel asleep, both Figueroa and Pedro de Oña represent him as unable to wait for the course of justice. Violent and arbitrary, he himself at once wounded the careless soldier with his sword and would have caused him to be hanged on the spot, had not his men prevailed upon him and appeased his anger:

Llamóle en alta voz la vez primera
para certificarse si dormía;
mas visto que roncando respondía,
airado le llamó de otra manera;
porque la secutiva espada fuera,
de que era digna ya su letargía,
le dio tan duro golpe en un molledo,
que de llevarle el brazo estuvo un dedo.
Hirióle, cuando justa malamente,
mandándole colgar al punto luego,
mas alcanzó perdon mediante el ruego
y la necesidad que había de gente.⁹

In another instance, both Figueroa and Pedro de Oña, wishing to lay emphasis upon the deep religious sentiments of Don García, represent him as lying down on the road where a procession of the Blessed Sacrament was about to pass, and compelling the priest to walk over his body. Here Oña praises the humility of his hero and the good example he gave to the Indians who witnessed the deed; but modern writers seem rather inclined to see in Don García's conduct nothing but an act of fanaticism.

⁹ Oña, *Arauco domado*, VIII.

El hecho fue que cuando el pan del cielo
 en procesión al templo se traía,
 por dar ejemplo al indio que atendía
 se derribó a medirse con el suelo
 haciendo que el presbítero sin duelo
 por cima dél hiciese paso y vía,
 tratando con el pie su cuerpo humano
 pues el de Dios trataba con la mano.
 Fue un acto de humildad aventajada
 para dejar al bárbaro enseñado,
 que en las personas altas de su estado
 es la virtud que más a Dios agrada;
 pues cuando bien parece la llanada
 en la sublime cumbre del collado,
 parece la humildad alla en la cima
 del hombre que es tenido en mas estima.¹⁰

How much more attractive, how superior to this rash, inconsiderate youth, is Don García in the *Araucana*! There he is brave without being rash; religious, not fanatical. He knows how to fight and lead his men to victory. He knows how to organize the country and establish everywhere the reign of law and justice. Beloved of his men, merciful toward the conquered race, he expresses himself at the same time with force and greatness. Which one of the petty flatterers who have endeavored to debase Ercilla's work has put as noble thoughts as the following in the mouth of his hero?:

Lo que yo os pido de mi parte y digo
 es, que en estas batallas y revueltas,
 aunque os haya ofendido el enemigo,
 jamás vos le ofendáis a espaldas vueltas;
 antes le defended como al amigo,
 si, volviéndose a vos, las armas sueltas,
 rehuyere el morir en la batalla
 pues es más dar la vida que quitalla.
 Poned a todo en la razón la mira,
 por que las armas siempre habeis tomado,
 que, pasando los términos la ira,
 pierde fuerza el derecho ya violado;
 pues cuando la razón no frena y tira
 el ímpetu y furor demasiado,

¹⁰ Oña, *Arauco domado*, III.

el rigor excesivo en el castigo
justifica la causa al enemigo.¹¹

Interesting monographs have been lately written about the achievements of Don García as an explorer, and it will be worth while to consider him briefly under this aspect. Before Don García was entrusted with the government of Chile, various expeditions had been undertaken to explore the southern part of the country. Pedro de Valdivia, in 1552, and Francisco de Villagrán, in 1553, had gone as far south as the canal of Chacao and the gulf of Ancud. In 1558, when the power of the Araucanian Indians was practically destroyed, Don García made up his mind to continue exploring the south of the country; and, if possible, to reach the strait of Magellan. This is the expedition to which I have already alluded, when the Spaniards, abandoned by their guide, suffered incredible hardships and were finally compelled to abandon their project. Don García believed, however, that he had gone farther towards the south than anybody before him, and his belief was shared, not only by his companions, but by all historians until recent years. As late as the year 1900, Jean Ducamin, in his excellent biography of Ercilla, was of opinion that the expedition had reached the canal of Chacao and the island of Chiloe. The historical works of the Chilean writers Thayer Ojeda, Alberto Edwards and Crescente Errázuriz prove, however, that this is not the case. Don García's expedition did not go farther than the bay of Reloncaví and did not ever attain the point previously reached by Valdivia or Villagrán.¹² In point of fact, the expedition is now admitted to have been a complete failure. Ercilla, however, shared the belief of his companions; and, here, as everywhere else, he does full justice to his general:

Dije que don García había arribado,
con práctica y lucida compañía
al término de Chile señalado,
de do nadie jamás pasado había.¹³

¹¹ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XXI, 55, 56.

¹² Cf. Thayer Ojeda, *Observaciones acerca del viaje de D. García Hurtado de Mendoza a las provincias de los Coronados y Ancud*, Santiago de Chile, 1913; A. Edwards, *Algunas indicaciones sobre el itinerario de don García Hurtado de Mendoza, en su viaje a los archipiélagos de Ancud*; *Rev. chilena de historia y geografía*, 1913; C. Errázuriz, *la Expedición austral de don García de Mendoza*, Id., 1913.

¹³ Ercilla, *Araucana*, XXXV, 4.

It is curious to observe that, in the opinion of modern historians, Don García undertook the journey towards the south because, up to that time, he had not yet done anything worthy of mention: "He had not distinguished himself in any engagement," says Errázuriz, "nor in any undertaking worthy of his name and ambition. The victories against the Indians were not of great importance, nor had they been won by him. His captains had commanded the troops and routed the enemy. And this, in spite of the fact that the Chilean soldiers had been accustomed to see Valdivia and Villagrán at the head of their troops in the heat of the combat."¹⁴

Ercilla describes in his poem a war which lasted several years and was conducted by various chieftains. And, as he wished to be faithful to the historical facts, he could not attribute to a single hero the glory of the campaign. Valdivia, Villagrán, Don García appear in turn, and the place they occupy in the poem is fairly well in proportion to the services they rendered to the Spanish cause.

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¹⁴ Errázuriz, *La expedición austral de don Garcia de Mendoza*, *Rev. chilena de historia y geografía*, 1913, p. 384.

REVIEWS

Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory and Its Sources, by Professor Vida D. Scudder. E. P. Dutton and Co., 1917, 8vo, pp. ix, 430. \$4.00.

Medieval literature is like Yellowstone Park. It seems to be known to few save tourists and lumbermen. One class sees only the sights, is inspired to a momentary rapture, and departs. The other class in some cases fails to feel the rapture at all, and in the remaining cases lacks the power or the inclination to express it. The result is that except for the outstanding figures of Chaucer and the great Italians, the study of medieval literature as literature is conspicuous by its paucity as compared with the bulk of superficial appreciation or of unappreciative investigation. This is not as it should be; and Professor Scudder's volume on Malory's *Morte Darthur* should serve not only as a precedent but also as a model for many other books yet to come, that will allure readers to this region of literature and interpret its beauties in terms of modern feeling. For to the acquaintanceship of an old dweller in the lands of Logres and Lyonesse and Northgalles and the Out Isles Miss Scudder adds the passionate enthusiasm of a romantic spirit.

Out of the stores of her knowledge of Arthurian materials Miss Scudder has furnished us with much that has never been accessible before in English. She gives us for one thing a completer account of the whole cycle in its various branches than anyone else. She seems with deliberate intention to have made her work supplementary to Maynadier's *The Arthur of the English Poets*, and to have devoted her largest space to matters therein ignored or passed over with brief mention. Especially valuable are the summaries of the prose romances, which have hitherto been *terra incognita* to all but those who were prepared to explore them in the original or in Paulin Paris's *Romans de la Table Ronde*. Now at last those whose curiosity as to the Galeotto of Dante has not been appeased by a note to the effect that he was a friend of Lancelot, and who have been taken with the name of "Galehault the Haut Prince" in Malory but could never find that he lived up to his romantic title, may become acquainted with this fine heroic figure and learn of his story. The *Grand Saint Graal* and *Vulgate Merlin* are also here for the first time sketched at any length. Not only does Miss Scudder furnish useful résumés, but in her tracing of the historical relationships of these various versions, she evinces a considerable acquaintance with the latest results of scholarship.¹

¹ There are, however, some minor inaccuracies to be taken account of. Some misprints occur in the name forms, especially in the bibliography; for instance, on p. 13, Kilwch and Rhonaby. The MS. from which the frontispiece is taken cannot be ascribed with any certainty to John Rous. *Vide* Viscount Dillon and W. St. John Hope, *Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard de Beauchamp*, p. vi. The identification of Morgan le Fay with the Celtic war-goddess Morrigan, on p. 6, is phonetically impossible and is unwarranted by any striking

One could perhaps have wished that Miss Scudder had devoted more than a paragraph to Malory's life. Though all that is positively known of Sir Thomas is there given,² yet his service in France under that gallant and adventurous knight, Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, would seem worthy of amplification. Who can read the captions of Earl Richards's exploits in the *Pageant* of his life³ without feeling the *Morte Darthur* vitalized for himself and perceiving how the association with this romantic hero must have vitalized romance for Malory? These captions read:

"Here shewes howe at thies daies appered a blasynge sterre called stella comata which after the seying of Clerkys signyfyed greet deth and blodeshede/

community of traits. On p. 23 Miss Scudder expresses surprise that Geoffrey of Monmouth's bare chronicle should have expanded into the Arthuriad. All the facts, however, go to show that instead of the Arthuriad's being a beanstalk growth from Geoffrey's book, the book is a very much lopped and pruned form of an already flourishing Arthuriad. On p. 53 Bérout is referred to as almost certainly an Anglo-Norman: one wonders on what authority. The briar and the rose mentioned on p. 57 do not appear in the version of Thomas that we possess. There is a slight error on the same page in saying that the statues of Isolt and Brangwaine bore perfumed flowers in their hands; the perfumes were enclosed in a cavity in Isolt's breast.

² While I agree with Professor Kittredge's identification of Malory with the knight of Newbold Revell, and with his exclusion of Bale's Thomas Mailorius of Mailoria as a candidate, yet the latter has perhaps more plausibility than has been supposed. To be sure, Bale's account of Malory consists of three quarters pure padding, as anyone who has read examination papers will easily detect; and the one quarter that has a semblance of fact was probably built up on Leland's mention in his *Assertio Arthurii* of the author Thomas Mailorius, and the mention in the *Syllabus et Interpretatio Antiquarum Dictionum* of a district Mailoria, lying east of the Dee between Shrewsbury and Chester. It may be a mere coincidence, but as Mr. A. T. Martin has shown in *Archaeologia*, 1898, pp. 169, 178, William Malory, knight, of Papworth, Cambs., held lands at Shawbury and Upton Waters in Shropshire, only a short distance from Maelwr or Mailoria, and had a son, Thomas Malory, born in 1425 at Morton Corbet, nine miles from that district. This Thomas Malory of Papworth, however, is never referred to in the several documents we possess as Sir or *Miles*; and, as Professor Kittredge has abundantly proved, his name is an old English name of three syllables, by no means connected with the dissyllabic place-name Maelwr. These considerations seem to prove that though Bale may have chanced to know that there was a Thomas Malory who lived at the right time and was connected with the Welsh border near Shrewsbury, he merely piled error upon error when he linked the name with the place and identified the man with the Sir Thomas Malory who wrote the *Morte Darthur*.

Mr. Martin, on p. 172, furnishes the evidence of an inquisition of 1471 to the effect that Sir Thomas Malory died March 12, 1471, instead of March 14, 1470, as Kittredge gives the date on the authority of Dugdale.

³ It should be noted that the great antiquarian authorities, Viscount Dillon and Sir William St. John Hope, find no reason for ascribing this MS. to John Rous.

And sone uppon beganne the Warre of Wales by oon Owen of Glendour their chief capteyn. Whom emonges other Erle Richard so sore sewed that he hadde nerehande taken hym and put hym to flight and toke his baner and moche of his people and his banerer."

"Here shewes howe Sir Baltirdam a noble lorde the Soldans lieutenant that tyme beyng at Jerusalem heryng that Erle Richard was there and that he was lynally of blode descended of nole Sir Gy of Warrewik whoes lif they hadde there in bokes of their langage; he was ioyful of hym and with greet honoure resceived hym / and desired hym and his mayny to dyne with hym in his owne place / And Erle Richard ful manerly behavyng hym; graunted lorde Baltirdam to come for his pleasir."

"Howe on the morowe next folowyng that was the last day of the Justes. Erle Richard came in face opyn / his basnet as the day afore. save the Chapellet was rich of perle and precious stones. in Gy ys armes and Beauchamps quarterly / and the armes also of Tony and Haunslape in his trappours / And said like as he hadde his owne persone perfourmed the ij days afore; so with goddes grace he wolde the iij⁴⁰. Then ranne he to the Chivaler now Sir Colard Fynes / and every stroke he bare hym bakward to his horse bakke & then the frensshmen said he was bounde to the sadyll / Wherefor he alighted there from his horse; and forthwith stept up in to his sadill ageyn / & so with worship rode to his pavilion & sent to Sir Colard a good Courser and fested all the people gevyng the said iij knyghtes greet rewardes / and rode to Calys with greet worship."

"Here shewes howe a myghty Duke chalenged Erle Richard for his lady sake / And he Justyng slewe the Duke / And then the Emperesse toke the Erles lyvere a bere [livery, a bear,] from a knyghtes shuldre / and for greet love and favour she sette hit on her shuldre / then Erle Richard. made oon of perle & precious stones, and offered her that / and she gladly and lovyngly resceived hit."

"Howe the Emperour for a special love made Erle Richard to bere his swerde / and profored to geve hym seynt Georges hert. Englisshmennes avowry to bryng into Englund / but Erle Richard heryng the Emperour sey. that he in his owne persone wolde come into Englund; he by endenture restored hit to hym ageyn / sayng the Delyveryng of hit by his owne persone shulde be more acceptable. & norisshyng of more love / and so he did / for in short space after / he come into Englund / and was made Knyght of the Garter / and offered up the holy hert hym selfe. which is worshipfully yet kept at Wyndesore / And in his commyng & goyng at Caleys Erle Richard then beyng Capteyn there honourably resceived hym / And the Emperour said to the Kyng / that no prince cristyn for wisdom nortur & manhode hadde such a nother knyght as he hadde of therle of warrewyk / addyng thereto that if al curtesye were lost; yet might hit be founde ageyn in hym / And so ever after by the Emperours auctorite, was called the fadre of Curtesy."

Not only does the Earl's life read like a romance, but in that "newfangle" fifteenth century he must have stood in men's imaginations for all the old-fashioned chivalrous virtues and feudal principles that Malory revered. Against the rising power of the merchants, the insurrections of churls and heretics, and the cold *Realpolitik* of the day, Richard de Beauchamp represented the power and the idealism of the old order. Can there be any doubt that his association with this redoubted warrior, known as the Father of Courtesy, must have had its influence in forming the character and even the style of Sir Thomas Malory? For only out of a society where speech was life and life was courtesy could have come that simple yet poignant quality that pervades the last books of the *Morte Darthur*.

There is another passage tantalizing in its brevity. "The Middle Ages, singularly great in their God-consciousness, inherited a spiritual tradition, handed down partly in the sacramental system of the Church, partly in subterranean and heretical channels, and drank long and deep at their springs." Surely here Miss

Scudder could have performed a service to scholarship by devoting a few pages to the mystical and theological sources of the Grail legend, whereof she is herself highly qualified to speak with authority. Perhaps we may look forward to her doing so in some later publication.

Not only has Miss Scudder given us out of the fulness of her knowledge a store of useful materials, but out of her enthusiasm she has given us what is even more precious. Her catholic delight in all the good things that medieval romance offers, colorful description, mystic ecstasy, "stiff stours," love's pleasures and pains, is infectious. One reads her charming tale of Merlin and Nimue, and is moved to venture even upon the desert wastes of Harry Lovelich. Her interpretation of the Grail Quest gives meaning and form to what for many of us had been a splendid but nevertheless confused phantasmagoria. Though she is in entire agreement with the ecclesiastical morality that made of the illicit relation of Lancelot and Guenevere a mortal sin and looks with sympathy upon the ascetic ideal typified by Galahad, yet there is no Puritanical or Pharisaical taint in her treatment. She has the broad tolerance of the Roman Church at its best. Perhaps we may suspect her of that "superb inconsistency" of which she accuses Malory, and while heaping a retributive punishment upon the head of Guenevere yet proclaims that "while she lived she was a good lover, and therefore she had a good end." Not only does Miss Scudder's interpretation vibrate with strong feeling, but it also displays in many places a keen analysis. Especially interesting is her discussion of Malory's handling of his English and French sources in the poisoning of Patrick, the ordeal of Guenevere, and the Maid of Astolat episode.

There are, however, some aspects of Miss Scudder's criticism where in our opinion her enthusiasm clashes with her judgment and overbears it. Certainly plausible is her theory that Malory endeavored "to present the controlling interests of the Middle Ages,—love, religion, war,—in their ideal symmetry and their actual conflict. . . . Each loyalty has its exponent." Tristram is the eternal lover, Galahad the religious ideal, Gawain the type of feudal vassalage. "One heart alone is swayed by all three passions, as by contrary winds that wreck the barque. The portrait of Lancelot is Malory's greatest triumph, for in his struggle is concentrated the clash of forces which by their union created and by their conflict destroyed the chivalric ideal." The first seven books are a prologue, establishing Arthur's realm and the order of the Round Table, defining the spirit of chivalry partly by contrast with the uncouthness of Balin, and partly by example in the idealistic prowess of Gareth. The Tristram books then set forth the pageant of love in a thousand incidents and in varying heights of refinement and depths of grossness. But the impression is one of degeneracy and failure. Then follows the pageant of the Grail with Galahad as its central figure. Here, too, though Galahad achieves the Quest, his fellows return dispirited to a broken Table Round. In the last books Gawain comes to the front as the personification of feudal loyalty to kindred and to king, but only to bring disaster on that king. Opposed to him is Lancelot, the unhappy, who in his endeavor to be loyal to God, king, and lady, finds himself unfaithful to all, and is the unwilling instrument by which the Order of the Round Table is finally shattered to fragments. To be sure, the prologue could hardly have stood anywhere but where it does, and the general position of Galahad, Gawain, and Lancelot in the last third of

the *Morte Darthur* was practically determined for Malory by the French *Lancelot*. Yet whether purposely adopted or not, the scheme does fit the book. It is in Miss Scudder's estimate of Malory's skill as a selector of materials on their own merits and as an organizer of them to suit the scheme that we must differ with her. Her critical sense drives her again and again to such admissions as these: "Lovelich's tale of the beguiling of Merlin excels past measure the succinct and colorless account of Malory"; "Malory introduces much irrelevant matter; the richness of narrative detail, even when relevant, obscures the structure, the point of view shifts as regards characters,—above all he shares with other medieval writers that confusing absence of emphasis which makes structural lines or centres hard to discern"; "Tristram and Iseult love 'wonderly much,' swoon when separated, grow mad when suspecting one another. We would gladly give all their throes for one such passage as that in which the earlier poets describe the drinking of the fatal potion or the final farewell." "The piecing in the English *Morte d'Arthur* is done roughly enough." "Transitions give no trouble and minor inconsistencies abound." Yet after all these candid admissions Miss Scudder maintains that "it is only necessary to gain a little perspective, in order to find all such carelessness merged in the general impression of proportion and design, finer than can be shown by any of the complex romances from which the book derives." Now to my mind the first two thirds of the book, far from exhibiting a remarkable selective and constructive faculty, show even for that time only a mediocre power. Why does Malory include the story of the *Cote Mal Taillé*, which is but a debased doublet of the Gareth story? Why are the loves of Lancelot and Guenevere suddenly thrust upon us as a *fait accompli* when they form so momentous a part of the main action? If the original account of how love seized them is stiff and affected, then here was an opportunity for condensation and improvement. Why should the plan of exhibiting Tristram as the type of *l'amour courtois* justify the very summary treatment of his passion for Isolt and the retailing of numberless encounters between insignificant knights and random amours throughout a third of the book? Such proportions cannot be explained away. Add to these Miss Scudder's own admissions and the case against Malory's constructive art in the first two thirds of his work is overwhelming. However, there appears so notable a gain in the last third that we may well believe that it is the work of maturity, whereas the rest is the product of an apprenticeship, often interrupted by the alarms and excursions of the civil wars. To summarize, we believe Miss Scudder's estimates of particular parts to be always reasonable and true: her estimate of the whole work seems somewhat too glamorous to accord with her own estimate of the parts.

We must confess to finding Miss Scudder's last chapter entitled *Causality in Romance* confusing. Causality seems to mean for her at least four different things: (1) The law of universal causation. (2) The exclusion from literature of the unexpected intervention of natural causes, popularly known as chance. (3) The variable and partial causal connection between the doing of wrong and the suffering of the wrongdoer. (4) Literary coherence. Conversely, Freedom means: (1) The freedom of the will, an exception to the law of causation. (2) The use of chance in literature. (3) The repudiation of moral laws. (4) Lack of literary coherence. The way in which these quite distinct senses are

interchanged on pp. 400 and 401 leaves one dazed. Furthermore, Miss Scudder says that "the principle of causality had taken full possession of Malory's mind" (p. 400), and that he had rejected "the older story of an accidental tragedy" and "transformed the Arthuriad into a Nemesis action, perfectly developed and profoundly satisfying to the human craving for justice" (p. 407). Now the Nemesis action is clear and will satisfy fully the sense of justice of those who approve the *Ædipus* and feel that the single unwitting infringement of moral law can only be expiated by the wholesale slaughter of a people: but that Malory has rejected the idea of an accidental tragedy seems untenable in the face of Miss Scudder's own statement on p. 341 that "the crucial point of the tragedy" lies in the accidental stroke of Lancelot's sword that slew Gaheis and Gareth. If this shows that the principle of causality had not "taken full possession of Malory's mind," let us be thankful that it had not, for he is thereby nearer to the life we know, in which the issues often hang upon trivial, grotesque, and tragic accidents. Again, Miss Scudder declares at one point that "the web which entangles them (Malory's characters) is of their own weaving, and the doom which overtakes them, the destruction of the aims they have cherished, is the solemn witness to the freedom they have enjoyed." Now if the Merlin prophecies are to be taken seriously, not as mere literary artifices, Balin was doomed to kill Balan, Guenevere to prove faithless to Arthur, and the whole great emprise of the Round Table to perish. The web, then, was woven long before the characters picked up the threads of their destiny. If, however, we discard the prophecies as relics of an outgrown supernaturalism, yet we are told that "the vision of a kingdom in which the Mysteries of God are openly manifest and protected by the secular arm is beyond the compass either of medieval or modern belief." Taken in its context this passage can mean nothing else than that the success of Arthur's knights in their heroic task was quite inconceivable. If then the doom which overtakes them, the destruction of the aims they have cherished, is the only outcome of their endeavors Miss Scudder can conceive, how can she say that this inevitable failure is a witness to the freedom they have enjoyed? If someone should tell me that my failure to do what it is inconceivable I could do is evidence of my freedom to do it, I should accuse him of irony or inconsistency.

But this chapter is not essential to the study, and even had Miss Scudder completely proved her case for Causality in Malory's romance, the demonstration would not for many of us have enhanced his value one whit. To be sure, Causality in the sense of literary coherence is generally, and in the sense of conformity of incident to natural laws is sometimes a desirable thing, and in both these senses it is clearly lacking in the *Morte Darthur*: but Causality as a uniform poetic justice and as the total exclusion of chance from literature is not a desirable thing, and we are by no means distressed that Miss Scudder has failed to convince us that it dominated the mind of Malory.

Malory's claims to consideration rest on other qualities, the qualities that mark the Grail books, the Elaine story, the *Morte Darthur* proper, and the ending of Lancelot and Guenevere. It is the delight and the profit of Miss Scudder's work that she has not only spread before us the fascinating literature from which Malory drew, but has so vividly and feelingly defined these qualities of his own work. Of the many readers which we trust Miss Scudder will have, not one

but will rise from her book realizing more fully the significance, feeling more clearly the characters, appreciating more keenly the style, and apprehending more intelligently the narrative art of the *Morte Darthur*.

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

Venise dans la littérature française depuis les origines jusqu'à la mort de Henri IV, avec un recueil de textes dont plusieurs rares et inédits. By BÉATRIX RAVÀ. Paris, Champion, 1916, 612 pp. ¹

The literary relations between Italy and France have been attracting the attention of scholars to an ever-increasing degree. The articles by the late Emile Picot, *Les Français italianisants au xv^e siècle*, published in book form, Paris, 1906, and those on the *Italiens françaisants* in the *Bulletin italien*, whose publication has been cut short by the author's death, have thrown a great deal of light on an astonishing number of secondary and hitherto unknown writers of the Renaissance in the two countries. Béatrix Ravà's volume is a most welcome addition to the Franco-Italian field.

In Béatrix Ravà's own words the scope of her study is a very wide one: "Il s'étend à tous les écrivains français, poètes et prosateurs, à qui Venise inspira des œuvres artistiques; le sujet d'un poème, d'une tragédie, d'un drame, d'une comédie, d'un conte, d'un roman; ou du moins des personnages épiques, tragiques, comiques, romanesques. Nous verrons comment ils ont interprété cette ville et quelle sorte d'inspiratrice elle a été pour eux. Enfin, non contents de considérer tel ou tel genre littéraire et de démontrer que Venise y occupe telle ou telle place, nous posons encore une question, souvent négligée par les critiques. Étant donné l'état des lettres à Venise à un moment déterminé, nous nous demandons: cette littérature rayonne-t-elle sur la littérature française? En quel sens? Par quels intermédiaires? Lesquels, parmi les écrivains vénitiens, sont les plus lus en France? Pourquoi?"

The first part of the book is devoted to a study of the Middle Ages, of the political relations between the two countries, the literary manifestations of those relations, the travelers to the East who stopped in Venice, their treatment of the city in their writings, the French poets in Venice, the Franco-Venetian literature, and finally Venice in the French literature of the Middle Ages.

Among the works inspired by the Fourth Crusade we find the chronicles of Robert de Clari and those of Villehardouin. The latter had a peculiar gift of penetrating into the souls of men he met, and of understanding the crowd. It is that aspect of Venetian life which he portrayed. Guillaume de Machaut and Eustache Deschamps did barely more than mention Venice. Christine de Pisan, on the other hand, who was proud of having been born in that city, left works in prose and in verse which gave an interesting picture of Venice and its government. Skipping over the names of the voyagers to the East, we reach the concluding remark of the author that the impression to be drawn from the works of that period is that those who wish to go to the Holy Land would do well to stop a while in Venice and be inspired by all that she offers.

In the Middle Ages Venice offered her hospitality to many troubadours and trouvères, thru whom she contributed in no small measure to the literature of the time. In the chapter on Venice and French literature of the Middle Ages Béatrix Ravà enters into a rather detailed study of the *chansons de geste* and

their relation to that city. Here we meet the familiar names of *Berta de li gran pié*—I wonder why the author chose that spelling!—*Macaire*, *Orson de Beauvais*, *Anscis de Cartage*, *Doon de Maience*, and *le Charroi de Nymes*. *Godefroi de Bouillon* also contains mentions of Venice, likewise the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, the *Prise d'Orange*, *Aiol*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, *Hugues Capet* and others. The author plunges into a discussion concerning the personage of Aymer, which seems unwarranted, especially since she states that Venice played only a secondary rôle in the history of the French epic. But since she raises the question, the reviewer takes the liberty to make a few additions to the Aymer question. Mme Ravà, with her enthusiasm to locate as many as possible of the *chansons de geste* or their characters in Venice, is inclined to doubt the fact that Aymer fought in Spain or that he died there. Allow me to add the following data about this hero. Aïmer le chétif is mentioned many times in the *Siège de Barbastre*, ms. 1448 fonds fr., of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Aïmer's abode is in Spain. Gui de Commarcis has just been made prisoner, and the emir says on seeing him:

Cil sanble do parage Aymer lou felon,
 Con appelle chaitif en tante region.
 Cist est de son lignage, bien pert a sa façon. (Fol. 129 r^a.)

And further:

"Qui estes chevalier, qui Nerbone criés?"
 Uns chevaliers respont qui n'i est arrestés:
 "Au conte Aymer sommes molt grant pieça remeis,
 Et vient de Buriene ou il a .vii. ans mez.
 Or s'an vait a Nerbone et o lui ses barnés.
 Se il pust tant recevoir chevaliers adurés,
 Revendra en Espagne ansois .ii. mois passés,
 Que tant i demorra li chevaliers loez
 Que trestous li pais d'Espagne iert acquités.
 Morir voldra li bers, ce nos a dit assés,
 En conquerant honors en estranges renés."

And again:

Qui donc veïst au tref lou parage asanbler,
 Èt lor cosins baisier, joir et acoleir!
 A tant es vos aus tref lou cortois Aymer,
 Ou que il voit Bovon sel corut acoler.
 "Freire, dist Aymer, fait il bon converser
 En la terre d'Espagne, qui tant fait a loer?"

Spain is mentioned a great many times in the *Siège de Barbastre*, and is the scene of Aïmer's exploits.

If we turn to *Guibert d'Andrenas* (for example, the MS. in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 20, B. XIX, fol. 152 r^o), we find a passage in which the whereabouts of the children of Aymeri is stated: we are told that Garin is at Anseüne, Guillaume at Orange:

Et en Espagne Aymers li chetis.

In the same poem Aymeri is going to send Guibert in search of Aymer. The scene is laid in Narbonne:

"Biau fil Guibert, dist Aymeris li ber,
 Vos irez querre lo chetif Aymer."

"Deus! dit Guiberz, o le porrai trover?
 Ge ne sai tant ne venir ne aler,
 Que a nul home em puisse oïr parler,
 Qui m'en sache noveles aconter,
 Tant parfont est dedenz Espaigne entrez." (Fol. 154 r°.)

Guibert starts out:

Tele aventure li a Deus fet doner,
 Qu'a .xv. lieues par dela Balesguez
 Trova Guiberz lo chetif Aymer,
 Qui reperoït d'une terre praer.
 Desconfit ont un roi felon escler.
 .Iii.m.paiens i ont fet devier.
 Guiberz le voit, si lo cort acoler.
 Grant joie font li frere a l'encontrer.
 A Nerbonne pristrent a retorner. (Fol. 154 r°.)

Upon their arrival at Narbonne, Hermanjart, the mother of Aymer, has no difficulty in persuading him to come to the palace with her. The wild tastes of Aymer are not even mentioned. He plays an important part in the liberation of his father and in the taking of Andrenas. At the end of the poem Aymer returns to Spain.

In *Foucon de Candie* Aymer is already dead, killed in Spain by the Turks. In the same poem Naymer de Pavie is supposed to be another relative of Guillaume. He comes to his aid with twenty thousand men of Italy.

From these three poems, unmentioned by the author, we see clearly that Aymer was closely identified with Spain.

The Renaissance finds Venice in a peculiar political position. She had to protect herself against attacks from every direction and to defend her sea possessions against the invasion of the Turkish empire. The visit of Henry II, king of France, was celebrated by Italian poets. Henry IV of France was very popular with the Venetians. Philippe de Commynes and Jean Molinet both left rather mediocre accounts of the political situation, tho their writings, especially those of Commynes, were far superior to those of most of their contemporaries. We see no mention in the work referred to by Mme Ravà, of a poem entitled: *Blason de la guerre du Pape, ses aliez prelatz, gens d'eglise et les veniciens ensemble, contre le Roy très-chrétien*. The part which concerns us, *Des Veniciens*, begins:

Quant le lyon tout l'effort qu'il pourra
 Mectra sus champs enfin le bruyt courra
 Qu'on aura mys à pied de mur ses briques, . . .
 (Méon, *Blasons*, Paris, 1809, p. 266, 3 stanzas and an envoi.)

Jean Marot, the father of Clément Marot, accompanied Louis XII to Italy. In his *Voyage de Gênes et le Voyage de Venise* and in several of his short poems Jean Marot gave an account of his Italian visit, but as the author remarks: "Jean Marot est encore un enfant de son siècle, un rhétoriqueur." Jean Lemaire de Belges in the *Légende des Venitiens*, altho he felt a keen hatred for Venice, gave one to realize that one day Venice would be appreciated in an artistic way. Gringore was another bitter opponent of Venice. In his *Entreprise de Venise* he tried to arouse public sentiment against the city, while in *La Chasse du Cerf des Cerfs*, in *L'espoir de paix*, and in *Le jeu du Prince des Sots* he made many allusions to the historical events concerning that city.

Claude de Seyssel and Symphorien Champier were two prose writers who spoke of the wars of Italy. Jean de Thou treated Venice very sympathetically in one of his poems; the historian Brantôme seems to have known Venetian life very well. The duke of Rohan was the man of politics who loved Venice. The dominant note of the first half of the century, then, as seen from the literature, was hatred of Venice, while that of the second half was love.

The chapter on the voyagers shows that they may be divided into two categories. In the first are the belated writers of the Middle Ages who, guided by a religious spirit, start out in search of relics and are glad to find some in Venice, but who also know how to appreciate the beauties of the city, and introduce into their writings many diverse and interesting details. In the second category are the men who went to the Orient for political reasons and who, imbued with humanism,—I am translating the author,—made use of the occasion to carry on scientific investigations. The latter almost neglected to speak of Venice.

Venice as a center of printing and its influence on Lyons and Paris is the subject of the following chapter. During the Renaissance a great number of French printers were to be found in that city. The name of Aldus is well known to all students of the literature of the period. The Republic encouraged the preservation of books and manuscripts, and erected opposite the square of Saint Marc one of the finest public libraries of the time, a rival to the old Alexandrine library.

Of the French ambassadors who went to Venice, Jean de Pins, Lazare de Baif, father of the poet, George de Selve and Guillaume Pellisier, the bishop of Montpellier, were the most prominent. The Cardinal François de Tournon, famous protector of men of letters, made several visits to Italy. Another well known ambassador whom the author does not mention but who was no man of letters, was François de la Tour, viscount of Turenne, sent to Italy by Francis the First. Of him one of the minor poets, Eustorg de Beaulieu, writes in his *Divers Rapports*, 1537, fol. 142 v°, *Brefue deploration de Francoys de la Tour*:

Le Pape, dict Clement, du nom septiesme,
Tant le prisa qui luy ouurit le tesme
Et le pria de trouver les moyens
D'acorder luy, et les Venitiens,
Entre lesquelz y avoit grosse guerre,
Ce qu'il parfist ains partir de leur terre. . . .

Etienne Dolet accompanied Jean de Langeac, bishop of Limoges, to Venice, but with the exception of a Latin poem to a young lady of Venice with whom the former fell in love, there is no reference of any length in his works to Venice itself. Lascaris, Budé, Rabelais were all three in Italy. The first two make almost no mention of Venice, while Rabelais probably never reached that city. Of the humanists, Amyot was the one most indebted to Venice. It was there that he collated the manuscripts of the text of Plutarch. Michel l'Hôpital, Muret and Germain Audebert are among the Latin writers who honored Venice, while Joseph Scaliger hurled invectives against her. Guillaume Postel, for information about whom we are greatly indebted to the late Emile Picot, paid frequent visits to Venice. He went there to perfect himself in languages. Three books by him are directly devoted to Venice: *Les très merueilleuses victoires des femmes*, *Vergine Venetiana*, and *Il libro della divina ordinatione*. The name of

Perrot is inseparable from that of his friend, Philippe de Mornay, as the author tells us. Both cherished that city. Of the writers in French, one of the first names is that of Clément Marot, who spoke of Venice in many of his poems. In an epistle entitled *Epistre envoyée de Venise à madame la duchesse de Ferrare*, he writes of Venice at great length, but he shows great impatience to return to France. Du Bellay's name also appears among the poets who wrote of Venice, but the only impression he seems to have had of the city was that of its vice. Jean-Antoine de Baif pleads the cause of Venice, but briefly. I should like to add a very few lines by Pierre de Brach, since he is of the group last mentioned:

Verront les blonds Germains, apprendront la franchise
Que garde en Italie une libre Venise.

(*Œuvres*, Paris, 1862, V. II, p. 96.)

Charles Fontaine, of the Marot group, makes mention of Venice in *La Fontaine d'amour: Adieu à Thurin, l'auteur retournant de Venise*:

Je vous ay eu en cuer le long de l'an,
Soit à Venise, à Mantouë, ou Crémone,

and also in his *Ruisseaux*. (For that poet cf. Hawkins, *Maistre Charles Fontaine*, Cambridge, 1916, from which the above citation is taken.)

Claude de Pontoux, another poet brought to light by Emile Picot, left a description of the life of pleasure in Venice, while still another student in Italy, Claude Turrin, painted a rather sombre picture of his existence there. We cannot stop to mention all the *italianisants* to be found in the succeeding paragraphs of the book, but the name of Montaigne cannot be passed over. His works show that he did not understand the artistic side of Venice. Of all the voyagers of the sixteenth century Claude-Énoch Virey had, according to Mme Ravà, the most exact vision of the Venice of the Renaissance.

Among the Venetians in France, Lascaris, Aleandro, Fra Giocondo, Barbaro, Dandolo, Cavalli, Vergerio, were some of the earliest to visit that country. The French stage owed a great deal, as is well known, to the Italians. Larivey, Régnier, Mellin de Saint-Gelais are of those most indebted to Venetian writers. The *Pléiade* drew much of its inspiration from Bembo, from Sperone Speroni, and others. Henri Estienne was convinced that French was superior to Italian (*De la précellence du langage françois*). In conclusion, it is seen that Venice plays an important rôle in French literature of the sixteenth century. Venetian writers are translated into French. It is a half Venetian, Larivey, who writes one of the best comedies of the time. And if Venice is "l'un des points de mire des ennemis de l'italianisme, c'est qu'elle avait beaucoup contribué à le répandre en France. Les deux pays s'étaient rapprochés d'une telle façon, qu'ils avaient fini par se gêner, comme deux amis, qui en sont venus à une intimité trop grande; mais un sentiment analogue les guidait au moment même où ils se détachaient: c'était le désir, que chacun sentait très vif, de garder ses caractères nationaux; et le nom du cardinal, qui avait rendu Venise la place forte de la pureté de la langue italienne, s'associe à celui de Henri Estienne, l'avocat de la langue française."

The concluding chapter gives a summary of the whole volume, the last paragraph of which is a concise résumé of the rôle played by Venice thru the Renaissance. The last hundred pages of the book are devoted to a selection of

texts, most of them very rare, and several still unedited. A bibliography of the texts follows. There is a very detailed table of contents, which makes an index of proper names almost unnecessary. A great part of the volume is of necessity a compilation of material already available but scattered thru an enormous field. The utility of such a book is that it assembles in an interesting and very convenient form documents which can be obtained only with the greatest difficulty. Mme Ravà is to be commended for having handled with such skill so vast and complicated a subject.

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HÉLÈNE HARVITT

Le vair Palefroi, avec deux versions de la Male Honte, par Huon de Cambrai et par Guillaume. Fabliaux du XIII^e Siècle. Edités par ARTUR LANGFORS. Paris, Librairie Champion, 1912. Pp. xv, 68.

Romance scholars are much indebted to Professor Langfors for the present volume, especially because he has given us a good text of the delightful *Vair Palefroi*. The volume comes to add one more to the list of desirable Old French texts publisht in the now well-known series, *les Classiques Français du Moyen Age*. The editor, like his predecessors, has called the poem a *fabliau*, but draws attention to the fact that the author calls it a *lay*, and indicates that this name would be equally suitable (p. 4). M. Langfors ascribes the *Vair Palefroi* and the *Male Honte* to the same author, but with some significant reservations. A careful reading of the two poems leaves one very doubtful of the single authorship. It is unfortunat that Claude Fauchet, *Recueil*, p. 195, throws no light on the question.

The MS. (Bib. Nat., fr. 837, fol. 348, v^o—355) has been copied with care. The abbreviations have been rendered in the manner now usual with editors, as will appear from the following examples. The abbreviation for *con* is transcribed *com* where the first sound of the next word suggests the assimilation to a labial, as in *Com* volentez, line 210. It is transcribed *cun*, as is proper, in *aucuns*, line 764. . . . *Hø* is transcribed *hom*, except in *prendon*, line 56 of the *Male Honte*. . . . In l. 308 of the *Vair Palefroi* the MS. has *sans*, as in the following line, in lines 500, 625, etc., and should, of course, be so printed. . . . In ll. 224 and 324 it would be well to print *mariee* and *marier*, and, in l. 968, *escient*. For l. 187 of the *Male Honte*, MS. A has: *Que tant m'i ont doné de cops*, which merits citation in the variants. . . . In the matter of punctuation, the texts are publisht with unusual intelligence and care. One might perhaps prefer points of suspension after l. 427, as after 423. It would be well to have a period after 750. A semi-colon instead of a comma would probably render the thought of l. 838. . . . The meaning of lines 862-65 is none too clear. . . . The editor reads *Guillaume* for the nominative and accusative, except in l. 497, where he gives *Guillaumes*. . . . In many words, broken type has transformed the capital *Q* into *O*, a defect which is to be remedied in the next edition. . . . The lexicon merits unstinted praise. In most of the editions of this Series, the lexicon is entirely too brief.

R. W.

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